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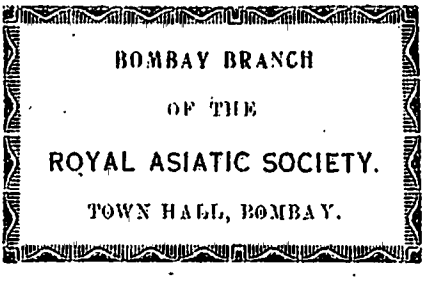

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ASSASSINATION OF MARAT

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY M. A. THIERS.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY FREDERICK SHOBERL.

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE OF FRANCE AFTER THE 31ST OF MAY — INSURRECTION OF THE DEPARTMENTS — INVASION OF THE FRONTIERS.

THE decree passed on the 2d of June against the twenty-two deputies of the right side and the members of the commission of twelve enacted that they should be confined at their own homes, and closely guarded by gendarmes. Some voluntarily submitted to this decree, and constituted themselves in a state of arrest, to prove their obedience to the law and to provoke a judgment which should demonstrate their innocence. Gensonné and Valazé might easily have withdrawn themselves from the vigilance of their guards, but they firmly refused to seek safety in flight. They remained prisoners with their colleagues, Guadet, Petion, Vergniaud, Biroteau, Gardien, Boileau, Bertrand, Mollevaut, and Gomaire. Some others, conceiving that they owed no obedience to a law extorted by force, and having no hope of justice, quitted Paris or concealed themselves there till they should be able to get away. Their intention was to repair to the departments, and excite them to rise against the capital. Those who took this resolution were Brissot, Gorsas, Salles, Louvet, Chambon, Buzot, Lydon, Rabaut St. Etienne, Lasource, Grangeneuve, Lesage, Vigé, Larivière, and Bergoing. An order of arrest was issued by the commune against the two ministers Lebrun and Clavières, dismissed after the 2d of June. Lebrun found means to evade it. The same measure was taken against

Roland, who had been removed from office on the 21st of January, and begged in vain to be permitted to render his accounts. He escaped the search made for him by the commune, and concealed himself at Rouen. Madame Roland, against whom also proceedings were instituted, had no other anxiety than that of favouring the escape of her husband; then, committing her daughter to the care of a trusty friend, she surrendered with noble indifference to the committee of her section, and was thrown into prison with a multitude of other victims of the 31st of May.

Great was the joy at the Jacobins. Its members congratulated themselves on the energy of the people, on their late admirable conduct, and on the removal of all those obstacles which the right side had not ceased to oppose to the progress of the Revolution. According to the custom after all great events, they agreed upon the manner in which the last insurrection should be represented. "The people," said Robespierre, "have confounded all their calumniators by their conduct. Eighty thousand men have been under arms for nearly a week, yet no property has been violated, not a drop of blood has been spilled, and they have thus proved whether it was their aim, as it has been alleged, to profit by the disorder for the commission of murder and plunder. Their insurrection was spontaneous, because it was the effect of the general conviction; and the Mountain itself, weak and astonished at this movement, has proved that it did not concur to produce it. Thus this insurrection has been *wholly* moral and wholly popular."

This was at once giving a favourable colour to the insurrection, addressing an indirect censure to the Mountain, which had shown some hesitation on the 2nd of June, repelling the charge of conspiracy preferred against the leaders of the left side, and agreeably flattering the popular party, which had behaved so well and done every thing of itself. After this interpretation, received with acclamation by the Jacobins, and afterwards repeated by all the echoes of the victorious party, no time was lost in calling Marat to account for an expression which excited considerable sensation. Marat, who could never find more than one way of putting an end to the revolutionary hesitations, namely the dictatorship, on seeing some tergiversation on the 2nd of June, had repeated on that day, as he did on every other, *We must have a chief*. Being called upon to explain this expression, he justified it after his usual fashion, and the Jacobins were easily satisfied, conceiving that they had sufficiently proved their scruples and the severity of their republican principles. Some observations were also made on the lukewarmness of Danton, who seemed to be much softened since the suppression of the commission of twelve, and whose resolution, kept up till the 31st of May, had not lasted till the 2nd of June. Danton was absent. His friend Camille-Desmoulins defended him

warmly, and an end was speedily put to this explanation, out of delicacy for so important a personage, and to avoid too delicate discussions; for, though the insurrection was consummated, it was far from being universally approved of by the victorious party. It was in fact well known that the committee of public welfare, and many of the Mountaineers, had beheld this popular political manœuvre with alarm. The thing being done, it was necessary to profit by it without subjecting it to discussion. It became, therefore, immediately a matter of consideration how to turn the victory to a speedy and profitable account.

To this end there were different measures to be taken. To renew the committees, in which were included all the partisans of the right side, to secure by means of the committees the direction of affairs, to change the ministers, to keep a vigilant eye upon the correspondence, to stop dangerous publications at the post-office, to suffer only such as were ascertained to be useful to be despatched to the provinces (for, said Robespierre, the liberty of the press ought to be complete, no doubt, but it should not be employed to ruin liberty), to raise forthwith the revolutionary army, the institution of which was decreed, and the intervention of which was urgent for carrying the decrees of the Convention into execution in the interior, to effect the forced loan of one thousand millions from the rich—such were the means proposed and unanimously adopted by the Jacobins. But a last measure was deemed more necessary than all the others, that was the framing of a republican constitution within a week. It was of importance to prove that the opposition of the Girondins had alone prevented the accomplishment of this great task, to restore confidence to France by good laws, and to present it with a compact of union around which it might rally wholly and entirely. Such was the wish expressed at once by the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the sections, and the commune.

The Convention, acceding to this irresistible wish repeated in so many forms, renewed all its committees of general safety, of finances, of war, of legislation, &c. The committee of public welfare, which was already overloaded with business, and not yet sufficiently suspected to permit all its members to be abruptly dismissed, was alone retained. Lebrun was succeeded in the foreign affairs by Deforgues,* and Clavières in the finances by Destournelles. The sketch of a constitution presented by

* "Deforgues was at first a member of the municipality which established itself at Paris in 1792; he afterwards made a figure in the committee of public safety of that commune, to which have been attributed the September massacres. By the influence of Hérault-Séchelles, he was made minister for foreign affairs, but, having been suspected of moderatism, he was apprehended in 1794. He recovered his liberty however in the same year; and in 1799 was sent ambassador to Holland, and recalled after the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. He then became commissioner-general of police at Nantes: and in 1804 was appointed French consul at New Orleans."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

Condorcet, agreeably to the views of the Girondins, was considered as not received; and the committee of public welfare was to present another within a week. Five members were added to it for this duty. Lastly, it received orders to prepare a plan for carrying the forced loan into effect, and another for the organization of the revolutionary army.

The sittings of the Convention had an entirely new aspect after the 31st of May. They were silent, and almost all the decrees were passed without discussion. The right side and part of the centre did not vote; they seemed to protest by their silence against all the decisions taken since the 2nd of June, and to be waiting for news from the departments. Marat had, in his justice, thought fit to suspend himself till his adversaries, the Girondins, should be brought to trial. Meanwhile, he said, he renounced his functions, and was content to enlighten the Convention by his paper. The two deputies, Doulcet* and Fonfrède of Bourdeaux, alone broke the silence of the Assembly. Doulcet denounced the committee of insurrection, which had not ceased to meet at the Evêché, and which, stopping packets at the post-office, broke the seals and sent them open to their address marked with its own stamp, bearing these words: *Revolution of the 31st of May.* The Convention passed to the order of the day. Fonfrède, a member of the commission of twelve, but excepted from the decree of arrest, because he had opposed the measures of that commission, ascended the tribune, and moved the execution of the decree which directed a report concerning the prisoners to be presented within three days. This motion caused some tumult. "It is necessary," said Fonfrède, "to prove as speedily as possible the innocence of our colleagues. I have remained here for no other purpose than to defend them, and I declare to you that an armed force is advancing from Bordeaux to avenge the violence offered to them." Loud cries followed these words. The motion of Fonfrède was set aside by the order of the day, and the Assembly immediately sunk back into profound silence. These, said the Jacobins, were the last croakings of the toads of the fen.

The threat thrown out by Fonfrède from the tribune was not an empty one, for not only the people of Bordeaux, but the in-

* "G. Doulcet, Marquis de Pontecoulant, son of the major-general of the King's body-guards, in 1792 was appointed deputy to the Convention. In the following year he declared Louis guilty of high treason, voted for his banishment at a peace, and his confinement till that period. Soon afterwards a decree of accusation was passed against him as an accomplice of Brissot, and he was compelled to fly. He owed his safety to Madame Lejay, a bookseller, who kept him concealed in her house, and whom he married, in gratitude for this signal service. In 1794 Doulcet re-entered the Convention, and in the following year was chosen president. He was afterwards elected into the council of Five Hundred. In the year 1805 he was summoned to take a seat in the Conservative Senate, and was appointed commander of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

habitants of almost all the departments were ready to take up arms against the Convention. Their discontent had certainly preceded the 2nd of June, and had begun with the quarrels between the Mountaineers and the Girondins. It ought to be recollected that, throughout all France, the municipalities and the sections were divided. The partisans of the Mountaineer system occupied the municipalities and the clubs; the moderate republicans, who, amidst the crises of the Revolution, were desirous of preserving the ordinary equity, had, on the contrary, all withdrawn into the sections. In several cities a rupture had already taken place. At Marseilles, the sections had stripped the municipality of its powers, and transferred them to a central committee; they had, moreover, instituted of their own motion a popular tribunal for trying the patriots accused of revolutionary excesses. Bayle and Boisset, the commissioners, had in vain annulled this committee and this tribunal; their authority was contemned, and the sections had continued in permanent insurrection against the Revolution. At Lyons, a bloody battle had been fought. The point in dispute was, whether a municipal resolution of the 14th of July, directing the institution of a revolutionary army and the levy of a war-tax upon the rich, should be executed or not. The sections which opposed it had declared themselves permanent: the municipality attempted to dissolve them; but, aided by the directory of the department, they had resisted. On the 29th of May they had come to blows, notwithstanding the presence of the two commissioners of the Convention, who had made ineffectual efforts to prevent the conflict. The victorious sections had stormed the arsenal and the town-hall, turned out the municipality, shut up the Jacobin club, where Chalier excited the most violent storms, and assumed the sovereignty of Lyons. In this contest some hundreds had been killed. Nioche and Gauthier, the representatives, had been confined for a whole day; being afterwards delivered, they had retired to their colleagues, Albite and Dubois-Crancé, with whom they were engaged in a mission to the army of the Alps.

Such was the state of Lyons and of the South towards the end of May. Bordeaux did not present a more cheering aspect. That city, with all those of the West, of Bretagne, and of Normandy, waited until the threats so long repeated against the deputies of the provinces should be realized before they took any active measures. It was while thus hesitating, that the departments learned the events of the end of May. Those of the 27th, when the commission of twelve had been for the first time suppressed, had already caused considerable irritation; and on all sides it was proposed to pass resolutions condemnatory of the proceedings in Paris. The 31st of May and the 2nd of June raised the indignation to its highest pitch. Rumour, which magnifies every thing, exaggerated the circumstances. It was reported that thirty-two deputies had been murdered by the

commune; that the public coffers had been plundered; that the brigands of Paris had seized the supreme power, and were going to transfer it either to the foreign enemy, or to Marat, or Orleans. People met to draw up petitions, and to make preparations for arming themselves against the capital. At this moment the fugitive deputies arrived, to report themselves what had happened, and to give more consistency to the movements which were breaking out in all quarters.

Besides those who had at first fled, several made their escape from the gendarmes, and others even quitted the Convention for the purpose of fomenting the insurrection. Gensonné, Valasé, and Vergniaud, persisted in remaining, saying that if it was useful for one portion of them to go to rouse the zeal of the departments, it was also useful for the others to remain as hostages in the hands of their enemies, in order to prove by a trial, and at the risk of their lives, the innocence of all their party. Buzot, who never would submit to the decree of the 2nd of June, repaired to his department, that of the Eure, to excite a movement among the Normans. Gorsas followed him with a similar intention. Meilhan, who had not been arrested, but who had given an asylum to his colleagues on the nights between the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, Duchatel, called by the Mountaineers the spectre of the 21st of January, because he had risen from a sick bed to vote in favour of Louis XVI., quitted the Convention for the purpose of rousing Bretagne. Biroteau escaped from the gendarmes, and went with Chasset to direct the movements of the Lyonnese. Rebecqui, as the precursor of Barbaroux, who was still detained, repaired to the Bouches-du-Rhone. Rabaut St. Etienne hastened to Nimes, to persuade Languedoc to concur in the general movement against the oppressors of the Convention.

So early as the 13th of June the department of the Eure assembled, and gave the first signal of insurrection. The Convention, it alleged, being no longer free, it became the duty of all good citizens to restore it to liberty. It therefore resolved that a force of four thousand men should be raised for the purpose of marching to Paris, and that commissioners should be sent to all the neighbouring departments to exhort them to follow this example, and to concert their operations. The department of Calvados, sitting at Caen, caused the two deputies, Rome and Prieur, of the Côte-d'Or, sent by the Convention to accelerate the organization of the army of the coast near Cherbourg, to be arrested. It was agreed that the departments of Normandy should hold an extraordinary meeting at Caen, in order to form themselves into a federation. All the departments of Bretagne, such as those of the Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, Morbihan, Ile-et-Vilaine, Mayenne, and the Loire-Inférieure, passed similar resolutions, and despatched commissioners to Rennes, for the purpose of establishing there the central authority of Bretagne. The departments of the basin of the Loire, excepting those occupied by the Vendeans, followed the general example, and even pro-

posed to send commissioners to Bourges, in order to form there a Convention composed of two deputies of each department, with the intention of going to destroy the usurping or oppressed Convention sitting at Paris.

At Bordeaux the excitement was extreme. All the constituted authorities met in an assembly called the *Popular Commission of Public Welfare,* and declared that the Convention was no longer free, and that it ought to be set at liberty. They resolved, in consequence, that an armed force should be forthwith raised, and that, in the mean time, a petition should be addressed to the National Convention, praying it to furnish some explanation, and to acquaint them with the truth respecting the proceedings which took place in June. They then despatched commissioners to all the departments to invite them to a general coalition. Toulouse, an old parliamentary city, where many partisans of the late government were concealed behind the Girondins, had already instituted a departmental force of a thousand men. Its authorities declared, in the presence of the commissioners sent to the army of the Pyrenees, that they no longer recognised the Convention; they liberated many persons who had been imprisoned, confined many others accused of being Mountaineers, and openly declared that they were ready to form a federation with the departments of the South. The upper departments of the Tarn, Lot, and Garonne, Aveyron, Cantal, Puy-de-Dôme, and l'Herault, followed the example of Toulouse and Bordeaux. Nimes proclaimed itself in a state of resistance; Marseilles drew up an exciting petition, again set its popular tribunal to work, commenced proceedings against the *killers,* and prepared a force of six thousand men. At Grenoble the sections were convoked, and their presidents, in conjunction with the constituted authorities, took all the powers into their own hands, sent deputies to Lyons, and ordered Dubois-Crancé and Gauthier, commissioners of the Convention to the army of the Alps, to be arrested. The department of the Ain adopted the same course. That of the Jura, which had already raised a corps of cavalry and a departmental force of eight hundred men, protested, on its part, against the authority of the Convention. Lastly, at Lyons, where the sections reigned supreme ever since the battle of the 29th of May,* deputies were received and despatched for the purpose of concerting with Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen; proceedings were immediately instituted against Chalier, president of the

* "The city of Lyons was warmly attached to freedom, but it was that regulated freedom which provides for the protection of all, not that which subjects the better classes to the despotism of the lower. Its armed population soon amounted to thirty thousand men. A military chest was formed: a paper currency, guaranteed by the principal merchants, issued; cannon in great numbers cast at a foundry within the walls; and fortifications, under the directions of an able engineer, erected upon all the beautiful heights which encircle the city."—*Alison.* E.

Jacobin club, and against several other Mountaineers. Thus the departments of the North, and those composing the basin of the Seine, were all that remained under the authority of the Convention. The insurgent departments amounted to sixty or seventy, and Paris had, with fifteen or twenty, to resist all the others and to continue the war with Europe.

In Paris, opinions differed respecting the measures that ought to be adopted. The members of the committee of Public Welfare, Cambon, Barrère, Bréard, Treilhard, and Mathieu, accredited patriots, though they had disapproved of the 2nd of June, were for resorting to conciliatory measures. It was requisite, in their opinion, to prove the liberty of the Convention by energetic measures against the agitators, and, instead of exasperating the departments by severe decrees, to regain them by representing the danger of civil war in the presence of the foreign foe. Barrère proposed, in the name of the committee of public welfare, a *projet* of a decree conceived precisely in this spirit. According to this *projet*, the revolutionary committees, which had rendered themselves so formidable by their numerous arrests, were to be dissolved throughout France, or to be confined to the purpose of their institution, which was the *surveillance* of suspected foreigners. The primary assemblies were to meet in Paris to appoint another commandant of the armed force instead of Henriot, who had been nominated by the insurgents; lastly, thirty deputies were to be sent to the departments as hostages.

These measures seemed likely to calm and to satisfy the departments. The suppression of the revolutionary committee would put an end to the inquisition exercised against suspected persons; the election of a good commandant would ensure order in Paris; the thirty deputies would serve at once as hostages and instruments of reconciliation. The Mountain was not at all disposed to negotiate. Exercising with a high hand what is called the national authority, it rejected all conciliatory measures. Robespierre caused the consideration of the *projet* of the committee to be adjourned. Danton, again raising his voice in this perilous conjuncture, took a survey of the famous crises of the Revolution, the dangers of September at the moment of the invasion of Champagne and the capture of Verdun; the dangers of January, before the condemnation of the late King was decided upon; lastly, the much greater dangers of April, while Dumouriez was marching upon Paris, and La Vendée was rising. The Revolution had, he said, surmounted all these perils. It had come forth victorious from all these crises, and it would again come forth victorious from the last. "It is," exclaimed he, "at the moment of a grand convulsion, that political bodies, like physical bodies, appear always to be threatened with speedy destruction. What, then! The thunder rolls, and it is amidst the tempest that the grand work, which shall establish the prosperity of twenty-four millions of men, will be produced."

Danton proposed that one general decree should be launched against all the departments, and that they should be required to retract their proceedings within twenty-four hours after its reception, upon penalty of being outlawed. The powerful voice of Danton, which had never been raised in great dangers without infusing new courage, produced its wonted effect. The Convention, though it did not adopt exactly the measures which he proposed, passed, nevertheless, the most energetic decrees. In the first place, it declared that, as to the 31st of May and the 2nd of June, the people of Paris had, by their insurrection, deserved well of the country; that the deputies, who were at first to be put under arrest at their own homes, and some of whom had escaped, should be transferred to a prison, to be there detained like ordinary prisoners; that there should be a call of all the deputies, and that those absent without commission or authority, should forfeit their seats, and others be elected in their stead; that the departmental or municipal authorities could neither quit their places nor remove from one place to another; that they could not correspond together, and that all the commissioners sent from department to department, for the purpose of forming a coalition, were to be immediately seized by the good citizens and sent to Paris under escort. After these general measures, the Convention annulled the resolution of the department of the Eure; it put under accusation the members of the department of Calvados, who had arrested two of its commissioners; it did the same in regard to Buzot, the instigator of the revolt of the Normans; it despatched two deputies, Mathieu and Treilhard, to the departments of the Gironde, Dordogne, and Lot and Garonne, to require them to explain themselves before they rose in insurrection. It summoned before it the authorities of Toulouse, dissolved the tribunal of the central committee of Marseilles, passed a decree against Barbaroux, and placed the imprisoned patriots under the safeguard of the law. Lastly, it sent Robert Lindet to Lyons, with directions to make an inquiry into the occurrences there, and to report on the state of that city.

These decrees, successively issued in the course of June, much daunted the departments, unused to combat with the central authority. Intimidated and wavering, they resolved to await the example set them by those departments which were stronger or more deeply implicated in the quarrel than themselves.

The administrations of Normandy, excited by the presence of the deputies who had joined Buzot, such as Barbaroux, Guadet, Louvet, Salles, Petion, Bergoing, Lesage, Cussy, and Kervelegan, followed up their first proceedings, and fixed at Caen the seat of a central committee of the departments. The Eure, the Calvados, and the Orne, sent their commissioners to that city. The departments of Bretagne, which had at first confederated at Rennes, resolved to join the central assembly at Caen, and to send commissioners to it. Accordingly, on the 30th of June, the deputies

of Morbihan, Finistère, the Côtes-du-Nord, Mayenne, Ile-et-Vilaine, and the Loire-Inférieure, conjointly with those of Calvados, the Eure, and the Orne, constituted themselves the *central assembly of resistance to oppression*, promised to maintain the equality, the unity, and the indivisibility of the republic, but vowed hatred to anarchists, and engaged to employ their powers solely to ensure respect for person, property, and the sovereignty of the people. After thus constituting themselves, they determined that each department should furnish its contingent, for the purpose of composing an armed force that was to proceed to Paris to re-establish the national representation in its integrity. Felix Wimpfen,* general of the army that was to have been organized along the coast about Cherbourg, was appointed commander of the departmental army. Wimpfen accepted the appointment, and immediately assumed the title that had been conferred on him. Being summoned to Paris by the minister at war, he replied that there was but one way to make peace, and that was to revoke the decrees passed since the 31st of May; that on this condition the departments would fraternize with the capital, but that, in the contrary case, he could only go to Paris at the head of sixty thousand Normans and Bretons.

The minister, at the same time that he summoned Wimpfen to Paris, ordered the regiment of dragoons of La Manche, stationed in Normandy, to set out immediately for Versailles. On this intelligence, all the confederates already assembled at Evreux drew up in order of battle; the national guard joined them, and they cut off the dragoons from the road to Versailles. The latter, wishing to avoid hostilities, promised not to set out, and fraternized apparently with the confederates. Their officers wrote secretly to Paris that they could not obey without commencing a civil war; and they were then permitted to remain.

The assembly of Caen decided that the Breton battalions which had already arrived should march from Caen for Evreux, the general rendezvous of all the forces. To this point were despatched provisions, arms, ammunition, and money taken from the public coffers. Thither too were sent officers won over to the cause of federalism, and many secret royalists, who made themselves conspicuous in all the commotions, and assumed the mask of republicanism to oppose the revolution. Among the

* "Felix Wimpfen, born in 1745, of a family distinguished but poor, was the youngest of eighteen children, and quitted his father's house at the age of eleven. He served in the Seven Years' war, and distinguished himself on several occasions. He was a major-general in 1789, and embraced the revolutionary party. In 1793 he declared with warmth in favour of the Girondins, who were proscribed by the Mountain, and took the command of the departmental forces assembled by those proscribed deputies. A price was consequently set on his head, but he concealed himself during the Reign of Terror. In 1806 he was mayor of a little commune of which he was formerly lord."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

counter-revolutionists of this stamp was one named Puisaye,* who affected extraordinary zeal for the cause of the Girondins, and whom Wimpfen, a disguised royalist, appointed general of brigade, giving him the command of the advanced guard already assembled at Evreux. This advanced guard amounted to five or six thousand men, and was daily reinforced by new contingents. The brave Bretons hastened from all parts, and reported that other battalions were to follow them in still greater number. One circumstance prevented them from all coming in a mass, that was the necessity for guarding the coasts of the ocean against the English squadrons, and for sending battalions against La Vendée, which had already reached the Loire and seemed ready to cross that river. Though the Bretons residing in the country were devoted to the clergy, yet those of the towns were sincere republicans; and while preparing to oppose Paris they were not the less determined to wage obstinate war with La Vendée.

Such was the state of affairs in Bretagne and Normandy early in July. In the departments bordering on the Loire the first zeal had cooled. Commissioners of the Convention, who were on the spot for the purpose of directing the levies against La Vendée, had negotiated with the local authorities, and prevailed upon them to await the issue of events before they compromised themselves any further. There, for the moment, the intention of sending deputies to Bourges was relinquished, and a cautious reserve was kept up.

At Bordeaux the insurrection was permanent and energetic. Treilhard and Mathieu, the deputies, were closely watched from the moment of their arrival, and it was at first proposed to seize them as hostages. There was a reluctance, however, to proceed to this extremity, and they were summoned to appear before the popular commission, where they experienced a most unfavourable reception from the citizens, who considered them as *Maratist* emissaries. They were questioned concerning the occurrences in Paris, and, after hearing them, the commission declared that, according to their own deposition, the Convention was not free

* "Count J. de Puisaye was destined, as the youngest of four brothers, for the church; but at the age of eighteen preferred entering the army. In 1788 he married the only daughter of the Marquis de Menilles, a man of large property in Normandy. He was nominated deputy from the noblesse of Perche to the States-general; and in 1793 declared against the Convention, and became head of the federal army under Wimpfen. Proscribed by the Convention, he took refuge in Bretagne, made several excursions to England, attached himself to the interests of that power, and ruined his reputation by the expedition to Quiberon. It has been said that Puisaye only wanted military talents to be the first party chief the royalists ever had. In 1797, England granted him a great extent of land in Canada, whither he went, and formed an establishment equally brilliant and advantageous. After the peace of Amiens he returned to England and published papers in justification of his conduct."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

on the 2nd of June, neither had it been so since that time; that they were only the envoys of an assembly without legal character; and that consequently they must leave the department. They were accordingly conducted back to its boundary, and immediately afterwards similar measures taken at Caen were repeated at Bordeaux. Stores of provisions and arms were formed; the public funds were diverted, and an advanced guard was pushed forward to Langon, till the main body, which was to start in a few days, should be ready. Such were the occurrences at the end of June and the commencement of July.

Mathieu and Treilhard, the deputies, meeting with less resistance, and finding means to make themselves better understood in the departments of the Dordogne, Vienne, and Lot-et-Garonne, succeeded, by their conciliatory disposition, in soothing the public mind, in preventing hostile measures, and in gaining time, to the advantage of the Convention. But, in the more elevated departments, in the mountains of the Haute-Loire, on their backs, in the Herault and the Gard, and all along the banks of the Rhone, the insurrection was general. The Gard and the Herault marched off their battalions and sent them to Pont-St.-Esprit, to secure the passes of the Rhone, and to form a junction with the Marseillais who were to ascend that river. The Marseillais, in fact, refusing to obey the decrees of the Convention, maintained their tribunal, would not liberate the imprisoned patriots, and even caused some of them to be executed. They formed an army of six thousand men, which advanced from Aix upon Avignon, and which, joined by the forces of Languedoc at Pont-St.-Esprit, was to raise the borders of the Rhone, the Isère, and the Drome, in its march, and finally form a junction with the Lyonnese and with the mountaineers of the Ain and the Jura. At Grenoble, the federalised administrations were struggling with Dubois-Crancé, and even threatened to arrest him. Not yet daring to raise troops, they had sent deputies to fraternize with Lyons. Dubois-Crancé, with the disorganized army of the Alps, was in the heart of an all but revolted city, which told him every day that the South could do without the North. He had to retain Savoy, where the illusions excited by liberty and French domination were dispelled, where people were dissatisfied with the levies of men and with the assignats, and where they had no notion of the so much boasted revolution, so different from what it had at first been conceived to be. On his flank, Dubois-Crancé had Switzerland, where the emigrants were busy, and where Berne was preparing to send a new garrison to Geneva; and in his rear Lyons, which intercepted all correspondence with the committee of public welfare.

Robert Lindet had arrived at Lyons, but before his face the federalist oath had been taken: UNITY, INDIVISIBILITY, OF THE REPUBLIC; HATRED TO THE ANARCHISTS; AND THE REPRESENTATION WHOLE AND ENTIRE. Instead of sending

the arrested patriots to Paris, the authorities had continued the proceedings instituted against them. A new authority composed of deputies of the communes and members of the constituted bodies had been formed, with the title of *Popular and republican commission of public welfare of the Rhone and Loire.* This assembly had just decreed the organization of a departmental force for the purpose of coalescing with their brethren of the Jura, the Isére, the Bouches-du-Rhone, the Gironde, and the Calvados. This force was already completely organized; the levy of a subsidy had moreover been decided upon; and people were only waiting, as in all the other departments, for the signal to put themselves in motion. In the Jura, the two deputies, Bassal and Garnier of Troyes, had been sent to re-establish obedience to the Convention. On the news that fifteen hundred troops of the line had been collected at Dol, more than fourteen thousand mountaineers had flown to arms, and were preparing to surround them.

If we consider the state of France early in July, 1793, we shall see that a column, marching from Bretagne and Normandy, had advanced to Evreux, and was only a few leagues distant from Paris; that another was approaching from Bourdeaux, and was likely to carry along with it all the yet wavering departments of the basin of the Loire; that six thousand Marseillais, posted at Avignon, waiting for the force of Languedoc at the Pont-St.-Esprit, was about to form a junction at Lyons with all the confederates of Grenoble, of the Ain, and of the Jura, with the intention of dashing on, through Burgundy, to Paris. Meanwhile, until this general junction should be effected, the federalists were taking all the money from the public coffers, intercepting the provisions and ammunition sent to the armies, and throwing again into circulation the assignats withdrawn by the sale of the national domains.* A remarkable circumstance, and one which furnishes a striking proof of the spirit of the parties is, that the two factions preferred the selfsame charges against each other, and attributed to one another the selfsame object. The party of Paris and the Mountain alleged that the federalists designed to ruin the republic by dividing it, and to arrange matters with the English for the purpose of setting up a king, who was to be the Duke of Orleans, or Louis XVII., or the Duke of York. On the other hand, the party of the departments and the federalists accused the Mountain of an intention to effect a counter-revolution by means of anarchy, and asserted that Marat, Robespierre, and Danton were sold either to England or to Orleans. Thus it was the republic which both sides professed a solicitude to save, and the monarchy with which

* Cambon's Report of the proceedings of the committee of public welfare from the 10th of April to the 10th of July.

they considered themselves to be waging deadly warfare. Such is the deplorable and usual infatuation of parties!

But this was only one portion of the dangers which threatened our unhappy country. The enemy within was to be feared, only because the enemy without was more formidable than ever. While armies of Frenchmen were advancing from the provinces towards the centre, armies of foreigners were again surrounding France, and threatening an almost inevitable invasion. Ever since the battle of Neerwinden and the defection of Dumouriez, an alarming series of reverses had wrested from us our conquests and our northern frontier. It will be recollected that Dampierre, appointed commander-in-chief, had rallied the army under the walls of Bouchain, and had there imparted to it some degree of unity and courage. Fortunately for the revolution, the allies, adhering to the methodical plan laid down at the opening of the campaign, would not push forward on any one point, and determined not to penetrate into France, until the King of Prussia, after taking Mayence, should be enabled to advance, on his part, into the heart of our provinces. Had there been any genius or any union among the generals of the coalition, the cause of the revolution would have been undone. After Neerwinden and the defection of Dumouriez, they ought to have pushed on and given no rest to that beaten, divided, and betrayed army. In this case, whether they made it prisoner, or drove it back into the fortresses, our open country would have been at the mercy of the victorious enemy. But the allies held a congress at Antwerp to agree upon the ulterior operations of the war. The Duke of York, the Prince of Coburg, the Prince of Orange, and several generals, settled among them what course was to be pursued. It was resolved to reduce Condé and Valenciennes, in order to put Austria in possession of the new fortresses in the Netherlands, and to take Dunkirk, in order to secure to England that so much-coveted port on the continent. These points being arranged, the operations were resumed. The English and Dutch had come into line. The Duke of York commanded twenty thousand Austrians and Hanoverians; the Prince of Orange fifteen thousand Dutch; the Prince of Coburg forty-five thousand Austrians and eight thousand Hessians. The Prince of Hohenlohe, with thirty thousand Austrians, occupied Namur and Luxemburg, and connected the allied army in the Netherlands with the Prussian army engaged in the siege of Mayence. Thus the North was threatened by eighty or ninety thousand men.

The Allies had already formed the blockade of Condé, and the great ambition of the French government was to raise that blockade. Dampierre, brave, but not having confidence in his soldiers, durst not attack those formidable masses. Urged, however, by the commissioners of the Convention, he led back our army to

the camp of Famars, close to Valenciennes, and on the 1st of May attacked, in several columns, the Austrians, who were intrenched in the woods of Vicogne and St. Amant. Military operations were still timid. To form a mass, to attack the enemy's weak point, and to strike him boldly, were tactics to which both parties were strangers. Dampierre rushed, with intrepidity, but in small masses, upon an enemy who was himself divided, and whom it would have been easy to overwhelm on one point. Punished for his faults, he was repulsed, after an obstinate conflict. On the 9th of May, he renewed the attack; he was less divided than the first time, but the enemy, being forewarned, was less divided too; and while he was making heroic efforts to carry a redoubt, on the taking of which the junction of two of his columns depended, he was struck by a cannon-ball, and mortally wounded. General Lamarche, invested with the temporary command, ordered a retreat, and led back the army to the camp of Famars. This camp, situated beneath the walls of Valenciennes, and connected with that fortress, prevented the laying siege to it. The Allies, therefore, determined upon an attack on the 23rd of May. They scattered their troops, according to their usual practice, uselessly dispersed part of them over a multitude of points, all which Austrian prudence was desirous of keeping, and did not attack the camp with the whole force which they might have brought to bear. Checked for a whole day by the artillery, the glory of the French army, it was not till evening that they passed the Ronelle, which protected the front of the camp. Lamarche retreated in the night in good order, and posted himself at Cæsar's Camp, which is connected with the fortress of Bouchain, as that of Famars is with Valenciennes. Hither the enemy ought to have pursued and to have dispersed us; but egotism and adherence to method fixed the Allies around Valenciennes. Part of their army, formed into corps of observation, placed itself between Valenciennes and Bouchain, and faced Cæsar's Camp. Another division undertook the siege of Valenciennes, and the remainder continued the blockade of Condé, which ran short of provisions, and which the enemy hoped to reduce in a few days. The regular siege of Valenciennes was begun. One hundred and eighty pieces of cannon were coming from Vienna, and one hundred from Holland; and ninety-three mortars were already prepared. Thus, in June and July, Condé was starved, Valenciennes set on fire, and our generals occupied Cæsar's Camp with a beaten and disorganized army. If Condé and Valenciennes were reduced, the worst consequences might be apprehended.

The command of the army of the Moselle, after Beurnonville had been appointed minister at war, was transferred to Ligneville. This army was opposed to Prince Hohenlohe, and had nothing to fear from him, because, occupying at the same time Namur, Luxemburg, and Treves, with thirty thousand men at most, and

having before him the fortresses of Metz and Thionville, he could not attempt any thing dangerous. He had just been weakened still more by detaching seven or eight thousand men from his corps to join the Prussian army. It now became easier and more desirable than ever to unite the active army of the Moselle with that of the Upper Rhine, in order to attempt important operations.

On the Rhine, the preceding campaign had terminated at Mayence. Custine, after his ridiculous demonstration about Frankfort, had been forced to fall back, and shut himself up in Mayence, where he had collected a considerable artillery, brought from our fortresses, and especially from Strasburg. There he formed a thousand schemes; sometimes he resolved to take the offensive, sometimes to keep Mayence, sometimes even to abandon that fortress. At last he determined to retain it, and even contributed to persuade the executive council to adopt this determination. The King of Prussia then found himself obliged to lay siege to it, and it was the resistance that he met with at this point which prevented the Allies from advancing in the North.

The King of Prussia passed the Rhine at Bacharach, a little below Mayence; Wurmser, with fifteen thousand Austrians, and some thousands under Condé, crossed it a little above: the Hessian corps of Schönfeld remained on the right bank before the suburb of Cassel. The Prussian army was not yet so strong as it ought to have been, according to the engagements contracted by Frederick-William. Having sent a considerable corps into Poland, he had but fifty-thousand men left, including the different Hessian, Saxon, and Bavarian contingents. Thus, including the seven or eight thousand Austrians detached by Hohenlohe, the fifteen thousand Austrians under Wurmser, the five or six thousand emigrants under Condé, and the fifty-five thousand under the King of Prussia, the army which threatened the eastern frontier might be computed at about eighty thousand fighting men. Our fortresses on the Rhine contained about thirty-eight thousand men in garrison; the active army amounted to forty or forty-five thousand men; that of the Moselle to thirty: and if the two latter had been united under a single commander, and with a point of support like that of Mayence, they might have gone to seek the King of Prussia himself, and found employment for him on the other side of the Rhine.

The two generals of the Moselle and the Rhine ought at least to have had an understanding with one another, and they might have had it in their power to dispute, nay, perhaps to prevent the passage of the river: but they did nothing of the sort. In the course of the month of March, the King of Prussia crossed the Rhine with impunity, and met with nothing in his course but advanced guards, which he repulsed without difficulty. Custine was meanwhile at Worms. He had been at no pains to defend either the banks of the Rhine or the banks of the Vosges,

which form the environs of Mayence, and might have stopped the march of the Prussians. He hastened up, but, panic-struck at the repulses experienced by his advanced guards, he fancied that he had to cope with one hundred and fifty thousand men; he imagined, above all, that Wurmser, who was to debouch by the Palatinate, and above Mayence, was in his rear, and about to cut him off from Alsace; he applied for succour to Ligneville, who, trembling for himself, durst not detach a regiment; he then betook himself to flight, never stopping till he reached Landau, and then Weissenburg, and he even thought of seeking protection under the cannon of Strasburg. This inconceivable retreat opened all the passes to the Prussians, who assembled before Mayence, and invested it on both banks.

Twenty thousand men were shut up in that fortress, and if this was a great number for the defence it was far too great for the state of the provisions, which were not adequate to the supply of so large a garrison. The uncertainty of our military plans had prevented any precautionary measures for provisioning the place. Fortunately, it contained two representatives of the people, Reubel, and the heroic Merlin of Thionville, the generals Kleber* and Aubert-Duboyet, Meunier, the engineer, and lastly, a garrison possessing all the military virtues, bravery, sobriety, perseverance. The investment commenced in April, General Kalkreuth formed the siege with a Prussian corps. The King of Prussia and Wurmser were in observation at the foot of the Vosges, and faced Custine. The garrison made frequent sallies, and extended its defence to a great distance. The French government, sensible of the blunder which it had committed by separating the two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine, united them under Custine. That general, at the head of sixty or seventy thousand men, having the Prussians and Austrians scattered

* "Jean Baptiste Kleber, a French general, distinguished not less for his humanity and integrity, than for his courage, activity and coolness, was one of the ablest soldiers whom the Revolution produced. His father was a common labourer, and he himself was occupied as an architect when the troubles in France broke out. He was born at Strasburg in 1754, and had received some military education in the academy at Munich. Having entered a French volunteer corps as a grenadier in 1792, his talents soon procured him notice, and after the capture of Mayence, he was made general of brigade. Although he openly expressed his horror of the atrocious policy of the revolutionary government, yet his services were too valuable to be lost, and he distinguished himself as a general of division in 1795 and 1796. In 1797, dissatisfied with the Directory, Kleber retired from the service, but Bonaparte prevailed on him to join the expedition to Egypt, and left him the supreme command, when, he himself returned to France. Though his position was a difficult one, yet he maintained it successfully, and was making preparations for securing the possession of the country, when he was assassinated by a Turkish fanatic in the year 1800."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Of all the generals I ever had under me, said Bonaparte, Desaix and Kleber possessed the greatest talents; but Kleber only loved glory inasmuch as it was the means of procuring him riches and pleasures. He was an irreparable loss to France."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

before them, and beyond them Mayence, defended by twenty thousand Frenchmen, never conceived the idea of dashing upon the corps of observation, dispersing it, and then joining the brave garrison which was extending its hand to him. About the middle of May, aware that he had committed an error in remaining inactive, he made an attempt, ill combined, ill seconded, which degenerated into a complete rout. He complained, as usual, of the subordinate officers, and was removed to the army of the North to carry organization and courage to the troops intrenched in Cæsar's Camp. Thus the coalition, which was besieging Valenciennes and Mayence, would, after the reduction of those two fortresses, have nothing to hinder it from advancing upon our centre, and effecting an invasion.

From the Rhine to the Alps and the Pyrenees, a chain of insurrections threatened the rear of our armies and interrupted their communications. The Vosges, the Jura, Auvergne, La Lozère, formed between the Rhine and the Pyrenees an almost continuous mass of mountains of different extent and various elevations. Mountainous countries are peculiarly favourable for the preservation of institutions, habits, and manners. In almost all those which we have mentioned, the population retained a relic of attachment to the old order of things, and, without being so fanatic as that of La Vendée, it was nevertheless strongly disposed to insurrection. The Vosges, half German, were excited by the nobles and by the priests, and as the army of the Rhine betrayed indecision, the more threatening was the aspect it assumed. The whole of the Jura had been roused to insurrection by the Gironde. If, in its rebellion, it displayed more of the spirit of liberty, it was not the less dangerous, for between fifteen and twenty thousand mountaineers were in motion around Lons-le-Saulnier, and in communication with the revolt of the Ain and the Rhone. We have already seen what was the state of Lyons. The mountains of the Lozère, which separate the Upper Loire from the Rhone, were full of insurgents of the same stamp as the Vendeans. They had for their leader an ex-constituent, named Charrier; they amounted already to about thirty thousand men, and had it in their power to join La Vendée by means of the Loire. Next came the federalist insurgents of the South. Thus one vast revolt, differing in object and in principle, but equally formidable, threatened the rear of the armies of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees.

Along the Alps, the Piedmontese were in arms, for the purpose of recovering Savoy and the county of Nice. The snow prevented the commencement of hostilities along the St. Bernard, and each kept his posts in the three valleys of Sallenche, the Tarentaise, and the Maurienne. At the Maritime Alps, and with the army called the army of Italy, the case was different. There hostilities had been resumed early, and the possession of the very important post of Saorgio, on which depended

the quiet occupation of Nice, had begun to be disputed in the month of May. In fact the French, could they but gain that post, would be masters of the Col de Tende, and have in their hands the key of the great chain. The Piedmontese had therefore displayed great energy in defending, and the French in attacking it. The Piedmontese had, both in Savoy and towards Nice, forty thousand men, reinforced by eight thousand Austians. Their troops, divided into several corps of equal force from the Col de Tende to the Great St. Bernard, had followed, like all those of the allies, the system of cordons, and guarded all the valleys. The French army of Italy was in the most deplorable state. Consisting of fifteen thousand men at the utmost, destitute of every thing, badly officered, it was not possible to obtain great efforts from it. General Biron, who had been sent for a moment to command it, had reinforced it with five thousand men, but had not been able to supply it with all that it wanted. Had one of those grand ideas which would have ruined us in the North been conceived in the South, our ruin in that quarter also would have been certain. The Piedmontese could, by favour of the frost, which rendered inaction on the side towards the high Alps compulsory, have transferred all their forces to the Southern Alps, and, debouching upon Nice with a mass of thirty thousand men, have overwhelmed our army of Italy, driven it back upon the insurgent departments, entirely dispersed it, promoted the rising on both banks of the Rhone, advanced perhaps as far as Grenoble and Lyons, taken our army penned in the valleys of Savoy in the rear, and thus overrun a considerable portion of France. But there was no more an Amadeus among them, than a Eugene among the Austrians, or a Marlborough among the English. They confined themselves therefore to the defence of Saorgio.

On our side, Brunet had succeeded Anselme, and had made the same attempts upon the post of Saorgio as Dampierre had done about Condé. After several fruitless and sanguinary engagements a last battle was fought on the 12th of June, and terminated in a complete rout. Even then, if the enemy had derived some boldness from success, he might have dispersed us, and compelled us to evacuate Nice, and to recross the Var. Kellermann had hastened from his head-quarters in the Alps, rallied the army at the camp of Donjon, established defensive positions, and enjoined absolute inaction until reinforcements should arrive. One circumstance rendered the situation of this army still more dangerous, that was the appearance in the Mediterranean of the English Admiral Hood,* who had come from

* "Samuel, Lord Viscount Hood, in the year 1793, commanded against the French in the Mediterranean, when he signalized himself by the taking of Toulon, and afterwards Corsica, in reward of which achievements he was made a viscount and governor of Greenwich Hospital. He died at Bath in 1816, and was born in the year 1724."—*Encyclopædia Americana.*

Gibraltar with thirty seven sail, and of Admiral Langara, who had brought an almost equal force from the ports of Spain. Troops might be landed, occcupy the line of the Var, and take the French in the rear. The presence of these squadrons moreover prevented the arrival of supplies by sea, favoured the revolt in the South and encouraged Corsica to throw herself into the arms of the English. Our fleet was repairing in Toulon the damage which it had sustained in the most unfortunate expedition against Sardinia, and durst scarcely protect the coasters which brought corn from Italy. The Mediterranean was no longer ours, and the trade of the Levant passed from Marseilles to the Greeks and the English. Thus the army of Italy had in front the Piedmontese, victorious in several actions, and in its rear the revolt of the South and two hostile squadrons.

At the Pyrenees, the war with Spain, declared on the 7th of March, in consequence of the death of Louis XVI., had scarcely begun. The preparations had been long on both sides, because Spain, slow, indolent, and wretchedly administered, was incapable of promptitude, and because France had upon her hands other enemies who engaged all her attention. Servan, who commanded at the Pyrenees, had spent several months in organizing his army, and in accusing Pache with as much acrimony as ever Dumouriez had done. The aspect of things was not changed under Bouchotte, and, when the campaign opened, the general was still complaining of the minister, who, he said, left him in want of every thing. The two countries communicate with one another by two points, Perpignan and Bayonne. To push an invading corps vigorously forward upon Bayonne and Bordeaux and thus proceed to La Vendée was still too bold an attempt for those times; besides, our means of resistance were supposed to be greater in that quarter; it would have been necessary to cross the Landes, the Garonne, and the Dordogne, and such difficulties would have been sufficient to cause this plan to be relinquished, if it had ever been entertained. The court of Madrid preferred an attack by Perpignan, because it had in that quarter a more solid base in fortresses, because it reckoned, according to the report of emigrants, upon the royalists of the South, and lastly because it had not forgotten its ancient claims to Roussillon. Four or five thousand men were left to guard Aragon; fifteen or eighteen thousand, half regular troops and half militia, were to act under General Caro in the Western Pyrenees; while General Ricardos, with twenty-four thousand, was to make a serious attack on Roussillon.

Two principal valleys, the Tech and the Tet, run off from the chain of the Pyrenees, and terminating towards Perpignan, form our first two defensive lines. Perpignan is situated on the second, that of the Tet. Ricardos, apprized of the feebleness of our means, conceived at his outset a bold idea. Masking the

forts of Bellegarde and Les Bains, he daringly advanced with the intention of cutting off all our detachments scattered in the valleys, by turning them. This attempt proved successful. He debouched on the 15th of April, beat the detachments sent under General Willot to stop him, and struck a panic terror into the whole of the frontier. Had he pushed on with ten thousand men, he might have been master of Perpignan, but he was not daring enough; besides, all his preparations were not made, and he left the French time to recover themselves.

The command, which appeared to be too extensive, was divided. Servan had the Western Pyrenees, and General de Flers, who had been employed in the expedition against Holland, was appointed to command in the Eastern Pyrenees. He rallied the army in advance of Perpignan in a position called the *Mas d'Eu*. On the 19th of May, Ricardos, having collected eighteen thousand men, attacked the French camp. The action was bloody. The brave General Dagobert, retaining in advanced age all the fire of youth, and combining great intelligence with intrepidity, maintained his position on the field of battle. De Flers arrived with a reserve of eighteen hundred men, and the ground was preserved. The day declined, and a favourable termination of the combat was anticipated; but about nightfall our soldiers, exhausted by long resistance, suddenly gave up the ground and fled in confusion beneath the walls of Perpignan. The affrighted garrison closed the gates, and fired upon our troops, mistaking them for Spaniards. Here was another opportunity for making a bold dash upon Perpignan and gaining possession of that place, which would not have resisted; but Ricardos, who had merely masked Bellegarde and Les Bains, did not deem it prudent to venture farther, and returned to besiege those two little fortresses. He reduced them towards the end of June, and again came in presence of our troops, which had rallied nearly in the same positions as before. Thus in July the loss of a battle might have entailed the loss of Roussillon.

Calamities thicken as we approach another theatre of war, more sanguinary, and more terrible than any that we have yet visited. La Vendée, all fire and blood, was about to vomit forth a formidable column to the other side of the Loire. We left the Vendeans inflamed by unhoped-for successes, masters of the town of Thouars, which they had taken from Quetinault, and beginning to meditate more important enterprises. Instead of marching upon Doué and Saumur, they had turned off to the south of the theatre of war, and endeavoured to clear the country towards Fontenai and Niort. Messrs. de Lescure and de La Roche Jacquelein, who were appointed to this expedition, had made an attack upon Fontenai, on the 16th of May. Repulsed at first by General Sandos, they fell back to some distance; but presently, profiting by the blind confidence derived by the republican general from a first success, they again made their

appearance, to the number of fifteen or twenty thousand, took Fontenai, in spite of the extraordinary efforts made on that day by young Marceau, and forced Chalbos and Sandos to retreat to Niort in the greatest disorder. There they found arms and ammunition in great quantity, and enriched themselves with new resources, which, added to those that had fallen into their hands at Thouars, enabled them to prosecute the war with still greater success. Lescure addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, and threatened them with the severest punishments if they furnished assistance to the republicans. After this, the Vendeans separated, according to their custom, in order to return home to the labours of the harvest, and a rendezvous was fixed for the 1st of June in the environs of Doué.

In the Lower Vendée, where Charette commanded alone, without as yet combining his operations with those of the other chiefs, the success had been balanced. Canclaux, commanding at Nantes, had maintained his ground at Machecoul, though with difficulty; General Boulard, who commanded at Sables, had been enabled, by the excellent dispositions and the discipline of his troops, to occupy Lower Vendée for two months, and he had even kept up very advanced posts as far as the environs of Palluau. On the 17th of May, however, he was obliged to retreat to La Motte-Achart, very near Sables, and he found himself in the greatest embarrassment, because his two best battalions, all composed of citizens of Bordeaux, wanted to return home, either to attend to their own affairs, or from discontent with the 31st of May.

The labours of agriculture had occasioned a degree of quiet in Lower as in Upper Vendée, and, for a few days, the war was somewhat less active, its operations being deferred till the commencement of June.

General Berruyer, whose orders extended originally over the whole theatre of the war, had been superseded, and his command divided among several generals. Saumur, Niort, the Sables, composed what was called the army of the coast of La Rochelle, which was intrusted to Biron; Angers, Nantes, and the Loire-Inférieure, composed that called the army of the coast of Brest, to which Canclaux, commandant of Nantes, was appointed; lastly, the coast of Cherbourg had been given to Wimpfen, who, as we have seen, had become general of the insurgents of the Calvados.

Biron, removed from the frontier of the Rhine to that of Italy, and from the latter to La Vendée, proceeded with great repugnance to that theatre of devastation. His dislike to participate in the horrors of civil war was destined to prove his ruin. He arrived, on the 27th of May, at Niort, and found the army in the utmost disorder. It was composed of levies *en masse*, raised by force or by persuasion in the neighbouring provinces, and confusedly thrown into La Vendée, without training, without discipline, without supplies. These levies, consisting of peasants

and industrious tradesmen of the towns, who had quitted their occupations with regret, were ready to disperse on the first accident. It would have been much better to have sent most of them away; for they committed blunders both in the country and in the towns, encumbered the insurgent districts to no purpose, famished them by their number, spread disorder and panic terrors among them, and frequently hurried along in their flight organized battalions, which would have made a much more effective resistance if they had been left to themselves. All these bands arrived with their leader, appointed in the place to which they belonged, who called himself general, talked of his army, refused to obey, and thwarted all the dispositions of the superior officers. Towards Orleans battalions were formed known in this war by the name of *battalions of Orleans*. They were composed of clerks, shopmen, and footmen, in short, of all the young men collected in the sections of Paris, and sent off in the train of Santerre. They were blended with the troops which had been taken from the army of the North, by drafting fifty men from each battalion. But it was necessary to associate these heterogeneous elements, and to find arms and clothing. They were destitute of every thing; the very pay could not be furnished, and, as it was unequal between the troops of the line and the volunteers, it occasioned frequent mutinies.

The Convention had despatched commissioners after commissioners for the purpose of organizing this multitude. Some had been sent to Tours, others to Saumur, Niort, La Rochelle, and Nantes. They thwarted one another, and they thwarted the generals. The executive council had also its agents, and Bouchotte, the minister, had inundated the country with his creatures, all selected from among the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. These crossed the representatives, conceived that they proved their zeal by loading the country with requisitions, and accused the generals who would have checked the insubordination of the troops, or prevented useless oppressions, of despotism and treason. From this conflict of authorities a crude mass of accusations, and a confusion of command resulted, that were truly frightful. Biron could not enforce obedience, and he durst not make his army march, for fear that it should disband itself on the first movement, or plunder all before it. Such is a correct picture of the forces which the republic had at this period in La Vendée.

Biron repaired to Tours, and arranged an eventual plan with the representatives, which consisted, as soon as this confused multitude could be somewhat reorganized, in directing four columns, of ten thousand men each, from the circumference to the centre. The four starting-points were the bridges of Cé, Saumur, Chinon, and Niort. Meanwhile, he went to inspect Lower Vendée, where he supposed the danger to be greater than in any other quarter. Biron justly feared that communications might be established between the Vendeans and the English.

Arms and troops landed in the Marais might aggravate the evil, and render the war interminable. A squadron of ten sail had been perceived, and it was known that the Breton emigrants had been ordered to repair to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. Thus every thing justified the apprehensions of Biron and his visit to Lower Vendée.

Meanwhile, the Vendeans had reassembled on the 1st of June. They had introduced some regularity among themselves; a council had been appointed to govern the country occupied by their armies. An adventurer, who gave himself out to be bishop of Agra* and envoy from the Pope, was president of this council, and, by blessing the colours and performing solemn masses, excited the enthusiasm of the Vendeans, and thus rendered his imposture very serviceable to them. They had not yet chosen a generalissimo; but each chief commanded the peasants of his district, and it was agreed that they should act in concert in all their operations. They had issued a proclamation in the name of Louis XVII., and of the Count de Provence, regent of the kingdom during the minority of the young prince, and called themselves *commanders of the royal and catholic armies*. Their intention was to occupy the line of the Loire, and to advance upon Doué and Saumur. The enterprise, though bold, was easy in the existing state of things. They entered Doué on the 7th, and arrived on the 9th before Saumur. As soon as their march was known, General Salomon, who was at Thouars with three thousand men, was ordered to march upon their rear.

* "While the army was at Thouars, the soldiers found in a house a man in the uniform of a volunteer. He told them he was a priest, who had been forced to enrol in a republican battalion at Poitiers, and requested to speak to M. de Villeneuve du Cazeau, who had been his college companion. That person recognised him as the Abbé Guyot de Folleville. Soon after he said that he was bishop of Agra, and that the nonjuring bishops had consecrated him in secret at St. Germain. M. de Villeneuve communicated all this to the Benedictine, M. Pierre Jagault, whose knowledge and judgment were much esteemed. Both proposed to the Bishop of Agra that he should join the army; but he hesitated much, alleging his bad health. At last they prevailed, and then introduced him to the general officers. No one conceived a doubt of what he told. He said that the Pope had appointed four apostolic vicars for France; and that the dioceses of the West had been committed to his charge. He had a fine figure, with an air of gentleness and humility, and good manners. The generals saw with great pleasure an ecclesiastic of such high rank and appearance supporting their cause, and an influence likely to prove very powerful. It was agreed that he should go to Châtillon, and be received there as bishop. Thus first appeared in La Vendée the Bishop of Agra, who played so important a part, and became so celebrated in the history of the war. It appeared in the sequel that all this singular personage had said of himself was false! He deceived the whole army and country without any apparent motive. An absurd vanity seems to have been the only one. The bishop arrived as such among us the very day of the overthrow of Châtillon. On his arrival the bells were rung; crowds followed him, on whom he bestowed benedictions; he officiated pontifically, and the peasants were intoxicated with joy. The happiness of having a bishop among them made them forget their reverses, and restored all their ardour."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelin.* E.

Salomon obeyed, but found them in too great force. He could not attack them without certain destruction to himself; he therefore returned to Thouars, and thence to Niort. The troops of Saumur had taken a position in the environs of the town, on the road to Fontevrault, in the intrenchments of Nantilly and on the heights of Bournan. The Vendeans approached, attacked Berthier's column, were repulsed by a well-directed artillery, but returned in force, and obliged Berthier,* who was wounded, to fall back. The foot gendarmes, two battalions of Orleans, and the cuirassiers, still resisted, but the latter lost their colonel. The defeat then began, and all were taken back to the town, which the Vendeans entered at their heels. General Coustard, who com-

* "Alexander Berthier, Prince of Neufchatel and Wagram, marshal, vice-constable of France, was born in Paris in 1753. He was the son of a distinguished officer, and was, while yet young, employed in the general staff, and fought with Lafayette for the liberty of the United States. In 1791 he was appointed chief of the general staff in Luckner's army, marched against La Vendée in 1793, and joined the army of Italy in 1796. In the year 1798 he received the chief command of the army of Italy, and afterwards, being much attached to Bonaparte, followed him to Egypt, who, on his return to Paris, appointed him minister of war. Having, in 1806, accompanied the Emperor in his campaign against Prussia, he signed the armistice of Tilsit in 1807. Being appointed vice-constable of France, he married, in 1808, the daughter of Duke William of Bavaria-Birkenfeld; and, having distinguished himself at Wagram in 1809, he received the title of Prince of Wagram. In the following year, as proxy for Napoleon, he received the hand of Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, and accompanied her to France. In 1812 he accompanied the French army to Russia. After Bonaparte's abdication he obtained the confidence of Louis XVIII., whom, on the Emperor's return, he accompanied to the Netherlands, whence he repaired to his family at Bamberg. On his arrival at this place he was observed to be sunk in profound melancholy, and when the music of the Russian troops, on their march to the French borders, was heard at the gates of the city, he put an end to his life by throwing himself from a window of the third story of his palace."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

"Berthier was small and ill-shaped, without being actually deformed; his head was too large for his body; his hair, neither light nor dark, was rather frizzed than curled; his forehead, eyes, nose, and chin, each in the proper place, were, however, by no means handsome in the aggregate. His hands, naturally ugly, became frightful by a habit of biting his nails; add to this, that he stammered much in speaking; and that if he did not make grimaces, the agitation of his features was so rapid as to occasion some amusement to those who did not take a direct interest in his dignity. I must add, that he was an excellent man, with a thousand good qualities, neutralized by weakness. Berthier was good in every acceptation of the word."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

"Berthier was a man full of honour, courage, and probity, and exceedingly regular in the performance of his duties. Napoleon's attachment to him arose more from habit than liking. Berthier did not concede with affability, and refused with harshness. His manner was abrupt, egotistic, and unpleasing. He was an excellent head of the staff of an army, but that is all the praise that can be given him, and indeed he wished for no greater. He had such entire confidence in the Emperor, and looked up to him with so much admiration, that he never could have presumed to oppose his plans or offer him any advice. Berthier's talent was limited, and of a peculiar nature. His character was one of extreme weakness."—*Bourrienne.* E.

manded the battalions posted on the heights of Bournan, still remained outside. Finding himself separated from the republican troops, which had been drawn back into Saumur, he formed the bold resolution of returning thither, and taking the Vendeans in the rear. He had to pass a bridge where the victorious Vendeans had just placed a battery. The brave Coustard ordered a corps of cuirassiers under his command to charge the battery. "Whither are you sending us?" asked they. "To death!" replied Coustard; "the welfare of the republic requires it." The cuirassiers dashed away, but the Orleans battalions dispersed, and deserted the general and the cuirassiers, who charged the battery. The cowardice of the one frustrated the heroism of the others; and General Coustard, unable to get back into Saumur, retired to Angers.

Saumur was taken on the 9th of June, and the next day the citadel surrendered.* The Vendeans, being masters of the course of the Loire, had it now in their power to march either upon Nantes or upon La Flêche, Le Mans, and Paris. Terror preceded, and every thing must have given way before them. Biron was, meanwhile, in Lower Vendée, where, by directing his attention to the coasts, he conceived that he was warding off more real and more serious dangers.

Perils of every kind threatened us at once. The allies, besieging Valenciennes, Condé, and Mayence, were on the point of taking those fortresses, the bulwarks of our frontiers. The Vosges in

* "Three assaults on Saumur by the Vendeans began nearly at the same time on the morning of the 9th of June. The redoubts were turned, and the bridge passed, when suddenly a ball having wounded M. de Lescure in the arm, the peasants who saw him covered with blood, began to slacken their pace. Lescure binding up the wound with a handkerchief, endeavoured to lead on his men again; but a charge of republican cuirassiers frightened them. M. de Dommaigné endeavoured to make a stand at the head of the Vendean cavalry, but he was struck down by a discharge of case-shot, and his troop overthrown. The route became general; but a singular chance redeemed the fortune of the day. Two waggons overturned on the bridge Fouchard, stopped the cuirassiers, and enabled Lescure to rally the soldiers. The brave Loizeau placing himself at the head of some foot-soldiers, fired through the wheels of the waggons at the faces of the cuirassiers and their horses; while M. de Marigny directed some flying artillery upon them, which turned the scale in favour of the Vendeans. M. de Larochejaquelein attacked the republican camp and turned it; the ditch was crossed, a wall beyond it thrown down, and the post carried. Larochejaquelein throwing his hat into the intrenchment, called out, 'Who will go and fetch it?' and darting forward himself, was followed by a great number of peasants. Soon afterwards the Vendeans entered the town, and saw the whole army of the Blues flying in disorder across the great bridge of the Loire. Night coming on, the republicans evacuated the place. The capture of Saumur gave to the Vendeans an important post, the passage of the Loire, eighty pieces of cannon, muskets innumerable, and a great quantity of powder and saltpetre. In the course of five days they had taken eleven thousand prisoners; these they shaved, and then sent most of them away. Our loss in this last affair was sixty men killed, and four hundred wounded."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

commotion, the Jura in revolt, the easiest access to invasion was opened on the side next to the Rhine. The army of Italy, repulsed by the Piedmontese, had in its rear the rebellion of the South and the English fleet. The Spaniards, in presence of the French camp under Perpignan, threatened to carry it by an attack, and to make themselves masters of Roussillon. The insurgents of La Lozère were ready to unite with the Vendeans along the Loire, and this was the design of the leader who had excited that revolt. The Vendeans, masters of Saumur and of the course of the Loire, had only to act, for they possessed all the means of executing the boldest attempts upon the interior. Lastly, the federalists, marching from Caen, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, were preparing to excite France to insurrection in their progress.

Our situation in the month of July, 1793, was the more desperate, inasmuch as a mortal blow might have been struck at France on every point. In the North, the allies had but to neglect the fortresses and to march upon Paris, and they would have driven the Convention upon the Loire, where it would have been received by the Vendeans. The Austrians and the Piedmontese could have executed an invasion by the maritime Alps, annihilated our army, and overrun the whole of the South as conquerors. The Spaniards were in a position to advance by Bayonne and to join La Vendée, or if they preferred Roussillon, to march boldly towards La Lozère, not far distant from the frontiers, and to set the South in flames. Lastly, the English, instead of cruising in the Mediterranean, possessed the means of landing troops in La Vendée, and conducting them from Saumur to Paris.

But the external and internal enemies of the Convention had not that which ensures victory in a war of revolution. The allies acted without union, and, under the disguise of a holy war, concealed the most selfish views. The Austrians wanted Valenciennes; the King of Prussia, Mayence; the English, Dunkirk;* the Piedmontese aspired to recover Chambery and Nice; the Spaniards, the least interested of all, had nevertheless some

* "If the conduct of the allies had been purposely intended to develope the formidable military strength which had grown upon the French republic, they could not have adopted measures better calculated to effect their object than were actually pursued. Four months of success, which might have been rendered decisive, had been wasted in blameable inactivity. After having broken the frontier line of French fortresses, the allies thought fit to separate their forces, and, instead of pushing on to the centre of the republican power, to pursue independent plans of aggrandizement. The English, with their allies, moved towards Dunkirk, so long the object of their maritime jealousy, while the remainder of the army of the Imperialists was broken up into detachments to preserve the communications. From this ruinous division may be dated all the subsequent disasters of the campaign. Had they held together, and pushed on vigorously against the masses of the enemy's forces, there cannot be a doubt that the object of the war would have been gained. It was a resolution of the English cabinet which occasioned this fatal division. The impartial historian must confess with a sigh that it was British interests

thoughts of Roussillon; lastly, the English were more solicitous to cover the Mediterranean with their fleets and to gain some port there, than to afford useful succour to La Vendée. Besides this universal selfishness, which prevented the allies from extending their views beyond their immediate profit, they were all methodical and timid in war, and defended with the old military routine the old political routine for which they had armed themselves.

As for the Vendeans, rising untrained against the genius of the Revolution, they fought like brave but ignorant marksmen. The federalists, spread over the whole surface of France, having to communicate from great distances for the purpose of concerting operations, rising but timidly against the central authority, and being animated by only moderate passions, could not act without tardiness and uncertainty. They moreover secretly reproached themselves with compromising their country by a culpable diversion. They began to feel that it was criminal to discuss whether they ought to be revolutionists such as Petion and Vergniaud, or such as Danton and Robespierre, at a moment when all Europe was in arms against France; and they perceived that under such circumstances there was but one course to pursue, and that was the most energetic. Indeed all the factions, already rearing their heads around them, apprized them of their fault. It was not only the constituents, it was the agents of the old court, the retainers of the old clergy—in short all the partisans of absolute power, who were rising at once; and it became evident to them that all opposition to the Revolution would turn to the advantage of the enemies to all liberty and to all nationality.

Such were the causes which rendered the allies so awkward and so timid, the Vendeans so shallow, the federalists so wavering, and which were destined to ensure the triumph of the Convention over internal revolt and over Europe. The Mountaineers, animated alone by a strong passion, by a single idea, the welfare of the Revolution, under the influence of that exaltation of mind in which men discover the newest and the boldest means, in which they never think them either too hazardous or too costly, if they are but salutary, could not fail to disconcert, by an unexpected and sublime defence,* slow-motioned enemies, wedded to the old routine, and held together by no general bond of union, and to stifle factions which wanted the ancient system of all degrees, the revolution of all degrees, and which had neither concord nor determinate object.

which here interfered with the great objects of the war; and that, by compelling the English contingent to separate for the siege of Dunkirk, England contributed to postpone for twenty years its glorious termination."—*Alison.* E.

* "For all the advantages they gained, the Convention were indebted to the energy of their measures, the ability of their councils, and the enthusiasm of their subjects. If history has nothing to show comparable to the

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MEANS EMPLOYED BY THE CONVENTION AGAINST THE FEDERALISTS — CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR III. — CHECK OF VERNON—DELIVERANCE OF NANTES—SUBMISSION OF THE DEPARTMENTS—DEATH OF MARAT.

THE Convention, amidst the extraordinary circumstances in which it found itself placed, was not for an instant shaken. While fortresses or intrenched camps detained the enemy for the moment on the different frontiers, the committee of public welfare laboured night and day to reorganize the armies, to complete them by means of the levy of three hundred thousand men decreed in March, to transmit instructions to the generals, and to despatch money and stores. It remonstrated with all the local administrations which purposed to withhold, for the benefit of the federalist cause, the supplies destined for the armies, and prevailed upon them to desist out of consideration for the public welfare.

While these means were employed in regard to the external enemy, the Convention resorted to others not less efficacious in regard to the enemy at home. The best resource against an adversary who doubts his rights and his strength, is not to doubt yours. Such was the course pursued by the Convention. We have already seen the energetic decrees which it passed on the first movement of revolt. Though many towns would not yield, yet it never had for a moment the idea of treating with those which assumed the decided character of rebellion. The Lyonnese having refused to obey and to send the imprisoned patriots to Paris, it ordered its commissioners with the army of the Alps to employ force, unconcerned about either the difficulties or the dangers incurred by those commissioners at Grenoble, where they had the Piedmontese in front and all the insurgents of the Isère and the Rhone in their rear. It enjoined them to compel Marseilles to return to its duty. It allowed all the local authorities only three days to retract their equivocal resolutions (*arrêtés*) and lastly it sent to Vernon some gendarmes and several thousand citizens of Paris, in order to quell forthwith the insurgents of the Calvados, the nearest to the capital.

crimes which they committed, it has few similar instances of undaunted resolution to commemorate. Impartial justice requires that this praise should be bestowed on the committee of public safety; if the cruelty of their internal administration exceeded the worst despotism of the emperors, the *dignity* of their external conduct rivalled the noblest instances of Roman heroism."—*Alison.* E.

The important affair of all, the framing of a constitution had not been neglected, and a week had been sufficient for the completion of that work, which was rather a rallying-point than a real plan of legislation. It was the composition of Hérault de Séchelles.* Every Frenchman, having attained the age of twenty-one, was to be a citizen and to exercise his political rights, without any condition as to fortune or property. The assembled citizens were to elect one deputy for every fifty thousand souls. The deputies, composing a single assembly, were to sit for only one year. They were to issue decrees for every thing concerning the urgent wants of the state, and these decrees were to be carried into immediate execution. They were to make laws for every thing that concerned matters of a general and less urgent interest, and these laws were not to be sanctioned unless, after allowing a certain delay, the primary assemblies had not remonstrated against them. On the 1st of May the primary assemblies were to meet as a matter of right and without convocation, to elect new deputies. The primary assemblies were to have the right to demand conventions for modifying the constitutional act. The executive power was to be vested in twenty-four members appointed by the electors, and this was to be the only mediate election. The primary assemblies were to nominate the electors, these electors were to nominate the candidates, and the legislative body was to reduce the candidates to twenty-four, by striking out the others. These twenty-four members of the council were to appoint the generals, the ministers, the agents of all sorts, but were not to take them from among their own body. They were to direct, to keep a watchful eye over them, and they were to be continually responsible. One half of the executive council was to be renewed every year. Lastly, this constitution, so short, so democratic, which reduced the government to a mere temporary commission, spared nevertheless the only relic of the ancient system, the communes, and made no change either in their circumscription or their powers. The resolution of which they had given proofs, procured them the distinction of being retained on this *tabula rasa* upon which was left no other trace of the past. In a week, and almost without discussion, this constitution was adopted, and, at the moment when it was voted in its entire form, the guns proclaimed its adoption in Paris, and shouts of joy arose on all sides. Thousands of copies of it were printed for the purpose of

* "Hérault de Séchelles was the legislator of the Mountain, as Condorcet had been of the Gironde. With the ideas which prevailed at this period, the nature of the new constitution may be easily conceived. It established the pure government of the multitude; not only were the people acknowledged to be the source of all power, but the exercise of that power was delegated to them. As the constitution thus made over the government to the multitude, as it placed the power in a disorganized body, it would have been at all times impracticable; but, at a period of general warfare, it was peculiarly so. Accordingly, it was no sooner made than suspended."—*Mignet.* E.

being circulated throughout France. It met with only a single contradiction, and that was from the agitators who had prepared the 31st of May.

The reader will recollect young Varlet haranguing in the public places; young Leclerc, of Lyons, so violent in his speeches at the Jacobins, and suspected even by Marat on account of his vehemence; and Jacques Roux,* so brutal towards the unfortunate Louis XVI., who begged him to take charge of his will—all these had made themselves conspicuous in the late insurrection, and possessed considerable influence in the committee of the Evêché and at the Cordeliers. They found fault with the constitution, because it contained no provision against forestallers; they drew up a petition, which they hawked about the streets for signatures, and went to rouse the Cordeliers, saying that the constitution was incomplete, since it contained no clause against the greatest enemies of the people. Legendre, who was present, strove in vain to oppose this movement. He was called a moderate, and the petition, adopted by the society, was presented by it to the Convention. The whole Mountain was indignant at this proceeding. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois spoke warmly, caused the petition to be rejected, and went to the Jacobins, to expose the danger of these perfidious exaggerations, which merely tended, they said, to mislead the people, and could only be the work of men paid by the enemies of the republic. "The most popular constitution that ever was," said Robespierre, "has just emanated from an assembly, formerly counter-revolutionary, but now purged from the men who obstructed its progress, and impeded its operations. This Assembly, now pure, has produced the most perfect, the most popular work that was ever given to men; and an individual, covered with the garb of patriotism, who boasts that he loves the people more than we do, stirs up the citizens of all classes, and pretends to prove that a constitution, which ought to rally all France, is not adapted to them! Beware of such manœuvres! Beware of *ci-devant* priests leagued with the Austrians! Beware of the new mask under which the aristocrats are disguising themselves! I discover a new crime in preparation, and which may not be long before it breaks forth: but let us unveil it, let us crush the enemies of the people under whatever form they may present themselves." Collot-d'Herbois spoke as warmly as Robespierre. He declared that the enemies of the republic wished to have a

* "Jacques Roux was a priest, a municipal officer at Paris, and a furious revolutionist. He called himself the preacher of the sans-culottes, and, being intrusted with the care of the Temple while the King and his family were confined there, treated them with the greatest brutality. He boasted of being the Marat of the municipality, and even preached up theft and libertinism. In 1794 he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal; and, at the moment when he heard his sentence pronounced, he gave himself five wounds with a knife, and died in prison."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

pretext for saying to the departments, *You see, Paris approves the language of Jacques Roux!*

The two speakers were greeted with unanimous acclamations. The Jacobins, who piqued themselves upon combining policy with revolutionary passion, prudence with energy, sent a deputation to the Cordeliers. Collot-d'Herbois was its spokesman. He was received at the Cordeliers with all the consideration due to one of the most distinguished members of the Jacobins and of the Mountain. Profound respect was professed for the society which sent him. The petition was withdrawn; Jacques Roux and Leclerc were expelled, Varlet was pardoned only on account of his youth, and an apology was made to Legendre for the unwarranted expressions applied to him in the preceding sitting. The constitution, thus avenged, was sent forth to France for the purpose of being sanctioned by all the primary assemblies.

Thus the Convention held out to the departments with one hand the constitution, with the other the decree which allowed them only three days for their decision. The constitution cleared the Mountain from any plan of usurpation, and furnished a pretext for rallying round a justified authority; and the decree of the three days gave no time for hesitation, and enforced the choice of obedience in preference to any other course.

Many of the departments in fact yielded, while others persisted in their former measures. But these latter, exchanging addresses, sending deputations to one another, seemed to be waiting for each other to act. The distances did not permit them to correspond rapidly or to form one whole. The lack of revolutionary spirit, moreover, prevented them from finding the resources necessary for success. How well-disposed soever masses may be, they are never ready to make all sacrifices, unless men of impassioned minds oblige them to do so. It would have required violent means to raise the moderate inhabitants of the towns, to oblige them to march, and to contribute. But the Girondins condemned all those means in the Mountaineers, and could not themselves have recourse to them. The traders of Bordeaux conceived that they had done a great deal when they had expressed themselves somewhat warmly in the sections; but they had not gone beyond their own walls. The Marseillais, rather more prompt, had sent six thousand men to Avignon, but they had not themselves composed this little army, but hired soldiers as their substitutes. The Lyonnese were waiting for the junction of the men of Provence and Languedoc; the Normans had cooled a little; the Bretons alone had remained stanch, and filled up their battalions out of their own number.

Considerable agitation had prevailed at Caen, the principal centre of the insurrection. It was the columns that had set out from this point which would fall in with the first troops of the Convention, and this first engagement would of course be of

Raffaël, pinx. F. Greenhalgh, sc.

CARRIER AT NANTES.

great importance. The proscribed deputies who were collected about Wimpfen complained of his slowness, and conceived that they could discover in him the disguised royalist. Urged on all sides, Wimpfen at length ordered Puisaye to push on his advanced guard to Vernon on the 13th of July, and apprized him that he was himself about to march with all his force. Accordingly, on the 13th, Puisaye advanced toward Pacy, and fell in with the Paris levies, accompanied by a few hundred gendarmes. A few musket-shots were fired on both sides in the woods. Next day, the 14th, the federalists occupied Pacy, and seemed to have a slight advantage. But, on the following day, the troops of the Convention appeared with cannon. At the first discharge, terror seized the ranks of the federalists. They dispersed and fled in confusion to Evreux. The Bretons, possessing more firmness, retired in less disorder, but were hurried along in the retrograde movement of the others. At this intelligence consternation pervaded the Calvados, and all the authorities began to repent of their imprudent proceedings. As soon as this rout was known at Caen, Wimpfen assembled the deputies, and proposed that they should intrench themselves in that city, and make an obstinate resistance. Entering further into the exposition of his sentiments, he told them that he saw but one way of maintaining this conflict, which was to obtain a powerful ally, and that, if they wished it, he would procure them one; he even threw out hints that this was the English cabinet. He added, that he considered the republic impossible, and that in his opinion the restoration of the monarchy would not be a calamity.

The Girondins peremptorily rejected every offer of this kind, and expressed the sincerest indignation. Some of them then began to be sensible of the imprudence of their attempt, and of the danger of raising any standard whatever, since all the factions would rally round it for the purpose of overthrowing the republic. They did not, however, relinquish all hope, and thought of retiring to Bordeaux, where some of them conceived it possible to excite a movement sincerely republican in spirit, and which might be more successful than that of the Calvados and Bretagne. They set out therefore with the Breton battalions which were returning home, intending to embark at Brest. They assumed the dress of common soldiers, and were intermingled in the ranks of the battalion of Finistère. After the check at Vernon, it was necessary for them to conceal themselves, because all the local authorities eager to submit and to give proofs of zeal to the Convention, would have had it in their power to cause them to be arrested. In this manner they traversed part of Normandy and Bretagne, amidst continual dangers and extreme hardships, and at length concealed themselves in the environs of Brest, whence they designed to proceed to Bordeaux. Barbaroux, Petion, Salles, Louvet, Meilhan, Guadet, Kervelegan, Gorsas, Girey-Dupré, an assist-

ant of Brissot, Marchenna, a young Spaniard, who had come to seek liberty in France, Riouffe, a young man attached from enthusiasm to the Girondins, composed this band of illustrious fugitives, persecuted as traitors to their country, yet all ready to lay down their lives for it, and even conceiving that they were serving while they were compromising it by the most dangerous diversion.

In Bretagne, and in the departments of the West, and of the upper basin of the Loire, the authorities were eager to retract in order to avoid being outlawed. The constitution, transmitted to every part, was the pretext for universal submission. The Convention, every one said, had no intention to perpetuate itself or to seize the supreme power, since it gave a constitution; this constitution would soon put an end to the reign of the factions, and appeared to contain the simplest government that had ever been seen. Meanwhile, the Mountaineer municipalities and the Jacobin clubs redoubled their energy, and the honest partisans of the Gironde gave way to a revolution, which they had not been strong enough to combat, and which they would not have been strong enough to defend. From that moment, Toulouse strove to justify itself. The people of Bordeaux, more decided, did not formally submit, but they called in their advanced guard, and ceased to talk of their march to Paris. Two other important events served to terminate the dangers of the Convention in the West and South; these were the defence of Nantes, and the dispersion of the rebels of La Lozère.

We have seen the Vendeans at Saumur, masters of the course of the Loire, and having it in their power, if they had duly appreciated their position, to make an attempt upon Paris which might perhaps have succeeded, for La Flèche and Le Mans were destitute of means of resistance. Young Bonchamps, who alone extended his views beyond La Vendée, proposed that they should make an incursion into Bretagne, for the purpose of securing a seaport, and then marching upon Paris. But his colleagues were not sufficiently intelligent to understand him. The real capital upon which they ought to march, was, in their opinion, Nantes. Neither their wishes nor their genius aspired to any thing beyond that. There were, nevertheless, many reasons for adopting this course; for Nantes would open a communication with the sea, ensure the possession of the whole country, and, after the capture of that city, there would be nothing to prevent the Vendeans from attempting the boldest enterprises. Besides, they could keep their soldiers at home,—an important consideration with the peasants, who never liked to lose sight of their church-steeple. Charette, master of Lower Vendée, after a false demonstration upon Les Sables, had taken Machecoul, and was at the gates of Nantes. He had never concerted with the chiefs of Upper Vendée, but on this occasion he offered to act in unison with them. He promised to attack Nantes on

the left bank, while the grand army should attack it on the right, and with such a concurrence of means it seemed scarcely possible that they should not succeed.

The Vendeans therefore evacuated Saumur, descended to Angers, and prepared to march from Angers to Nantes along the right bank. Their army was much diminished, because the peasants were unwilling to undertake so long an expedition. Still it amounted to nearly thirty thousand men. They appointed a generalissimo, and made choice of Cathelineau, the carrier, in order to flatter the peasants and to attach them more strongly to themselves.* M. de Lescure, who had been wounded, was to remain in the interior of the country in order to raise new levies, to keep the troops at Niort in check, and to prevent any obstruction being given to the siege of Nantes.

Meanwhile the commission of the representatives sitting at Tours applied for succours in all quarters, and urged Biron, who was inspecting the coast, to march with the utmost despatch, upon the rear of the Vendeans. Not content with recalling Biron, it went so far as to order movements in his absence, and sent off for Nantes all the troops that could be collected at Saumur. Biron immediately replied to the importunities of the commission. He assented, he said, to the movement executed without his orders, but he was obliged to guard Les Sables and La Rochelle, towns of much greater importance in his opinion than Nantes. The battalions of the Gironde, the best in the army, were on the point of leaving him, and he was obliged to replace them; it was impossible for him to move his army, lest it should disperse and give itself up to pillage, such was its want of discipline; the utmost he could do, therefore, was to detach from it about three thousand troops, and it would be nothing short of madness, he added, to march upon Saumur, and to penetrate into the country with so inconsiderable a force.

* "After the taking of Saumur, M. de Lescure became feverish from fatigue and suffering, having been seven hours on horseback after his wound, and having lost much blood. He was therefore prevailed on to retire to Boulaye till he should recover. Before setting out he assembled the officers, and said to them, 'Gentlemen, the insurrection has now become so important, and our successes so promising, that we ought to appoint a general-in-chief; and, although from several officers being absent, the present nomination can only be provisional, I give my vote for Cathelineau.' The choice was universally applauded, except by the good Cathelineau, who was astonished at the honour done him. His appointment was desirable in all respects. It was he that first raised the country, and gained the first victories. He had extraordinary courage, and great judgment. In addition to all these recommendations, it was good policy to have for general-in-chief a common peasant, at a moment when the spirit of equality, and a keen jealousy of the *noblesse*, had become so general. The necessity of attending to this general spirit was so much felt, that the gentlemen took particular care to treat the peasant officers as perfectly their equals. Equality, indeed, prevailed much more in the Vendean than in the republican armies."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

Biron wrote at the same time to the committee of public welfare, tendering his resignation, since the representatives thought fit thus to arrogate the command to themselves. The committee replied that he was perfectly right; that the representatives were authorized to advise or propose certain operations, but not to order them, and that it was for him alone to take such measures as he deemed proper, for preserving Nantes, La Rochelle, and Niort. Hereupon Biron made all possible efforts to compose a small and more moveable army, with which he might be able to proceed to the succour of the besieged city.

The Vendeans, meanwhile, quitted Angers on the 27th, and were in sight of Nantes on the 28th. They sent a threatening summons, which was not even listened to, and prepared for the attack. It was intended to take place on both banks at two in the morning of the 29th. To guard an immense tract, intersected by several arms of the Loire, Canclaux had no more than about five thousand regular troops and nearly a similar number of national guards. He made the best dispositions, and communicated the greatest courage to the garrison. On the 29th, Charette attacked at the preconcerted hour on the side where the bridges are situated; but Cathelineau, who acted on the right bank and had the most difficult part of the enterprise, was stopped by the post of Niort, where a few hundred men made the most heroic resistance. The attack, thus delayed on that side, became so much the more difficult. The Vendeans, however, dispersed behind the hedges and in the gardens, and hemmed in the town very closely. Canclaux, the general-in-chief, and Beysser, commandant of the place, kept the republican troops every where firm. Cathelineau, on his part, redoubled his exertions. He had already penetrated far into a suburb, when he was mortally wounded by a ball. His men retired in dismay, bearing him off upon their shoulders. From that moment the attack slackened. After a combat of eighteen hours, the Vendeans dispersed, and the place was saved.*

On this day every man had done his duty. The national guard had vied with the troops of the line, and the mayor himself was wounded. Next day, the Vendeans threw themselves

* "The Vendean army took the road from Angers to Nantes; but it was neither very numerous nor very animated. Lescure and Larochejaquelein were absent, as well as many of their officers. In short, Cathelineau was said not to have eight thousand men when he arrived before the town. The Vendeans showed in the attack more perseverance than could have been expected. The battle lasted eighteen hours; but at last, having seen General Cathelineau mortally wounded by a ball in his breast, the elder M. Fleuriot, who commanded the division of Bonchamp, and several other officers disabled likewise, discouragement and fatigue caused the soldiers to retire at the close of the day. The army was dissolved; officers and soldiers repassed the Loire; and the right bank was entirely abandoned. Few soldiers were lost, but the death of Cathelineau was a very great misfortune."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

into boats and returned into the interior of the country. The opportunity for important enterprises was from that moment lost for them; thenceforth they could not aspire to accomplish any thing of consequence, they could hope at most to occupy their own country. Just at this instant, Biron, anxious to succour Nantes, arrived at Angers with all the troops that he had been able to collect, and Westermann was repairing to La Vendée with the Germanic legion.

No sooner was Nantes delivered, than the authorities strongly disposed in favour of the Girondins, purposed to join the insurgents of the Calvados. It actually passed a hostile resolution against the Convention. Canclaux opposed this proceeding with all his might, and succeeded in his efforts to bring back the people of Nantes to order.

The most serious dangers were thus surmounted in this quarter. An event of not less importance had just taken place in La Lozère; this was the submission of thirty thousand insurgents, who could have communicated either with the Vendeans, or with the Spaniards by Roussillon.

It was a most fortunate circumstance that Fabre, the deputy sent to the army of the Eastern Pyrenees, happened to be on the spot at the moment of the revolt. He there displayed that energy which subsequently caused him to seek and find death at the Pyrenees. He secured the authorities, put the whole population under arms, collected all the gendarmerie and regular troops in the environs; raised the Cantal, the Upper Loire, and the Puy-de-Dôme; and the insurgents, attacked at the very outset, pursued on all sides, were dispersed, driven into the woods, and their leader, the ex-constituent Charrier, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Proofs were obtained from his papers that his design was connected with the great conspiracy discovered six months before in Bretagne, the chief of which, La Rouarie, had died without being able to realize his projects. In the mountains of the centre and the South, tranquillity was therefore restored, the rear of the army of the Pyrenees was secured, and the valley of the Rhone no longer had one of its flanks covered by mountains bristling with insurgents.

An unexpected victory over the Spaniards in Roussillon completely ensured the submission of the South. We have seen them, after their first march into the valleys of the Tech and the Tet, falling back to reduce Bellegarde and Les Bains, and then returning and taking a position in front of the French camp. Having observed it for a considerable time, they attacked it on the 17th of July. The French had scarcely twelve thousand raw soldiers; the Spaniards, on the contrary, numbered fifteen or sixteen thousand men, perfectly inured to war. Ricardos, with the intention of surrounding us, had divided his attack too much. Our brave volunteers, supported by General Barbantane

and the brave Dagobert, remained firm in their intrenchments, and, after unparalleled efforts, the Spaniards had determined to retire. Dagobert, who was waiting for this moment, rushed upon them, but one of his battalions suddenly fell into confusion, and was brought back in disorder. Fortunately, at this sight, De Flers and Barbantane hastened to the succour of Dagobert, and all dashed forward with such impetuosity that the enemy was overthrown and driven to some distance. This action of the 17th of July raised the courage of our soldiers, and according to the testimony of an historian, it produced at the Pyrenees the effect which Valmi had produced in Champagne in the preceding year.

Towards the Alps, Dubois-Crancé, placed between discontented Savoy, wavering Switzerland, and revolted Grenoble and Lyons, behaved with equal energy and judgment. While the sectionary authorities were taking before his face the federalist oath, he caused the opposite oath to be taken at the club and in his army, and awaited the first favourable moment for acting. Having seized the correspondence of the authorities, he there found proofs that they were seeking to coalesce with Lyons. He then denounced them to the people of Grenoble as designing to effect the dissolution of the republic by a civil war; and taking advantage of a moment of excitement, he caused them to be displaced, and restored all the powers to the old municipality. From this moment, being at ease respecting Grenoble, he occupied himself in reorganizing the army of the Alps, in order to preserve Savoy, and to carry into execution the decrees of the Convention against Lyons and Marseilles. He changed all the staffs, restored order in his battalions, incorporated the recruits furnished by the levy of the three hundred thousand men; and, though the departments of La Lozère and Haute Loire had employed their contingent in quelling the insurrection in their mountains, he endeavoured to supply its place by requisitions. After these first arrangements, he sent off General Carteaux with some thousand infantry and with the legion raised in Savoy, by the name of legion of the Allobroges, with instructions to proceed to Valence, to occupy the course of the Rhone, and to prevent the junction of the Marseillais with the Lyonnese. Carteaux, setting out early in July, marched rapidly upon Valence, and from Valence upon St. Esprit, where he took up the corps of the people of Nimes, dispersed some, incorporated others with his own troops, and secured both banks of the Rhone. He proceeded immediately afterwards to Avignon, where the Marseillais had some time before established themselves.

During these occurrences at Grenoble, Lyons, still affecting the greatest fidelity to the republic, promising to maintain its *unity*, its *indivisibility*, nevertheless paid no obedience to the decree of the Convention, which referred the proceedings com-

menced against several patriots to the revolutionary tribunal in Paris. Its commission and its staff were full of concealed royalists. Rambaud, president of the commission, Precy, commandant of the departmental force, were secretly devoted to the cause of the emigration. Misled by dangerous suggestions, the unfortunate Lyonnese were on the point of compromising themselves with the Convention, which, henceforward obeyed and victorious, was about to inflict on the last city that continued in rebellion the full chastisement reserved for vanquished federalism. Meanwhile they armed themselves at St. Etienne, collected deserters of all sorts; but, still seeking to avoid the appearance of revolt, they allowed convoys destined for the frontier to pass, and ordered Noël-Pointe, Santeyra, and Lesterpt-Beauvais, the deputies, who had been arrested by the neighbouring communes, to be set at liberty.

The Jura was somewhat quieted: Bassal and Garnier, the representatives, whom we have there seen with fifteen hundred men surrounded by fifteen thousand, had withdrawn their too inadequate force, and endeavoured to negotiate. They had been successful, and the revolted authorities had promised to put an end to this insurrection by the acceptance of the constitution.

Nearly two months had elapsed since the 2nd of June (it was now near the end of July); Valenciennes and Mayence were still threatened; but Normandy, Bretagne, and almost all the departments of the West, had returned to obedience. Nantes had been delivered from the Vendeans; the people of Bordeaux durst not venture beyond their own walls; La Lozère had submitted; the Pyrenees were secured for the moment; Grenoble was pacified. Marseilles was cut off from Lyons by the success of Carteaux; and Lyons, though refusing to obey the decrees, durst not declare war. The authority of the Convention was, therefore, nearly re-established in the interior. On the one hand, the dilatoriness of the federalists, their want of unity, and their half measures; on the other, the energy of the Convention, the unity of its power, its central position, its habit of command, its policy, by turns subtle and vigorous, had decided the triumph of the Mountain over this last effort of the Girondins. Let us congratulate ourselves on this result; for, at a moment when France was attacked, the more worthy to command was the stronger. The vanquished federalists condemned themselves by their own words: "Honest men," said they, "never knew how to have energy."

But while the federalists were succumbing on all sides, a last accident served to excite the most violent rage against them.

At this period there lived in the Calvados a young female, about twenty-five years of age, combining with great personal beauty a resolute and independent character. Her name was Charlotte

Corday, of Armans.* Her morals were irreproachable, but her mind was active and restless. She had left her paternal home to live with more liberty at the house of a female friend at Caen. Her father had formerly insisted in certain publications on the privileges of his province, at a time when France could still do no more than insist upon the privileges of towns and provinces. Young Corday was an enthusiast for the cause of the Revolution, like many other women of her time; and, like Madame Roland, she was intoxicated with the idea of a republic submissive to the laws, and fertile in virtues. The Girondins appeared to her desirous to realise her scheme; the Mountaineers alone seemed to throw obstacles in its way; and, on the tidings of the 31st of May, she determined to avenge her favourite orators.

* "Charlotte Corday was born at St. Saturnin des Lignerets, in the year 1768. Nature had bestowed on her a handsome person, wit, feeling, and a masculine understanding. She received her education in a convent, where she laboured with constant assiduity to cultivate her own powers. The Abbé Raynal was her favourite modern author; and the Revolution found in her an ardent proselyte. Her love of study rendered her careless of the homage that her beauty attracted, though she was said to have formed an attachment to M. Belzunce, major of the regiment of Bourbon, quartered at Caen. This young officer was massacred in 1789, after Marat in several successive numbers of his journal had denounced Belzunce as a counter-revolutionist. From this moment Charlotte Corday conceived a great hatred of Marat, which was increased after the overthrow of the Girondins, whose principles she reverenced; and, being resolved to gratify her vengeance, she left Caen in 1793, and arrived about noon on the third day at Paris. Early on the second morning of her arrival she went into the Palais Royal, bought a knife, hired a coach, and drove to the house of Marat. Being denied admittance, she returned to her hotel, and wrote the following letter: 'Citizen, I have just arrived from Caen; your love for your country inclines me to suppose you will listen with pleasure to the secret events of that part of the republic. I will present myself at your house; have the goodness to give orders for my admission, and grant me a moment's private conversation. I can point out the means by which you may render an important service to France.' In the fear that this letter might not produce the effect she desired, she wrote another, still more pressing, which she took herself. On knocking at the door, Marat, who was in his bath, ordered her to be instantly admitted; when, being left alone with him, she answered with perfect self-possession all his inquiries respecting the proscribed deputies at Caen. While he made memorandums of their conversation, Charlotte Corday coolly measured with her eye the spot whereon to strike; and then, snatching the weapon from her bosom, she buried the entire knife right in his heart! A single exclamation escaped Marat. 'Help!' he said, and expired. Having been tried and found guilty, Charlotte Corday still maintained a noble and dignified deportment, welcoming death, not as the expiation of a crime, but as the inevitable consequence of a mighty effort to avenge the injuries of a nation. The hour of her punishment drew immense crowds to the place of execution. When she appeared alone with the executioner in the cart, in despite of the constrained attitude in which she sat, and of the disorder of her dress, she excited the silent admiration of those even who were hired to curse her. One man alone had courage to raise his voice in her praise. His name was Adam Lux, and he was a deputy from the city of Mentz. 'She is greater than Brutus!' he exclaimed. This sealed his death-warrant. He was soon afterwards guillotined."—*Du Broca.* E.

CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

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The war of the Calvados commenced. She conceived that the death of the leader of the anarchists, concurring with the insurrection of the departments, would ensure victory to the latter; she therefore resolved to perform a great act of self-devotion, and to consecrate to her country a life of which a husband, children, family, constituted neither the employment nor the delight. She wrote to her father, intimating that, as the troubles in France were daily becoming more alarming, she was going to seek quiet and safety in England; and, immediately after thus writing, she set out for Paris. Before her departure she was solicitous to see at Caen the deputies who were the object of her enthusiasm and devotion. She devised a pretext for introducing herself to them, and applied to Barbaroux for a letter of recommendation to the minister of the interior, having, she said, some papers to claim for a friend, formerly a canoness. Barbaroux gave her one to Duperret,* the deputy, a friend of Garat. His colleagues, who saw her as well as he, and who, like him, heard her express her hatred of the Mountaineers, and her enthusiasm for a pure and regular republic, were struck by her beauty and touched by her sentiments. All were utterly ignorant of her intentions.

On reaching Paris, Charlotte Corday began to think of selecting her victim. Danton and Robespierre were sufficiently celebrated members of the Mountain to merit the blow; but Marat was the man who had appeared most formidable to the provinces, and who was considered as the leader of the anarchists. She meant at first to strike Marat on the very top of the Mountain, and when surrounded by his friends; but this she could not now do, for Marat was in a state that prevented his attendance at the Convention. The reader will no doubt recollect that he had withdrawn of his own accord for a fortnight; but seeing that the Girondins could not be yet brought to trial, he put an end to this ridiculous farce, and appeared again in his place. One of those inflammatory complaints which in revolutions terminate those stormy lives that do not end on the scaffold, soon obliged him to retire, and to stay at home. There, nothing could diminish his restless activity. He spent part of the day in his bath, with pens and paper beside him, writing, constantly engaged upon his journal, addressing letters to the Convention, and complaining that proper attention was not paid to them. He wrote one more, saying that, if it were not read, he would

* "C. R. L. Duperret, a farmer, deputy to the Legislative Assembly, and afterwards to the Convention, voted for the confinement of the King, and his banishment at a peace. Attached to the Gironde party, he nevertheless escaped the proscription directed against them. Having received a visit from Charlotte Corday, he conducted her to the house of the minister of the interior, and was denounced by Chabot as being implicated with her in the assassination of Marat—a charge which he satisfactorily refuted. He was, however, condemned to death in the autumn of 1793, in the forty-sixth year of his age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

cause himself to be carried, ill as he was, to the tribune, and read it himself. In this letter he denounced two generals, Custine and Biron. "Custine," he said, "removed from the Rhine to the North, was playing the same game there that Dumouriez had done; he was slandering the *anarchists*, composing his staffs according to his fancy, arming some battalions, disarming others, and distributing them agreeably to his plans, which no doubt were those of a conspirator." It will be recollected that Custine was profiting by the siege of Valenciennes, to reorganize the army of the North in Cæsar's Camp. "As for Biron," Marat continued, "he was a former valet of the court; he affected a great fear of the English as a pretext for remaining in Lower Vendée, and leaving the enemy in possession of Upper Vendée. He was evidently waiting only for the landing of the English, that he might join them, and deliver our army into their hands. The war in La Vendée ought by this time to be finished. A man of any judgment, after seeing the Vendeans fight once, would be able to find means for destroying them. As for himself, who also possessed some military knowledge, he had devised an infallible manœuvre, and, if his state of health had not been so bad, he would have travelled to the banks of the Loire, for the purpose of putting this plan in execution himself. Custine and Biron were the two Dumouriezes of the moment; and, after they were arrested, it would be necessary to take a final measure, which would furnish a reply to all calumnies, and bind all the deputies irrevocably to the Revolution—that was, to put to death the Bourbon prisoners, and to set a price on the heads of the fugitive Bourbons. Then there would be no pretext for accusing some of an intention to seat Orleans on the throne, while the others would be prevented from making their peace with the Capet family."

Here were shown, as we see, the same vanity, the same ferocity, and the same promptness in anticipating popular apprehensions, as ever. Custine and Biron were actually destined to become the two objects of the general fury, and it was Marat who, ill and dying, had in this instance also the honour of the initiative.

In order to come at him, Charlotte Corday was therefore obliged to seek him at his own home. She first delivered the letter which she had for Duperret, executed her commission in regard to the minister of the interior, and prepared to consummate her design. She inquired for Marat's residence of a hackney-coachman, called at his house, but was not allowed to see him. She then wrote, informing him that, having just arrived from the Calvados, she had important matters to communicate. This was quite sufficient to procure an introduction to him. Accordingly, she called on the 13th of July, at eight in the evening. Marat's housekeeper, a young woman of twenty-seven, with whom he cohabited, made some difficulties. Marat, who was in his bath, hearing Charlotte Corday, desired that she might be admitted. Being left alone

with him, she related what she had seen at Caen; then listened to, and looked earnestly at, him. Marat eagerly inquired the names of the deputies then at Caen. She mentioned them, and he, snatching up a pencil, began to write them down, adding, "Very good; they shall all go to the guillotine."—"To the guillotine!" exclaimed young Corday, with indignation. At the same moment she took a knife from her bosom, struck Marat below the left breast,and plunged the blade into his heart. "Help!" he cried; "help, my dear!" His housekeeper ran to him at his call. A messenger, who was folding newspapers, also hastened to his assistance. They found Marat covered with blood, and young Corday calm, serene, motionless. The messenger knocked her down with a chair; the housekeeper trampled upon her. The tumult attracted a crowd, and presently the whole quarter was in an uproar. Young Corday rose, and bore with dignity the rage and ill usage of those around her. Members of the section, hearing of the circumstance, hastened to the spot; and, struck by her beauty, her courage, and the composure with which she avowed the deed, prevented her from being torn in pieces; and conducted her to prison, where she continued to confess every thing with the same composure.

This murder, like that of Lepelletier, caused an extraordinary sensation. A report was immediately circulated that it was the Girondins who had armed Charlotte Corday. The same thing had been said relative to Lepelletier, and it will be repeated on all similar occasions.

Their enemies were puzzled to discover crimes in the detained deputies: the insurrection of the departments afforded a first pretext for sacrificing them, by declaring them accomplices of the fugitive deputies; the death of Marat furnished the complement to their supposed crimes, and to the reasons that were wanted for sending them to the scaffold.

The Mountain, the Jacobins, and the Cordeliers, in particular, who gloried in having been the first to possess Marat, in having always continued to be more intimately connected with him, and in having never disavowed him, manifested profound grief. It was agreed that he should be buried in their garden, and under those very trees, at the foot of which he was accustomed in the evening to read his paper to the people. The Convention resolved to attend his funeral in a body. At the Jacobins, it was proposed to decree to him extraordinary honours. It was proposed to bury him in the Pantheon, though the law did not permit the remains of any individual to be deposited there till twenty years after his death. It was further proposed that the whole society should follow him in a body to the grave; that the presses of the "People's Friend" should be bought by the society, that they might not pass into unworthy hands; that his journal should be continued by successors capable, if not of

equalling, at least of reminding the public of his energy, and of making some amends for the loss of his vigilance.

Robespierre who was always anxious to give greater importance to the Jacobins, though he opposed all their extravagances, and who was desirous moreover of diverting to himself that attention which was too strongly fixed on the martyr, made a speech on this occasion. "If I speak this day," said he, "it is because I have a right to do so. You talk of daggers—they are waiting for me. I have merited them; and it is but the effect of chance that Marat has been struck before me. I have therefore a right to interfere in the discussion, and I do so to express my astonishment that your energy should here waste itself in empty declamations, and that you should think of nothing but vain pomp. The best way of avenging Marat is to prosecute his enemies without mercy. The vengeance which seeks to satisfy itself by empty honour is soon appeased, and never thinks of employing itself in a more real and more useful manner. Desist then from useless discussions, and avenge Marat in a manner more worthy of him!" This address put a stop to all discussion, and the propositions which had been made were no more thought of. Nevertheless the Jacobins, the Convention, the Cordeliers, all the societies and the sections, prepared to decree him magnificent honours. His body was exhibited for several days. It was uncovered, and the wound which he had received was exposed to view. The popular societies and the sections came in procession, and strewed flowers upon his coffin. Each president delivered a speech. The section of the republic came first. "He is dead!" exclaimed the president, "the Friend of the People is dead. He died by the hand of the assassin! Let us not pronounce his panegyric over his inanimate remains! His panegyric is his conduct, his writings, his bleeding wound, and his death! . . . . Fair citizens (*citoyennes*) strew flowers on the pale corpse of Marat! Marat was our friend, he was the friend of the people; for the people he lived, for the people he has died!" At these words young females walked round the coffin, and threw flowers upon the body of Marat. The speaker resumed: "But enough of lamentation! Listen to the great spirit of Marat, which awakes and says to you, 'Republicans, put an end to your tears . . . . Republicans ought to shed but one tear, and then think of their country. It was not I whom they meant to assassinate but the republic. It is not I whom you must avenge—it is the republic, the people, yourselves!'"

All the societies, all the sections, came in this manner, one after another, to the coffin of Marat; and if history records such scenes, it is to teach men to consider the effect of the preoccupations of the moment, and to induce them to enter into a strict examination of themselves, when they mourn over the powerful or curse the vanquished of the day.

Meanwhile, the trial of young Corday was proceeding with

all the rapidity of the revolutionary forms. Two deputies had been implicated in the affair: one was Duperret, to whom she had brought a letter, and who had taken her to the minister of the interior; the other was Fauchet, formerly a bishop, who had become suspected on account of his connexion with the right side; and whom a woman, either from madness or malice, falsely declared she had seen in the tribunes with the accused.

Charlotte Corday, when brought before the tribunal, retained the same composure as ever. The act of accusation was read to her, and the witnesses were then examined. Corday interrupted the first witness, and before he had time to commence his deposition, said, "It was I who killed Marat."—"What induced you to commit this murder?"—"His crimes."—"What do you mean by his crimes?"—"The calamities which he has occasioned ever since the Revolution."—"Who instigated you to this action?"—"Myself alone," proudly replied the young woman. "I had long resolved upon it, and I should not have taken counsel of others for such an action. I was anxious to give peace to my country."—"But do you think that you have killed all the Marats?"—"No," answered the accused sorrowfully, "no." She then suffered the witnesses to finish, and after each she repeated, "It is true; the deponent is right." She defended herself on one point only, and that was, her alleged connexion with the Girondins. She contradicted only a single witness, namely the woman who implicated Duperret and Fauchet. She then sat down again and listened to the rest of the proceedings with perfect serenity. "You see," said her advocate, Chauveau-Lagarde, as the only defence he could make for her, "the accused confesses every thing with unshaken assurance. This composure, this self-denial, sublime in one respect, can only be accounted for by the most exalted political fanaticism. It is for you to judge what weight this moral consideration ought to have in the balance of justice."

Charlotte Corday was condemned to the penalty of death. Her beautiful face betrayed no emotion at this sentence; she returned to her prison with a smile upon her lips; she wrote to her father imploring him to forgive her for having disposed of her life;* she wrote to Barbaroux and gave him an account of her journey and of the deed she had perpetrated in a letter, full of grace, mind, and lofty sentiment; she told him that her friends

* "Pardon me, my dear father," wrote Charlotte Corday, "for having disposed of my life without your permission. I have avenged many victims—prevented others. The people will one day acknowledge the service I have rendered my country. For your sake I wished to remain incognito; but it was impossible. I only trust you will not be injured by what I have done. Farewell, my beloved father! Forget me, or rather rejoice at my fate, for it has sprung from a noble cause. Embrace my sister for me, whom I love with all my heart. Never forget the words of Corneille—the crime makes the shame, and not the scaffold."—*Alison.* E.

ought not to regret her loss, for a warm imagination and a tender heart promise but a very stormy life to those who are endowed with them. She added that she had well revenged herself on Petion, who at Caen for a moment suspected her political sentiments. Lastly, she begged him to tell Wimpfen that she had assisted him to gain more than one battle. She concluded with these words: "What paltry people to found a republic! Peace ought at least to be founded: let the government come as it can."

On the 15th Charlotte Corday underwent her sentence with that calmness which had never forsaken her. She replied to the abuse of the rabble by the most modest and the most dignified demeanour. All, however, did not abuse her; many deplored that victim, so young, so beautiful, so disinterested in her deed, and accompanied her to the scaffold with looks of pity and admiration.*

Marat's body was conveyed with great pomp to the garden of the Cordeliers. "That pomp," said the report of the commune, "had in it nothing but what was simple and patriotic. The people, assembled under the banners of the sections, followed quietly. A disorder that might be called imposing, a respectful silence, a general consternation, presented a most touching spectacle. The procession lasted from six in the evening till midnight. It consisted of citizens of all the sections, the members of the Convention, those of the commune and of the department, the electors, and the popular societies. On its arrival at the garden of the Cordeliers, the body of Marat was set down under the trees, whose slightly-agitated foliage reflected and multiplied a mild faint light. The people surrounded the coffin in silence. The president of the Convention first delivered an eloquent speech, in which he declared that the time would soon come when Marat would be avenged; but that it behoved them not to incur, by hasty and inconsiderate measures, the reproaches of the enemies of the country. He added that liberty could not perish, and that the death of Marat would only serve to consolidate it. After several other speeches, which were warmly applauded, the body of Marat was deposited in the grave. Tears flowed, and all retired with hearts wrung with grief."

* "On her way to the scaffold, Charlotte Corday heard nothing but applause and acclamation, yet by a smile alone she discovered what she felt. When she had ascended the place of execution, her face still glowed with the hue of pleasure; and even in her last moments, the handkerchief which covered her bosom having been removed, her cheeks were suffused with the blush of modesty. At the time of her death, she wanted three months of her twenty-fifth year. She was descended from Peter Corneille."—*Paris Journal.* 1797. E.

"When the axe had terminated Charlotte Corday's life, the executioner held up her head, which was lovely even in death, and gave it several buffets; the spectators shuddered at his atrocity!"—*Lacretelle.* E.

The heart of Marat, disputed by several societies, was left with the Cordeliers. His bust, circulated every where along with that of Lepelletier and of Brutus, figured in all the assemblies and public places. The seals put upon his papers, were removed. Nothing was found in his possession but a five-franc assignat, and his poverty afforded a fresh theme for admiration. His housekeeper, whom according to the words of Chaumette, he had taken to wife "one fine day, before the face of the sun," was called his widow, and maintained at the expense of the state.

Such was the end of that man, the most singular of a period so fertile in characters. Thrown into the career of science, he had endeavoured to overthrow all systems; launched into the political troubles, he conceived at the very outset a horrible idea, an idea which revolutions daily realize as their dangers increase, but which they never avow—the destruction of all their adversaries.* Marat, observing that the Revolution, though it condemned his counsels, nevertheless followed them; that the men whom he had denounced were stripped of their popularity, and immolated on the day that he had predicted; considered himself as the greatest politician of modern times, was filled with extraordinary pride and daring, and was always horrible to his adversaries, and even to his friends themselves at least strange. He came to his end by an accident as singular as his life, and fell at a moment when the chiefs of the republic, concentrating themselves for the purpose of forming a cruel and gloomy government, could no longer put up with a mad, systematic, and daring colleague, who would have deranged all their plans by his vagaries. Incapable, in fact, of being an active and persuasive leader, he became the apostle of the Revolution; and when there was no longer need of any apostleship, but only of energy and perseverance, the dagger of an indignant female came most opportunely to make a *martyr* of him, and to give a *saint* to the people, who, tired of their old images, felt the necessity of creating new ones for themselves.

* "When Marat mounted the tribune with the list of proscribed patriots in his hand, and dictated to the astonished Convention what names to insert, and what names to strike out, it was not that poor, distorted scarecrow figure, and maniac countenance, which inspired awe, and silenced opposition; but he was hemmed in, driven on, sustained in the height of all his malevolence, folly, and presumption by eighty thousand foreign bayonets, that sharpened his worthless sentences, and pointed his frantic gestures. Paris threatened with destruction, thrilled at his accents. Paris, dressed in her robe of flames, seconded his incendiary zeal. A thousand hearts were beating in his bosom, which writhed like the sibyl's—a thousand daggers were whetted on his stony words. Had he not been backed by strong necessity and strong opinion, he would have been treated as a madman; but when his madness arose out of the sacred cause and impending fate of a whole people, he who denounced the danger was a 'seer blest'—he who pointed out a victim was the high-priest of freedom!"—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POWERS, AND MARCH OF PUBLIC OPINION SINCE THE 31st OF MAY—DISCRÉDIT OF DANTON —POLITICS OF ROBESPIERRE—DEFEATS OF WESTERMANN AND LABAROLIERE IN LA VENDEE—SIEGE AND REDUCTION OF MAYENCE AND VALENCIENNES—EXTREME DANGER —STATE OF THE PUBLIC SUPPLIES—DISCREDIT OF ASSIGNATS—MAXIMUM; STOCKJOBBING.

Of the so famed triumvirs, only Robespierre and Danton were now left. In order to form an idea of their influence, we must see how the powers were distributed, and what course public opinion had taken since the suppression of the right side.

From the very day of its institution, the Convention was, in reality, possessed of all the powers. It disliked, however, to keep them ostensibly in its own hands, as it wished to avoid the appearance of despotism. It therefore suffered a phantom of executive power to exist out of its bosom, and retained ministers. Dissatisfied with their administration, the energy of which was not proportionate to circumstances, it established, immediately after the defection of Dumouriez, a committee of public welfare, which entered upon its functions on the 10th of April, and which exercised a superior influence over the government. It was empowered to suspend the execution of the measures taken by the ministers, to supply deficiencies when it deemed them inadequate, or to revoke them when it found them bad. It drew up the instructions for representatives sent on missions, and was alone authorized to correspond with them. Placed in this manner above the ministers and the representatives, who were themselves placed above the functionaries of all kinds, it had in its hands the entire government. Though, according to its title, this authority was but a mere inspection, it became in reality action itself; for the chief of a state never does any thing himself: it is his province to see that things are done according to his orders, to select agents, and to direct operations. Now, by the mere right of inspection, the committee was empowered to do all this, and it did this. It directed the military operations, ordered supplies, commanded measures of safety, appointed the generals and the agents of all kinds, and each trembling minister was too happy to get rid of all responsibility, by confining himself to the part of a mere clerk. The members who composed the Com-

mittee of public welfare were Barrère, Delmas,* Bréard, Cambon, Robert Lindet, Danton, Guyton-Morveau, Mathieu, and Ramel. They were known to be able and laborious men, and though they were suspected of some degree of moderation, they were not yet suspected so much as to be considered, like the Girondins, accomplices of the foreign powers.

In a short time, they accumulated in their hands all the affairs of the state, and though they had been appointed for a month only, yet, from an unwillingness to interrupt their labours, the duration of the committee was extended from month to month, from the 10th of April to the 10th of May, from the 10th of May to the 10th of June, and from the 10th of June to the 10th of July. Under the committee of public welfare, the committee of general safety exercised the high police—a point of great importance in times of distrust; but in its very functions it was dependent on the committee of public welfare, which, charged generally with every thing that concerned the welfare of the state, became competent to investigate plots that were likely to compromise the republic.

Thus, by its decrees, the Convention had the supreme will, by its representatives and its committee it had the execution, and, though intending not to unite all the powers in its own hands, it had been irresistibly urged to do so by circumstances, and by the necessity for causing that to be executed under its own eyes, and by its own members, which it would have deemed ill done by other agents.

Nevertheless, though all the authority was exercised in its bosom, it was only by the approbation of the government that it participated in the operations of the latter, and it never discussed them. The great questions of social organization were resolved by the constitution, which established pure democracy. The question whether its partisans should resort to the most revolutionary means in order to save themselves, and if they should obey all that passion could dictate, was resolved by the 31st of May. Thus the constitution of the state and the moral policy were fixed. Nothing, therefore, but the administrative, financial, and military measures remained to be examined. Now, subjects of this nature can rarely be comprehended by a numerous assembly, and are consigned to the decision of men who make them their special study. The Convention cheerfully re-

* "J. F. B. Delmas, originally a militia officer, and deputy to the legislature, was sent in 1792 to the army of the North, to announce the King's dethronement, but no sooner had he become a member of the Convention, than he presided in the Jacobin society, and voted for the death of Louis. In 1793 he was chosen a member of the committee of public safety; and in the following year was joined with Barras in the direction of the armed force against Robespierre's partisans. He was afterwards appointed a member of the Council of Ancients, who chose him for their secretary and president. In the year 1798 a fit of decided madness terminated his political career."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

ferred on this point to the committees appointed for the management of affairs. It had no reason to suspect either their integrity, their intelligence, or their zeal. It was, therefore, obliged to be silent; and the last revolution, while taking from it the courage, had also deprived it of the occasion, for discussion. It was now no more than a council of state, whose committees, charged with certain labours, came every day to submit reports which were always applauded, and to propose decrees which were uniformly adopted. The sittings, become tranquil, dull, and very short, did not now last, as formerly, whole days and nights.

Below the Convention, which attended to general matters of government, the commune superintended the municipal system, in which it made a real revolution. No longer thinking, since the 31st of May, of conspiring and of employing the local force of Paris against the Convention, it directed its attention to the police, the supply of provisions, the markets, the church, the theatres, and even to the public prostitutes, and framed regulations on all these objects of internal and private government, which soon became models for all France. Chaumette, its *procureur général*, always listened to and applauded by the people, was the reporter of this municipal legislature. Seeking constantly new subjects for regulating, continually encroaching upon private liberty, this legislator of the *halles* and of the markets, became every day more annoying and more formidable. Pache, cold as ever, suffered every thing to be done before his face, gave his approbation to the measures proposed, and left to Chaumette the honours of the municipal tribune.

The Convention, leaving its committees to act, and the commune being exclusively engaged with its duties, the discussion of matters of government rested with the Jacobins. They alone investigated, with their wonted boldness, the operations of the government and the conduct of each of its agents. They had long since acquired, as we have seen, very great importance by their number, by the celebrity and the high rank of most of their members, by the vast train of their branch societies, and lastly, by their old standing and long influence upon the Revolution. But, the 31st of May having silenced the right side of the Assembly, and given predominance to the system of unbounded energy, they had recently gained an immense power of opinion, and inherited the right of speaking, abdicated in some measure by the Convention. They persecuted the committees with a continual superintendence, discussed their conduct and that of the representatives, ministers, and generals, with that rage for personality which was peculiar to them; and they exercised over all the agents an inexorable censorship, frequently unjust, but always beneficial, on account of the terror which it excited, and the assiduity which it created in them all. The other popular societies had likewise their liberty and their influence, but yet submitted to the authority of the Jacobins. The Cordeliers,

for instance, more turbulent, more prompt in acting, deferred, nevertheless, to the superiority of reason of their elder brethren, and suffered themselves to be guided by their counsels, whenever they happened, from excess of revolutionary impatience, to anticipate the proper moment for a proposition. The petition of Jacques Roux, withdrawn by the Cordeliers, on the recommendation of the Jacobins, was a proof of this deference.

Such was, since the 31st of May, the distribution of powers and influence. There were seen at once a governing committee, a commune attending to municipal regulations, and the Jacobins, keeping a strict and continual watch upon the government.

Two months had not elapsed before the public opinion began to animadvert severely upon the existing administration. Men's minds could not dwell upon the 31st of May; they were impelled to go beyond it, and it was natural that they should constantly demand more energy, more celerity, and more results. In the general reform of the committees required on the 2nd of June, the committee of public welfare, composed of industrious men, strangers to all the parties, and engaged in labours which it would be dangerous to interrupt, had been spared; but it was remembered that it had hesitated from the 31st of May to the 2nd of June, that it had proposed to negotiate with the departments and to send them hostages, and it had thence been concluded that it was inadequate to the circumstances. Having been instituted in the most difficult moment, defeats were imputed to it which were occasioned by our unfortunate situation, and not by any fault on its part. As the centre of all operations, it was overwhelmed with business, and it was accused of burying itself in papers, of suffering itself to be engrossed by details—of being, in short, worn out and incapable. Established, nevertheless, at the moment of the defection of Dumouriez, when all the armies were disorganized, when La Vendée began the insurrection, when Spain was beginning the war, it had reorganized the army of the North and that of the Rhine; it had created the armies of the Pyrenees and La Vendée, which did not exist, and provisioned one hundred and twenty-six fortresses or forts; and though much yet remained to be done in order to place our forces upon the requisite footing, still it was a great thing to have accomplished so much in so short a time, and amidst the obstacles of the insurrection in the departments. But public impatience required still more than had been done, nay, even than could be done, and it was precisely in this manner that it produced an energy so extraordinary and proportionate to the danger. To increase the strength of the committee and to infuse into it fresh revolutionary energy, St.-Just, Jean-Bon-St.-André, and Couthon, were added to it. Still people were not satisfied. They admitted that the new members were certainly excellent men, but declared that their influence was neutralized by the others.

Opinion was not less severe upon the ministers. Garat, minister of the interior, who was at first viewed with some favour on account of his neutrality between the Girondins and the Jacobins, was nothing but a moderate after the 2nd of June. Having been directed to draw up a paper to enlighten the departments on the recent events, he had composed a long dissertation, in which he explained and balanced all the faults of all the parties, with an impartiality no doubt highly philosophic, but not at all adapted to the feelings of the moment. Robespierre, to whom he communicated this far too discreet paper, condemned it. The Jacobins were soon apprized of the circumstance, and charged Garat with having done nothing to counteract the poison diffused by Roland. D'Albarade, minister of the marine, was in nearly the same predicament. He was accused of leaving all the old aristocrats in the higher ranks of the navy. It was true enough that he had retained many of them, as the events at Toulon soon afterwards proved; but it was much more difficult to clear the naval than the military force, because the peculiar acquirements and experience demanded by the navy do not permit old officers to be superseded by new ones, or a peasant to be transformed in six months into a sailor, a petty officer, or an admiral. Bouchotte, the minister at war, had alone remained in favour, because, after the example of Pache, his predecessor, he had thrown open his office to the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, and had lulled their distrust by appointing them to places in his department. Almost all the generals were accused, and especially the nobles; but there were two in particular who had become the bugbears of the day: these were Custine in the North, and Biron in the West. Marat, as we have seen, had accused them a few days before his death; and ever since that accusation, every body was asking why Custine tarried in Cæsar's Camp without raising the blockade of Valenciennes—why Biron, inactive in Lower Vendée, had allowed Saumur to be taken and Nantes to be besieged.

The same distrust pervaded the interior. Calumny alighted upon all heads, and misled the best patriots. As there was now no right side to which every thing could be attributed, as there was now no Roland, no Brissot, no Guadet, to whom treason could be imputed on every alarm, accusation threatened the most decided republicans. An incredible mania of suspicion and accusation prevailed. The longest and the most steady revolutionary life was now no security, and a person was liable to be assimilated in a day, in an hour, to the greatest enemies of the republic. The imagination could not so soon break the spell in which it was held by Danton, whose daring and whose eloquence had infused new courage in all decisive circumstances; but Danton carried into the revolution a most vehement passion for the object, without any hatred against persons, and this was not enough. The spirit of revolution is composed of passion for the object and hatred against those who throw obstacles in its

way. Danton had but one of these sentiments. In regard to revolutionary measures tending to strike the rich, to rouse the indifferent to activity, and to develop the resources of the nation, he had gone all lengths, and had devised the boldest and the most violent means; but, easy and forbearing towards individuals, he did not discover enemies in all: he saw among them men differing in character and in intellect, whom it behoved him to gain or to take, with the degree of their energy, such as it was. He had not considered Dumouriez as a traitor, but as a discontented man driven to extremity. He had not regarded the Girondins as accomplices of Pitt, but as upright though incapable men; and he would have wished them to be removed, not sacrificed. It was even said that he was offended at the order given by Henriot on the 2nd of June. He shook hands with noble generals, dined with contractors, conversed familiarly with men of all parties, sought pleasure, and had drunk deeply of it during the revolution.

All this was well known, and the most equivocal rumours were circulated relative to his energy and his integrity. On one day it was said that Danton had ceased to attend at the Jacobins; his indolence, his fondness for pleasure, were talked of; and it was asserted that the Revolution had not been to him a career devoid of gratification. On another day, a Jacobin said in the tribune, "Danton left me to go and shake hands with a general." Sometimes complaints were made of the persons whom he had recommended to the ministers. Not daring to attack him personally, people attacked his friends. Legendre, the butcher, his colleague in the deputation of Paris, his lieutenant in the streets and the fauxbourgs, and the copyist of his coarse and wild eloquence, was treated as a moderate by Hebert and the other turbulent spirits at the Cordeliers. "I, a moderate!" exclaimed Legendre, at the Jacobins, "when I am always reproaching myself with exaggeration; when they write from Bordeaux, that I knocked down Guadet; when it is stated in all the papers, that I collared Lanjuinais, and dragged him along the floor!"

Another friend of Danton, an equally well-known and tried patriot, Camille-Desmoulins,* at once the most natural, the most comic, and the most eloquent writer produced by the Revolution, was also accused of being a moderate. Camille was

* "This brilliant, but headstrong young man had followed every early movement of the Revolution, approving of all its measures and all its excesses. His heart, however, was kind and gentle, although his opinions had been violent, and his pleasantries often cruel. He had approved of the revolutionary government, because he conceived it indispensable to lay the foundation of the republic; he had co-operated in the ruin of the Gironde, because he feared the dissensions of the republic. The republic! It was to this he had sacrificed even his scruples and his sympathies, his justice and his humanity. He had given every thing to his party, thinking he had given it to his country. In his Old Cordelier he spoke of liberty with the profound sense of Machiavel; and of men, with the wit of Voltaire."—*Mignet.* E.

well acquainted with General Dillon, who, placed by Dumouriez at the post of the Islettes in the Argonne, had there displayed equal firmness and intrepidity. Camille had convinced himself that Dillon was nothing but a brave man, without any political opinion, but endowed with great military genius, and sincerely desirous to serve the republic. All at once, owing to that unaccountable distrust which prevailed, it was reported that Dillon was going to put himself at the head of a conspiracy for the purpose of seating Louis XVII. on the throne. The committee of public welfare immediately issued orders for his arrest. Camille, certain, from his own knowledge, that such a report was a mere fable, began to defend Dillon before the Convention. From all quarters he was assailed with cries of, "You dine with the aristocrats."—"Don't let Camille disgrace himself," exclaimed Billaud-Varennes, interrupting him. "You won't let me speak, then?" rejoined Camille; "well, I have my inkstand left;" and he immediately wrote a pamphlet entitled, *Letter to Dillon*, full of energy and reason, in which he deals his blows on all sides and at all persons. To the committee of public welfare, he says, "You have usurped all the powers, taken all affairs into your hands, and bring none of them to a conclusion. Three of you were charged with the war department; one is absent, the other ill, and the third knows nothing about it. You leave at the head of our armies the Custines, the Birons, the Menous, the Berthiers, all aristocrats, or Fayettists, or Incapables. To Cambon, he says, "I comprehend nothing of thy system of finance, but thy paper is very like Law's, and passes as quickly from hand to hand." He says to "Billaud-Varennes, "Thou hast a grudge against Arthur Dillon, because he led thee, when commissioner to his army, into the fire;" and to St.-Just, "Thou hast a high opinion of thyself, and holdest up thy head like a St.-Sacrament;"* to Bréard, to Delmas, to Barrère, and others, "You wanted to resign on the 2nd of June, because you could not look coolly at that Revolution, so frightful did it appear to you." He adds, that Dillon is neither republican, federalist, nor aristocrat; that he is a soldier, and solicitous only to serve; that, in point of patriotism, he is worth the committee of public welfare and all the staffs retained at the head of the armies put together; that at any rate he is an excellent officer, that the country is but too fortunate to be able to keep a few such, and that it must not be imagined that every sergeant can make a general. "Since," he added, "an unknown officer, Dumouriez, conquered, in spite of himself, at Jemappes, and took possession of all Belgium and Breda, like a quartermaster *with his chalk*, the success of the republic has thrown us into the same kind of intoxication as the success of his reign im-

* "In speaking of St. Just on one occasion, Camille-Desmoulins had said, 'He considers himself so long as he carries his head respectably on his shoulders as a St. Sacrament.'—'And I,' replied St. Just, 'will soon make him carry his like a St. Denis?'"—*Mignet*. E.

CAMILLE DESMOULINS.

parted to Louis XIV. He picked up his generals in his antechamber, and we fancy we can pick up ours in the streets. We have even gone so far as to assert that we have three millions of generals."

It is obvious, from this language and from these cross-fires, that confusion prevailed in the Mountain. This situation is usually that of every party which has just been victorious, that is splitting, but whose fractions are not yet completely detached. There was not yet any new party formed among the conquerors. The epithet of *modéré*, or *exagéré*, hovered over every head, but did not yet alight upon any. Amidst all this tumult of opinion, the reputation of one man continued inaccessible to attack—that was Robespierre's. He was not reproached with indulgence for any person whatever. He had never shown affection for any proscribed individual; he had never associated with any general, financier, or deputy. He could not be charged with having indulged in pleasure during the Revolution, for he lived obscurely at a cabinet-maker's, and kept up an entirely unknown connexion with one of his daughters. Austere, reserved, upright, he was, and was reputed to be, incorruptible.* Nothing could be laid to his charge but pride, a kind of vice which does not stain like corruption, but which does great mischief in civil dissensions, and becomes terrible in austere men, in religious or political devotees, because, being their only passion, it is indulged by them without distraction and without pity.

Robespierre was the only man who could repress certain movements of revolutionary impatience without causing his moderation to be imputed to ties of pleasure or interest. His resistance, whenever he opposed, was never attributed to any thing but reason. He felt this position, and he began, for the first time, to form a system for himself. Wholly intent up to this time on the gratification of his hatred, he had studied only how to drive the Revolution over the Girondins. Now, perceiving danger to the patriots in a new excitement of opinion, he thought that it was right to keep up respect for the Convention and the committee of public welfare, because

* "Robespierre, observed Napoleon, was by no means the worst character who figured in the Revolution. He was a fanatic, a monster; but he was incorruptible, and incapable of robbing, or of causing the deaths of others, either from personal enmity, or a desire of enriching himself. He was an enthusiast, but one who really believed that he was acting rightly, and died not worth a sou. In some respects, Robespierre may be said to have been an honest man. All the crimes committed by Hebert, Chaumette, Collot-d'Herbois and others, were imputed to him. It was truly astonishing to see those fanatics, who, bathed up to the elbows in blood, would not for the world have taken a piece of money, or a watch, from the victims they were butchering! Such was the power of fanaticism, that they actually believed they were acting well, at a time when a man's life was no more regarded by them than that of a fly! At the very time when Marat and Robespierre were committing those massacres, if Pitt had offered them two hundred millions of money, they would have refused it with indignation." — *Voice from St. Helena.* E.

the whole authority resided in them, and could not be transferred to other hands without tremendous confusion. Besides, he was a member of that Convention; he could not fail to be soon in the committee of public welfare, and he defended at one and the same time an indispensable authority, of which he was about to form a part. As every opinion was first formed at the Jacobins, he strove to secure them more and more, to bind them to the Convention and the committees, calculating that he could sever them again whenever he should think fit. Constant in his attendance, but constant to them alone, he flattered them by his presence; and, speaking but seldom in the Convention, where, as we have said, there was now scarcely any speaking, he frequently delivered his sentiments from their tribune, and never suffered any important motion to pass, without discussing, modifying, or opposing it.

On this point his conduct was much more ably calculated than that of Danton. Nothing offends men, and favours equivocal reports, more than absence. Danton, careless, like men of ardent and impassioned genius, was too little at the Jacobins. When he did appear there, he was obliged to justify himself, to declare that he was still a good patriot, to say, that "if he sometimes showed a certain degree of indulgence for the purpose of bringing back weak but excellent minds, they might be assured that his energy was not on that account diminished, that he still watched with the same zeal over the interests of the republic, and that it would be victorious." Vain and dangerous excuses! As soon as a man is obliged to explain and justify himself, he is controlled by those whom he addresses. Robespierre, on the contrary, always present, always ready to repel insinuations, was never reduced to the necessity of justifying himself. He assumed, on his part, an accusing tone; he scolded his trusty Jacobins; and he had skilfully seized that point when the passion that one excites is so decided as to be only increased by severity.

We have seen how he treated Jacques Roux, who had proposed a petition against the constitutional act. He pursued the same course on all occasions when matters relating to the Convention were discussed. It was purified, he said; it now deserved nothing but respect; whoever accused it was a bad citizen. The committee of public welfare had, to be sure, not done all that it ought to have done [for, while defending them, Robespierre never failed to censure those whom he defended]; but this committee was in a better train; to attack it was to destroy the necessary centre of all the authorities, to weaken the energy of the government, and to compromise the republic. When a disposition was shown to pester the Convention or the committee with too many petitions, he opposed it, saying, that it was wasting the influence of the Jacobins, and the time of the depositaries of power. One day, it was proposed that the sittings of the committee should be public: he inveighed

against this motion, saying, that they were concealed enemies, who, under the mask of patriotism, brought forward the most inflammatory propositions; and he began to maintain that foreigners kept in their pay two classes of conspirators in France, the *exaggerates*, who urged every thing on to disorder, and the *moderates*, who wanted to paralyze every thing by their effeminacy.

The committee of public welfare had been thrice prorogued. On the 10th of July it was to be prorogued a fourth time, or renewed. On the 8th there was a full meeting at the Jacobins. On all sides it was said that the members of the committee ought to be changed, and that it ought not to be again prorogued, as it had been for three successive months. "The committee," said Bourdon, "has, no doubt, good intentions. I mean not to lay any thing to its charge; but it is a misfortune incident to human nature to profess energy for a few days only. The present members of the committee have already passed that period. They are worn out. Let us change them. We want, nowadays, revolutionary men, men to whom we can commit the fate of the republic, and who will answer for it with their lives."

The fiery Chabot succeeded Bourdon. "The committee," said he, "ought to be renewed. We must not suffer a new prorogation. To add to it a few more members, known to be good patriots, will not be sufficient; for this has been proved by what has just happened." Couthon, St.-Just, and Jean-Bon-St.-André, recently appointed, had been ousted by their colleagues. Neither ought the committee to be renewed by secret ballot, for the new one would be no better than the old one, which was good for nothing. "I have heard Mathieu," continued Chabot, "make the most incivic speeches at the society of the female revolutionists. Ramel* has written to Toulouse that the landed proprietors alone could save the commonwealth, and that care must be taken not to put arms into the hands of the *sans-culottes*. Cambon is a dolt, who sees all objects magnified, and is frightened at them when a hundred paces off. Guyton-Morveau is an honest man, but a quaker who is always trembling. Delmas, to whom some of the appointments were left, has made a bad choice, and filled the army with counter-revolutionists: lastly, this committee was friendly towards Lebrun, and it is hostile to Bouchotte."

Robespierre was eager to answer Chabot. "I feel," said he,

* "Ramel served in the army from the age of fifteen, passed through all the ranks, and at the end of 1792 obtained the post of adjutant-general. He had seen but little service, and had never distinguished himself until he obtained the command of the grenadiers of the guard of the legislative body, when he brought himself into public notice for a short time. It was his favourite boast that he was equally odious to the royalists and the anarchists." —*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"that every sentence, every word of Chabot's speech, breathes the purest patriotism; but I perceive in it also that overheated patriotism which is angry because every thing does not turn out according to its wishes, which is irritated because the committee of public welfare has not attained in its operations an impossible perfection, and which Chabot will nowhere find.

"Like him, I am of opinion that this committee is not composed of men all equally enlightened, equally virtuous: but what body will he find that is so composed? Can he prevent men from being liable to error? Has he not seen the Convention, since it vomited forth from its bosom the traitors who dishonoured it, assuming new energy, a grandeur which had been foreign to it until this day, and a more august character in its representation? Is not this example sufficient to prove that it is not always necessary to destroy, and that it is sometimes more prudent to do more than to reform?

"Yes, indeed, there are in the committee of public welfare men capable of readjusting the machine, and giving new power to its means. In this they ought to be encouraged. Who will forget the services which this committee has rendered to the public cause, the numerous plots which it has discovered, the able reports for which we are indebted to it, the judicious and profound views which it has unfolded to us?

"The Assembly has not created a committee of public welfare with the intention of influencing it, or itself directing its decrees; but this committee has been serviceable to it in separating that which was good in the measures proposed from that which, presented in an attractive form, might have led to the most dangerous consequences. It has given the first impulse to several essential determinations which have perhaps saved the country; but it has spared it the inconveniences of an arduous and frequently unproductive toil, by submitting to it the results already happily discovered, of a labour with which it was not sufficiently familiar.

"All this is enough to prove that the committee of public welfare has not been of so little benefit as people affect to believe. It has its faults, no doubt; it is not for me to deny them. Is it likely that I should incline to indulgence—I, who think that nothing has been done for the country while any thing remains undone? Yes, it has its faults, and I am willing to join you in charging it with them; but it would be impolitic at this moment to draw the disfavour of the people upon a committee which needs to be invested with all their confidence, which is charged with important interests, and from which the country expects great services; and, though it has not the approbation of the revolutionary republican female citizens, I deem it to be not less adapted to its important operations."

After this speech of Robespierre, the discussion was dropped. Two days afterwards the committee was renewed, and reduced

to nine members, as at first. These new members were Barrère, Jean-Bon-St.-André, Gasparin, Couthon, Hérault-Séchelles, St.-Just, Thuriot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur of La Marne. All the members accused of weakness were dismissed, excepting Barrère, whose extraordinary talent for drawing up reports, and whose facility in bending to circumstances, had obtained him forgiveness for the past. Robespierre was not yet there; but a few days later, when there was somewhat more danger on the frontiers and terror in the Convention, he was destined to become a member of this committee.

Robespierre had several other occasions to employ his new policy. The navy began to excite some uneasiness. Constant complaints were made against d'Albarade, the minister, and Monge his predecessor, on account of the deplorable state of our squadrons, which, after their return from Sardinia to the dock-yard of Toulon, were not repaired, and which were commanded by old officers almost all of them aristocrats. Complaints were likewise made of some new appointments in the navy-office. A man, named Peyron, who had been sent to reorganize the army at Toulon, was accused among others. He had not done, it was alleged, what he ought to have done; the minister was held responsible, and the minister had shifted the responsibility to an eminent patriot by whom Peyron had been recommended to him. The designation of eminent patriot was significantly employed by the speaker, who did not venture to name him. "Name! name!" cried several voices. "Well, then," rejoined the denouncer, "that eminent patriot is Danton." Murmurs burst forth at these words. Robespierre hastened to the tribune. "I propose," said he, "that the farce should cease, and the sitting begin. . . . D'Albarade is accused; I know nothing of him but by public report, which proclaims him a patriot minister. But what is he charged with here?—an error. And what man is exempt from error! A choice that he has made has not answered the general expectation! Bouchotte and Pache have also made faulty selections, and yet they are two genuine republicans, two sincere friends of the country. A man is in place. That is enough—he is calumniated. Ah! when shall we cease to believe all the absurd or perfidious tales that pour in upon us from all quarters!

"I have perceived that to this rather general denunciation of the minister has been appended a particular denunciation against Danton. And is it of him that people want to make you suspicious? But if, instead of discouraging patriots from seeking with such care after crimes where scarcely a slight error exists, you were to take a little pains to facilitate their operations, to render their track clearer and less thorny; that would be more honourable and the country would benefit by it. Bouchotte has been denounced, Pache has been denounced, for it is decreed that the best patriots should be denounced. It is time to put an

end to these ridiculous and afflicting scenes. I should rejoice if the society of Jacobins would confine themselves to a series of matters which they could discuss with advantage; and if they would check the great number of those which excite agitation in their bosom, and which are for the most part equally futile and dangerous."

Thus Robespierre, perceiving the danger of a new excitement of opinion, which might have overturned the government, strove to bind the Jacobins to the Convention, to the committees, and to the old patriots. All was profit for him in this praiseworthy and useful policy. In paving the way to the power of the committees, he paved the way to his own; in defending the patriots of the same date and the same energy as himself, he secured his own safety, and prevented opinion from striking victims by his side; he placed very far beneath him those to whom he lent his protection; lastly he caused himself to be adored by the Jacobins for his very severity, and gained a high reputation for wisdom. In this Robespierre was actuated by no other ambition than that of all the revolutionary chiefs who had endeavoured to hold fast the Revolution for themselves; and this policy, which had deprived them all of their popularity, was not destined to render him unpopular, because the Revolution was approaching the term of its dangers and of its excesses.

The detained deputies had been placed under accusation immediately after the death of Marat, and preparations were made for their trial. It was already said that the heads of the remaining Bourbons ought to fall, though those heads were the heads of two women, one the wife, the other the sister, of the late King, and that of the Duke of Orleans, so faithful to the Revolution, and now imprisoned at Marseilles as a reward for his services.

A festival had been ordered for the acceptance of the constitution. All the primary assemblies were to send deputies to express their wishes, and to meet for the purpose of holding a solemn festival in the field of the federation. The day fixed upon was not the 14th of July, as formerly, but the 10th of August, for the taking of the Tuileries had founded the republic, whereas the taking of the Bastille had only abolished feudalism, and left the monarchy standing. Thus the republicans and the constitutional royalists differed on this point, that the one celebrated the 10th of August, the others the 14th of July.

Federalism was expiring, and the acceptance of the constitution was general. Bordeaux still maintained the greatest reserve, doing no act either of submission or hostility; but it accepted the constitution. Lyons continued the proceedings, which it had been ordered to transfer to the revolutionary tribunal; but, rebellious on this point, it submitted in respect to the others, and adhered also to the constitution. Marseilles alone refused its

adhesion. But its little army, already separated from that of Languedoc had, towards the end of July, been driven from Avignon, and had recrossed the Durance. Thus federalism was vanquished, and the constitution triumphant. But the danger had increased on the frontiers; it became urgent in La Vendée, on the Rhine, and in the North; new victories made the Vendeans amends for their check before Nantes; and Mayence and Valenciennes were more closely pressed than ever.

We left the Vendeans returning to their own country after the expedition against Nantes. Biron arrived at Angers after Nantes was delivered, and concerted a plan with General Canclaux. Westermann had meanwhile proceeded to Niort with the Germanic legion, and had obtained permission from Biron to advance into the interior of the country. Westermann was the same Alsatian who had distinguished himself on the 10th of August, and had decided the success of that day; who had served with glory under Dumouriez, connected himself with that general and with Danton, been accused by Marat, and even caned him, it was said, for his abusive language. He was one of those patriots, whose eminent services were acknowledged, but whom people began to reproach for the pleasures in which they had indulged during the Revolution, and with whom they began already to be disgusted, because they required discipline in the armies, and knowledge in the officers, and were not for turning out every noble general, or calling every beaten general a traitor.

Westermann had formed a legion called the Germanic, of four or five thousand men, comprehending infantry, cavalry, and artillery. At the head of this little army, of which he had made himself master, and in which he maintained strict discipline, he had displayed the greatest daring, and performed brilliant exploits. Transferred to La Vendée with his legion, he had organized it anew, and driven from it the cowards who had denounced him. He manifested a sovereign contempt for those untrained battalions which pillaged and laid waste the country; he professed the same sentiments as Biron, and was classed with him among the military aristocrats. Bouchotte, the minister at war, had, as we have seen, sent his agents, Jacobins and Cordeliers, into La Vendée. There they placed themselves on an equality with the representatives and the generals, authorized plunder and extortion under the name of military requisitions, and insubordination under the pretext of defending the soldier against the despotism of the officers.

The chief clerk in the war department under Bouchotte was Vincent, a young frantic Cordelier, the most dangerous and the most turbulent spirit of that period. He governed Bouchotte, selected persons for all appointments, and persecuted the generals with extreme severity. Ronsin, the commissary sent to Dumouriez, when his contracts were annulled, was a friend of Vincent

and of Bouchotte, and the principal of their agents in La Vendée, with the title of assistant minister. Under him were Momoro, a printer, Grammont, a comedian, and several others, who acted in the same spirit and with the same violence. Westermann, already not on good terms with them, made them his decided enemies by an act of energy. One Rossignol,* formerly a working goldsmith, who had distinguished himself on the 20th of June and the 10th of August, and who was chief of one of the Orleans battalions, was among the new officers favoured by the Cordelier ministry. Drinking, one day, in company with some of Westermann's soldiers, he said that the men ought not to be the slaves of the officers, that Biron was a *ci-devant*, a traitor, and that the citizens ought to be driven out of their houses to make room for the troops. Westermann ordered him to be arrested, and gave him up to the military tribunals. Ronsin immediately claimed him, and lost no time in transmitting to Paris a denunciation against Westermann.

Westermann, giving himself no concern about the matter, marched with his legion for the purpose of penetrating into the very heart of La Vendée. Starting from the side opposite to the Loire, that is to say, from the south of the theatre of the war, he first took possession of Parthenai, then entered Amaillou, and set fire to the latter village, by way of reprisal towards M. de Lescure. The latter, on entering Parthenai, had exercised severities against the inhabitants, who were accused of revolutionary sentiments. Westermann ordered all the inhabitants of Amaillou to be collected, and sent them to those of Parthenai, as an indemnification; he then burned the chateau of Clisson, belonging to Lescure,† and every where struck terror by his rapid

* "Rossignol, a journeyman goldsmith at Paris, a man of naturally violent passions which were increased by want of education, was one of the heroes of the Bastille, and one of the actors in the September massacres. In 1793 he was made lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of gendarmerie, and employed against the Vendeans, but Biron ordered him to be imprisoned at Niort for extortion and atrocity. He was soon afterwards released, but forwarded the war of La Vendée but little, being seldom victorious, and revenging himself for his want of success by carrying fire and sword wherever he went. Having obtained the chief command of the army of the coasts of Brest, he became more cruel than ever, and issued a proclamation that he would pay ten livres for every pair of ears of Vendeans that were brought him. Rossignol gloried in his barbarity, and one day at a supper at Saumur, said, 'Look at this arm; it has despatched sixty-three Carmelite priests at Paris.' Having escaped the scaffold, with which he was several times threatened, he was transported in 1800, and being carried to one of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, died there in the year 1803."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "General Westermann entered Parthenay with about ten thousand men. From thence he went to Amaillou, and set fire to the village. This was the beginning of the republican burnings. Westermann then marched on Clisson; he knew that it was the chateau of M. de Lescure, and, imagining that he must find there a numerous garrison, and experience an obstinate resistance, he advanced with all his men, and not without great precautions, to attack this chief of the brigands. He arrived about nine o'clock at night. Some con-

march, and the exaggerated reports of his military executions. Westermann was not cruel,* but he began those disastrous reprisals which ruined the neutral districts, accused by each party of having favoured its adversaries. All had fled to Châtillon, and there the families of the Vendean chiefs, and the wrecks of their armies, had assembled. On the 3rd of July, Westermann, fearlessly venturing into the very heart of the insurgent country, entered Châtillon, and expelled from it the superior council and the staff, which sat there as in their capital. The report of this bold exploit spread far and wide; but Westermann's position was precarious. The Vendean chiefs had fallen back, rung the tocsin, collected a considerable army, and were preparing to surprise Westermann from a side where he least expected it. In a mill, out of Châtillon, he had placed a post which commanded all the environs. The Vendeans, advancing by stealth, according to their usual tactics, surroumded this post, and attacked it on all sides. Westermann, apprized rather late of the circumstance, instantly sent detachments to its support, but they were repulsed, and returned to Châtillon. Alarm then seized the republican army; it abandoned Châtillon in disorder; and Westermann himself, after performing prodigies of valour, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him a great number of dead or prisoners. This check caused a degree of discouragement equal to that of the presumption and hope which the temerity and success of the expedition had excited.

During these occurrences at Châtillon, Biron had agreed upon a plan with Canclaux.† They were both to descend to Nantes,

cealed peasants, fired a few shots from the wood and garden, which frightened the republicans very much; but they seized some women, and learned that there was nobody at Clisson. Westermann then entered, and wrote from thence a triumphant letter to the Convention, which was published in the newspapers, sending the will and the picture of M. de Lescure, and relating that, after having crossed many ravines, ditches, and covered ways, he had at last reached the den of that monster 'vomited from hell,' and was going to set fire to it. In fact, he had straw and fagots brought into the rooms, the garrets, the stables, and the farm, and took all his measures that nothing should escape the fire. The furniture was consumed, immense quantities of corn and hay were not spared;—it was the same every where. Afterwards, the republican armies burnt even provisions, though the rest of France was suffering from famine."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

* "Westermann delighted in carnage. M. Beauchamp says that he would throw off his coat, tuck up his sleeves, and then, with his sabre, rush into the crowd, and hew about him to the right and left! He boasted that he had himself destroyed the last of the Vendeans—that chiefs, officers, soldiers, priests, and nobles, had all perished by the sword, the fire, or water. But when his own fate was decided, then his eyes were purged; from the moment that he apprehended death, his dreams were of the horrors which he had perpetrated; he fancied himself beset by the spirits of the murdered, and his hell began on earth!"—*Quarterly Review.* E.

† "From principle and feeling Canclaux was a royalist. Rigid in his own conduct and indulgent towards others, unaffectedly pious, and singularly amiable in all the relations of life, he was beloved by all who knew him, and by all who were under his command. He entered the army, having,

to sweep the left bank of the Loire, then turn towards Machecoul, unite with Boulard, who was to set out from Sables, and, after having thus separated the Vendeans from the sea, to march towards Upper Vendée, for the purpose of reducing the whole country. The representatives disapproved of this plan; they pretended that he ought to start from the very point where he was to penetrate into the country, and march, in consequence, upon the bridges of Cé, with the troops collected at Angers; and that a column should be ordered to advance from Niort to support him on the opposite side. Biron, finding his plans thwarted, resigned the command. At this very moment news arrived of the defeat at Châtillon, and the whole was imputed to Biron. He was reproached with having suffered Nantes to be besieged, and with not having seconded Westermann. On the denunciation of Ronsin and his agents, he was summoned to the bar:* Westermann was put upon his trial, and Rossignol immediately liberated. Such was the fate of the generals of La Vendée amidst the Jacobin agents.

General Labarolière took the command of the troops which Biron had left at Angers, and prepared, agreeably to the wishes of the representatives, to advance into the country by the bridges of Cé. After having left fourteen hundred men at Saumur, and fifteen hundred at the bridges of Cé, he proceeded to Brissac, where he placed a post to secure his communications. This undisciplined army committed the most frightful devastations† in a country devoted to the republic. On the 15th of July it was attacked in the camp of Fline by twenty thousand Vendeans. The advanced guard, composed of regular troops, made a resolute resistance. The main body, however, was on the point of yielding, when the Vendeans, more prompt at running away, retired in disorder. The new battalions then showed

Puisaye believes, the example of Monk in his mind. He was employed to fight against the truest friends of the monarchy; he was surrounded by spies and executioners: and this man, made by his education, his principles, and the habits of a long life, to set an example to his fellows of the practice of every virtue—ended in becoming the deplorable instrument of every crime!' —*Quarterly Review.* E.

* "Biron was accused at the bar of the Convention, and the arrest of Rossignol was one of his crimes. An ex-noble could expect no mercy, and he was delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. His words upon the scaffold were, 'I have been false to my God, my order, and my king—I die full of faith and repentance.'"—*Quarterly Review.* E.

† "The land was utterly laid waste, and nothing left in some parts of this perfidious country but heaps of dead bodies, of ruins, and of ashes—the frightful monuments of national vengeance!"—*Turreau.* E.

"One might almost say that the Vendeans were no longer human beings in the eyes of the republicans; the pregnant women—the paralytic of fourscore —the infant in the cradle—nay, even the beasts, the houses, the stores, the very soil, appeared to them so many enemies worthy of total extermination. I do not doubt that if the republicans had possessed the power, they would have launched the thunder against this unhappy country, and reduced it to a chaos!"—*Berthre de Bourniseaux.* E.

somewhat more ardour, and, in order to encourage them, those praises were bestowed on them which had been deserved by the advanced guard alone. On the 17th, the army advanced nearly to Vihiers, and a new attack, received and supported with the same vigour by the advanced guard, and with the same hesitation by the main body, was anew repulsed. In the course of the day the army arrived at Vihiers. Several generals, thinking that the Orleans battalions were too ill-organized to keep the field, and that it would be impossible to remain in the country with such an army, were of opinion that they ought to retire. Labarolière decided on waiting at Vihiers, and defending himself in case he should be attacked. On the 18th, at one in the afternoon, the Vendeans made their appearance. The republican advanced guard behaved with the same valour as before; but the rest of the army wavered at sight of the enemy, and fell back in spite of the efforts of the generals. The battalions of Paris,* much more ready to raise the outcry of treason than to fight, retired in disorder. The confusion became general. Santerre, who had thrown himself most courageously into the thick of the fray, narrowly escaped being taken. Bourbotte,† the representative, was in the like danger; and the army fled in such haste, that, in a few hours, it was at Saumur. The division of Niort, which was about to march, remained where it was; and, on the 20th, it was decided that it should wait for the reorganization of the column at Saumur. As it was necessary that some one should be made responsible for the defeat, Ronsin and his agents denounced Berthier, the chief of the staff, and General Menou, both of whom were reputed to be aristocrats, because they recommended discipline. Berthier and Menou‡ were im-

* "The battalions raised in Paris displayed great courage in this war, but, unfortunately, these intrepid revolutionists had a most unbridled appetite for pillage. It might have been said that they came less for the sake of fighting than of plundering; the rich man was always in their eyes an aristocrat, whom they might strip without ceremony; so that the Paris carriers returned laden with booty, the fruit of their robberies."—*Beauchamp.* E.

† "The representative Bourbotte was one of those stern Jacobins who, when condemned to death under the Directory, stabbed themselves at the bar, and handed the bloody knife one to another."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

‡ "Baron J. de Menou, deputy from the nobility of the bailiwick of Touraine to the States-general, was one of the first members of that order who joined the chamber of the *tiers-état.* In 1790 he was president of the Assembly and proved himself the open enemy of the clergy, and was one of the commissioners appointed to dispose of their property. In 1793 he was employed in the Vendean war, and appointed commander-in-chief; but, being once or twice defeated, his command was taken from him. In 1795 he defended the National Convention against the Jacobins, for which he was rewarded by the gift of a complete suit of armour, and the post of commander-in-chief of the army of the interior. In 1798 Menou, as general of a division, accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, where he displayed great valour and ability. He there embraced Mahometanism, took the turban, assumed the name of Abdallah, attended the mosques, and married a rich young Egyptian woman, daughter to the keeper of the baths at Alexandria. When Napo-

mediately summoned to Paris, as Biron and Westermann had been.

Such, up to this period was the state of the war in La Vendée. The Vendeans, rising on a sudden in April and May, had taken Thouars, Loudun, Doué, and Saumur, in consequence of the bad quality of the troops composed of the new recruits. Descending to Nantes in June, they had been repulsed from that city by Canclaux, and from Les Sables by Boulard, two generals who had found means to introduce order and discipline among their troops. Westermann, acting with boldness and with a body of good troops, had penetrated to Châtillon in the beginning of June; but, betrayed by the inhabitants, and surprised by the insurgents, he had sustained a defeat; and, lastly, the column of Tours, in attempting to advance into the country with the Orleans battalions, had met with the fate that usually befalls disorganized armies. At the end of July, therefore, the Vendeans were masters of the whole extent of their territory. As for the brave and unfortunate Biron, accused of not being at Nantes while he was inspecting Lower Vendée, and of not being with Westermann while he was arranging a plan with Canclaux, thwarted, interrupted, in all his operations, he had been removed from his army before he had time to act, and had only joined it to be continually accused. Canclaux remained at Nantes; but the brave Boulard no longer commanded at Les Sables, and the two battalions of the Gironde had just retired. Such is the picture of La Vendée in July: all the columns in the upper country were routed; the ministerial agents denounced the generals reputed to be aristocrats; and the generals complained of the disorganizers sent by the ministry and the Jacobins.

In the East and the North, the sieges of Mayence and Valenciennes made alarming progress.

Mayence, seated on the left bank of the Rhine, on the French side, and opposite to the mouth of the Mayn, forms a large arc of a circle, of which the Rhine may be considered as the cord. A considerable suburb, that of Cassel, on the other bank, communicates with the fortress by a bridge of boats. The island of Petersau, situated below Mayence, stretches upward, and its point advances high enough to batter the bridge of boats, and to take the defences of the place in the rear. On the side next to the river, Mayence is protected only by a brick wall, but, on the land side, it is very strongly fortified. On the left bank, be-

leon left, Menou remained with Kleber, after whose assassination he took the command of the army of the East. When General Abercromby landed before Alexandria, Menou marched to attack him, but was repulsed with great loss. Shortly after his return to France, he was sent to Piedmont to direct the administration there. In 1803 he had the title of grand officer of the Legion of Honour conferred on him, and in 1805 was again confirmed in the general government of Piedmont."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

ginning opposite to the point of Petersau, it is defended by an enclosure and a ditch, into which runs the rivulet of Zahlbach, in its way to the Rhine. At the extremity of this ditch, a fort, that of Hauptstein, commands the whole length of the ditch, and adds the protection of its fire to that afforded by the water. From this point, the enclosure continues till it rejoins the upper channel of the Rhine; but the ditch ceases, and in its stead there is a second enclosure parallel with the first. Thus, in this part, two lines of wall require a double siege. The citadel, connected with this double enclosure, serves to increase its strength.

Such was Mayence in 1793, even before its fortifications had been improved. The garrison amounted to twenty thousand men, because General Schaal, who was to have retired with a division, had been driven back into the place, and was thus prevented from joining the army of Custine. The provisions were not adequate to this garrison. In the uncertainty whether Mayence should be kept or not, but little pains had been taken to lay in supplies. Custine had at length ordered the place to be provisioned. The Jews had come forward, but they wanted to drive a winning bargain. They insisted on being paid for all convoys intercepted on the way by the enemy. Rewbel and Merlin refused these terms, apprehensive lest the Jews might themselves cause the convoys to be captured. There was no want of corn, however; but if the mills, situated on the river, should chance to be destroyed, it would be impossible to get it ground. Of butcher's meat there was but a small quantity, and the forage in particular was absolutely insufficient for the three thousand horses of the garrison. The artillery consisted of one hundred and thirty pieces of brass, and sixty of iron, which had been found there and were very bad; the French had brought eighty in good condition. Thus the ramparts were lined by a considerable number of guns, but there was not a sufficient supply of powder. The skilful and heroic Meunier, who had executed the works at Cherbourg, was directed to defend Cassel and the posts on the right bank; Doyré superintended the works in the body of the place; Aubert-Dubayet and Kleber* commanded the troops; and Merlin and Rewbel, the representatives, animated the garrison by their presence. This garrison was encamped in the interval between the two enclosures, and occupied in the distance very advanced posts. It was animated by the best spirit, had great confidence in the place, in its commanders, and in its own strength; and, besides this, it was determined to defend a point of the utmost importance to the welfare of France.

* "Kleber, who was a sincere republican, and a cool, reflecting man, was, what might be called, a grumbler by nature, yet he never evinced discontent in the discharge of his duties as a soldier. He swore and stormed, but marched bravely to the cannon's mouth. He was indeed courage personified." —*Bourrienne*. E.

General Schönfeld, encamped on the right bank, hemmed in Cassel with ten thousand Hessians. The united Austrians and Prussians made the principal attack on Mayence. The Austrians occupied the right of the besieging force. Facing the double enclosure, the Prussians formed the centre of Marienburg. There were the head-quarters of the King of Prussia. The left, likewise composed of Prussians, was encamped facing Hauptstein and the ditch filled by the water of the Zahlbach rivulet. The besieging army was composed of nearly fifty thousand men, under the direction of old Kalkreuth. Brunswick commanded the corps of observation towards the Vosges, where he concerted with Wurmser for the protection of this important operation. The allies were yet unprovided with heavy artillery fit for a siege; they were in treaty with the states of Holland, which again emptied part of their arsenals to assist the progress of their most formidable neighbours.

The investment commenced in April. Till the convoys of artillery could arrive, the offensive belonged to the garrison, which was continually making the most vigorous sorties. On the 11th of April, a few days after the investment, our generals resolved to attempt a surprise against the ten thousand Hessians, who had extended themselves too much on the right bank. In the night of the 11th, they sallied from Cassel in three columns. Meunier marched straightforward upon Hochheim; the two other columns descended the right bank towards Biberich; but a musket-shot fired unawares in General Schaal's column produced confusion. The troops, still quite raw, had not that steadiness which they soon acquire under their generals. It was necessary to retire, and Kleber, with his column, protected the retreat in the most effective manner. By this sortie, the besieged gained forty oxen and cows, which were killed and salted.

On the 16th, the enemy's generals attempted to take the post of Weissenau, which, situated close to the Rhine, and on the right of their attack, considerably annoyed them. Though the village was burned, the French intrenched themselves in a cemetery. Merlin, the representative, placed himself there with them, and by prodigies of valour they preserved the post.

On the 26th, the Prussians despatched a flag of truce, the bearer of which was directed to say falsely, that he was sent by the general of the army of the Rhine to persuade the garrison to surrender. The generals, the representatives, the soldiers, already attached to the place, and convinced that they were rendering an important service by detaining the army of the Rhine on the frontier, would not listen to the proposition. On the 3d of May, the King of Prussia attempted to take a post on the right bank opposite to Cassel—that of Kostheim. It was defended by Meunier. The attack made on the 3rd with great obstinacy, and repeated on the 8th, was repulsed with consider-

able loss to the besiegers. Meunier, on his part, attempted an attack on the islands situated at the mouth of the Mayn, took them, lost them again, and displayed on every occasion the greatest daring.

On the 30th of May, the French resolved on a general sortie on Marienburg, the head-quarters of King Frederick William. Under favour of the night, six thousand men penetrated through the enemy's line, took their intrenchments, and pushed on to the head-quarters. Meanwhile the alarm that was raised brought the whole army upon them; and they returned after losing many of their brave fellows. The King of Prussia, nettled at this surprise, caused the next day a brisk fire to be kept up on the place. The same day Meunier made a new attempt on one of the islands in the Mayn. Wounded in the knee, he expired, in consequence not so much of the wound, as of the irritation which he felt at being obliged to abandon the operations of the siege. The whole garrison attended his funeral; the King of Prussia ordered the firing to be suspended while the last honours were paid to this hero, and a salute of artillery to be discharged for him. The body was deposited at the point of the bastion of Cassel, which had been constructed under his direction.

The great convoys had arrived from Holland. It was high time to commence the operations of the siege. A Prussian officer proposed to take the island of Petersau, the point of which runs up between Cassel and Mayence, to erect batteries there, to destroy the bridge of boats and the mills, and to make an assault on Cassel, which would then be cut off from the fortress, and could not receive succour from it. He then proposed that the assailants should advance towards the ditch into which the Zahlbach ran, throw themselves into it under the protection of the batteries of Petersau, which would enfilade this ditch, and attempt an assault on that front which was formed of only a single enclosure. The plan was bold and perilous, for it would be necessary to land on Petersau, and afterwards to plunge into the water of the ditch under the fire of the Hauptstein; but then the results must be very speedy. It was thought better to open the trenches facing the double enclosure and opposite to the citadel, though that course would entail the necessity for a double siege.

On the 16th of June, a first parallel was traced at the distance of eight hundred paces from the first enclosure. The besieged threw the works into disorder, and the enemy was forced to fall back. On the 18th, another parallel was traced at a much greater distance, namely fifteen hundred paces; and this distance excited the sneers of those who had proposed the bold attack by the isle of Petersau. From the 24th to the 25th, closer approaches were made; the besiegers established themselves at the distance of eight hundred paces, and erected batteries. The

besieged again interrupted the works and spiked the guns; but they were at length repulsed and overwhelmed with an incessant fire. On the 18th and 19th, two hundred pieces played upon the fortress, and covered it with projectiles of every kind. Floating batteries, placed upon the Rhine, set fire to the interior of the town on the most exposed side, and did considerable damage.

Still the first parallel was not yet opened, the first enclosure was not yet won, and the garrison, full of ardour, had no thoughts of surrendering. In order to rid themselves of the floating batteries, some of the brave French swam off, and cut the cables of the enemy's boats. One was seen swimming and towing a boat containing twenty-four soldiers who were made prisoners.

But the distress was at its height. The mills had been burned, and the besieged had been obliged to resort to mills wrought by men for the purpose of grinding their corn. But nobody would work at them, because the enemy, apprized of the circumstance, kept up a continual fire of howitzers on the spot where they were situated. Moreover, there was scarcely any corn left. Horse-flesh had long been the only meat that the garrison had; the soldiers ate rats, and went to the banks of the Rhine to pick up the dead horses which the current brought down with it. This kind of food proved fatal to several of them: it was found necessary to forbid it, and even to prevent their seeking it, by placing guards on the banks of the river. A cat sold for six francs, and horse-flesh at the rate of forty-five sous per pound. The officers fared no better than the soldiers, and Albert Dubayet, having invited his staff to dinner, set before it, by way of a treat, a cat flanked by a dozen mice.

But the most annoying circumstance to this unfortunate garrison was the absolute privation of all news. The communications were so completely intercepted that for three months it was wholly ignorant of what was passing in France. It had endeavoured to convey intelligence of its distress, at one time by a lady who was going to travel in Switzerland, at another by a priest proceeding to the Netherlands, and at another by a spy who was to pass through the enemy's camp. But none of these despatches had reached their destination. Hoping that the idea might perhaps occur of sending intelligence from the Upper Rhine by means of bottles thrown into the river, the besiegers placed nets across it. These were taken up every day, but nothing arrived. The Prussians, who had practised all sorts of stratagems, had got false *Moniteurs* printed at Frankfort, stating that Dumouriez had overthrown the Convention, and that Louis XVII. was reigning with a regency. The Prussians placed at the advanced posts transmitted these false Moniteurs to the soldiers of the garrison. The reading of these statements always excited the greatest uneasiness, and to the sufferings which they were already enduring added the mortification of defending perhaps a ruined cause.

Nevertheless, they waited, saying to one another: "The army of the Rhine will soon arrive." Sometimes the cry was, "It is come!" One night, a very brisk cannonade was heard at a great distance from the town. The men started up with joy, ran to arms, and prepared to march towards the French cannon, and to place the enemy between two fires. Vain hope! The noise ceased, and the army that was to deliver them never appeared. At length the distress became so intolerable, that two thousand of the inhabitants solicited permission to depart. Albert Dubayet granted it; but not being received by the besiegers, they remained between two fires, and partly perished under the walls of the place. In the morning the soldiers were seen bringing in wounded infants wrapped in their cloaks.

Meanwhile the army of the Rhine and of the Moselle was not advancing. Custine had commanded it till the month of June. Still quite dispirited on account of his retreat, he had never ceased wavering during the months of April and May. He said that he was not strong enough; that he must have more cavalry to enable him to cope with the enemy's cavalry in the plains of the Palatinate; that he had no forage for his horses; that it was necessary for him to wait till the rye was forward enough to be cut for fodder; and that then he would march to the relief of Mayence.* Beauharnais,† his successor, hesitating like him, lost the opportunity of saving that fortress. The line of the Vosges runs, as every one knows, along the Rhine, and terminates not far from Mayence. By occupying the two slopes of the chain and its principal passes, you gain an immense advantage, because you have it in your power to direct your force either all on one side or all on the other, and to overwhelm the enemy by your united masses. Such was the position of the French. The army of the Rhine occupied the eastern slope, and that of the Moselle the western; Brunswick and Wurmser were spread out at the termination of the chain into a very extensive cordon. Masters of the passes, the two French armies had it in their power to unite on one slope or the other, to crush Brunswick or Wurmser, to take the besiegers in the rear, and to save Mayence. Beauharnais, a brave but not an enterprising man, made only indecisive movements, without succouring the garrison.

The representatives and the generals shut up in Mayence,

* See Custine's Trial.

† Viscount Alexander Beauharnais, born in 1760 at Martinique, served with distinction as major in the French forces under Rochambeau, which aided the United States in the revolutionary war. He married Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie, who was afterwards the wife of Bonaparte. At the breaking out of the French Revolution, he was chosen a member of the National Assembly, of which he was for some time president. In 1793 he was general of the army of the Rhine, and was afterwards minister of war. In consequence of the decree removing men of noble birth from the army, he retired to his country-seat. Having been falsely accused of promoting the surrender of Mentz, he was sentenced to death, in 1794, in the thirty-fourth year of his age."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

thinking that matters ought not to be pushed to extremity, that, if they waited another week, they might be destitute of every thing and be obliged to give up the garrison as prisoners; that, on the contrary, by capitulating they should obtain free egress with the honours of war, and that they should thus preserve twenty thousand men, who had become the bravest soldiers in the world under Kleber and Dubayet, determined to surrender the place. In a few days more, it is true, Beauharnais might have been able to save them, but, after waiting so long, it was natural to conclude that they should not be relieved, and the reasons for surrendering were decisive. The King of Prussia was not difficult about the conditions. He allowed the garrison to march out with arms and baggage, and imposed but one condition, that it should not serve for a year against the allies. But there were still enemies enough in the interior for the useful employment of these admirable soldiers, since called *Mayençais*. So attached were they to their post, that they would not obey their generals when they were obliged to evacuate the fortress—a singular instance of the *esprit de corps* which settles upon one point, and of that attachment which men form for a place which they have defended for several months! The garrison, however, yielded, and as it filed off, the King of Prussia, filled with admiration of its valour, called by their names the officers who had distinguished themselves during the siege, and complimented them with chivalrous courtesy. The evacuation took place on the 25th of July.

We have seen the Austrians blockading Condé, and laying regular siege to Valenciennes. These operations carried on simultaneously with those of the Rhine, were drawing near to a close. The Prince of Coburg, at the head of the corps of observation, faced Cæsar's Camp; the Duke of York commanded the besieging corps. The attack, at first projected upon the citadel, was afterwards directed between the suburb of Marly and the Mons gate. This front presented much more development, but it was not so strongly defended, and was preferred as being more accessible. It was agreed to batter the works during the day, and to set fire to the town in the night, in order to increase the distress of the inhabitants, and to shake their resolution the sooner. The place was summoned on the 14th of June. General Ferrand, and Cochon* and Briest,† the representatives, replied

* "Cochon de Lapparent, a counsellor at Fontenay, was, in 1789, a member of the States-general. In 1792 he was deputed to the National Convention, where he voted for the King's death. In the same year he was chosen commissary to the army of the North. He was at Valenciennes when that town was besieged, contributed to its defence, and long opposed any capitulation. In 1794 he entered into the committee of public safety, and in the following year was again sent on a mission. In 1796 the Directory appointed him to the administration of the police. In 1800 he was appointed prefect of Vienne, and decorated in 1804 with the cross of the Legion of Honour."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "Briest, deputy to the Convention, voted there for the death of Louis.

with great dignity. They had collected a garrison of seven thousand men; they had infused the best spirit into the inhabitants, and organized part of them into companies of gunners, who rendered the greatest services.

Two parallels were successively opened in the nights of the 14th and 19th of June, and armed with formidable batteries. They made frightful havoc in the place. The inhabitants and the garrison defended themselves with a vigour equal to that of the attack, and several times destroyed all the works of the besiegers. The enemy fired upon the place till noon, without its making any reply; but at that hour a tremendous fire from the ramparts was poured into the trenches, where it produced the confusion, terror, and death which had prevailed in the town. On the 28th of June, a third parallel was traced, and the courage of the inhabitants began to be shaken. Part of that wealthy city was already burned down. The children, the old men, and the women, had been put into cellars. The surrender of Condé, which had been taken by famine, tended still more to dishearten the besieged. Emissaries had been sent to work upon them. Assemblages began to form and demand a capitulation. The municipality participated in the dispositions of the inhabitants, and was in secret understanding with them. The representatives and General Ferrand replied with the greatest vigour to the demands which were addressed to them; and, with the aid of the garrison, whose courage was excited to the highest enthusiasm, they dispersed the discontented assemblages.

On the 25th of July the besiegers prepared their mines, and made ready for the assault of the covered way. Luckily for them, three globes of compression burst at the moment when the mines of the garrison were about to play and to destroy their works. They then pushed on in three columns, cleared the palisade, and penetrated into the covered way. The garrison retired in affright, and was already abandoning its batteries, but General Ferrand led it back to the ramparts. The artillery, which had performed prodigies during the whole siege, again made great havoc among the assailants, and stopped them almost at the very gates of the place. Next day, the 26th, the Duke of York summoned General Ferrand to surrender. He gave him notice that after that day he would listen to no proposal, and that the garrison and the inhabitants should be put to the sword. At this threat the people assembled in great numbers; a mob, among which were many men armed with pistols and daggers, surrounded the municipality. Twelve persons spoke for the whole, and made a formal requisition to surrender the place. A council of war was held amidst

Being at Valenciennes during the siege, he behaved with great courage. After the fall of Robespierre, Briest was despatched, for the second time, to the army of the North, but soon fell a victim to his excesses."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

the tumult: none of its members was allowed to quit it, and guards were placed upon them till they should decide upon surrender. Two breaches, the unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants, and a vigorous besieger, admitted of no longer resistance. The place was surrendered on the 28th of July.* The garrison marched out with the honours of war, was obliged to lay down its arms, but was at liberty to return to France, upon the only condition of not serving for a year against the allies. It still consisted of seven thousand brave soldiers, capable of rendering important services against the enemies in the interior. Valenciennes had sustained a bombardment of forty-one days, during which eighty thousand cannon-balls, twenty thousand howitzer-shot, and forty-eight thousand bombs, had been thrown into it. The general and the garrison had done their duty, and the artillery had covered itself with glory.

At this same moment, the war of federalism was reduced to its two real calamities: the revolt of Lyons on the one hand, and that of Marseilles and Toulon on the other.

Lyons soon consented to acknowledge the Convention, but refused to obey two decrees, that which transferred to Paris the proceedings commenced against the patriots, and that which dissolved the authorities, and enjoined the formation of a new provisional municipality. The aristocrats concealed in Lyons excited alarm in that city lest the old Mountaineer municipality should be re-established; and, by the apprehension of uncertain dangers, led it into real dangers, those of open rebellion. On the 15th of July, the Lyonnese caused the two patriots, Chalier and Picard, to be put to death, and from that day they were declared to be in a state of rebellion. The two Girondins, Chasset and Biroteau, seeing royalism triumphant, withdrew. Meanwhile, the president of the popular commission, who was devoted to the emigrants, having been superseded, the determinations had become somewhat less hostile. The people of Lyons acknowledged the constitution, and offered to submit to it, but still on condition that the two principal decrees should not be executed. During this interval, the chiefs were founding cannon and purchasing stores; and there seemed to be no other way of terminating the difficulties than that of arms.

Marseilles was much more formidable. Its battalions, driven beyond the Durance by Cartaux, could not oppose a long resistance, but it had communicated its rebellious spirit to Toulon, hitherto a thorough republican city. That port, one of the best

* "Had the Duke of York been detached by Coburg against the camp of Cæsar with half his forces; the siege of Valenciennes might have been continued with the other half, and the fate of France sealed in that position."—*Dumouriez's Memoirs.* E.

"In the darkest days of Louis XIV., France was never placed in such peril, as after the capture of Valenciennes."—*Alison.* E.

in the world and the very best in the Mediterranean, was coveted by the English who were cruising off it. Emissaries of England were secretly intriguing there, and preparing an infamous treason. The sections had assembled on the 13th of July, and, proceeding like all those of the South, had displaced the municipality and shut up the Jacobin club. The authority, transferred to the hands of the federalists, was liable to pass successively from faction to faction, to the emigrants and to the English. The army of Nice, in its weak state, was unable to prevent such a misfortune. Every thing, therefore, was to be feared; and that vast storm, spread over the southern horizon, had concentrated itself on two points, Lyons and Toulon.

During the last two months, therefore, the aspect of things had somewhat cleared up, but, if the danger was less universal, less astounding, it was more settled, more serious. In the West was the cankering sore of La Vendée; at Marseilles, an obstinate sedition; at Toulon, a secret treason; at Lyons, an open resistance and a siege. On the Rhine and in the North, there was the loss of two bulwarks, which had so long checked the progress of the allies, and prevented them from marching upon the capital. In September, 1792, when the Prussians were marching towards Paris, and had taken Longwy and Verdun; in April, 1793, after the retreat from Belgium, the defeat at Neerwinden, the defection of Dumouriez, and the first rising in La Vendée; at the 31st of May, 1793, after the general insurrection of the departments, the invasion of Roussillon by the Spaniards, and the loss of the camp of Famars—at these three epochs, the dangers had been alarming, it is true, but never perhaps so real as at this fourth epoch, in August, 1793. It was the fourth and last crisis of the Revolution. France was less ignorant and less new to war than in September, 1792, less affrighted by treasons than in April, 1793, less embarrassed by insurrections than after the 31st of May and the 2nd of June; but if she was more inured to war and better obeyed, she was invaded on all sides at once, in the North, on the Rhine, at the Alps, and at the Pyrenees.

But we shall not be aware of all the calamities which then afflicted the republic, if we limit our view to the five or six fields of battle which were drenched with human blood. The interior presented a spectacle quite as deplorable. Corn was still dear and scarce. People had to knock at the doors of the bakers to obtain a small quantity of bread. They disputed in vain with the shopkeepers to make them take assignats in payment for articles of primary necessity. The distress was at its height. The populace complained of the forestallers who kept back their goods; of stockjobbers who occasioned the rise in the prices of them, and threw discredit on the assignats by their traffic. Government, quite as unfortunate as the people, had no means of existence but the assignats, which it was obliged to give in

thrice and four times the quantity in payment for the same services, and of which it durst not make any further issues for fear of depreciating them still more. It became, therefore, a puzzling question how to enable either the people or the government to subsist.

The general production, however, had not diminished. Though the night of the 4th of August had not yet produced its immense effects, France was in no want either of grain or of raw or wrought materials; but the equal and peaceable distribution of them had become impossible, owing to the effect of the paper money. The Revolution which, in abolishing monarchy, nevertheless purposed to pay its debts; which, in destroying the venality of offices, nevertheless engaged to make compensation for their value; which, lastly, in defending the new order of things against coalesced Europe, was obliged to bear the expense of a general war, had, to defray it, the national property taken from the clergy and the emigrants. To put into circulation the value of that property, it had devised assignats which were the representation of it, and which by means of purchases were to return to the exchequer and be burned. But as people felt doubtful of the success of the Revolution and the stability of the sales, they did not purchase those possessions. The assignats remained in circulation like an unaccepted bill of exchange, and became depreciated from doubt and the quantity issued.

Specie continued to be regarded as the real standard of value; and nothing is more hurtful to a doubtful money than the rivalry of a money of which the value is undisputed. The one is hoarded and kept back from circulation, while the other offers itself in abundance, and is thus discredited. Such was the predicament in which assignats stood in regard to specie. The Revolution, doomed to violent measures, was no longer able to stop. It had put into *forced* circulation the anticipated value of the national domains; it could not help trying to keep it up by *forced* means. On the 11th of April, in spite of the Girondins, who struggled generously but imprudently against the fatality of that revolutionary situation, the Convention decreed the penalty of six years' imprisonment against any person who should sell specie, that is to say, who should exchange a certain quantity of gold or silver for a more considerable quantity of assignats. It enacted the same punishment for every one who should stipulate a different price for commodities according as the payment was to be made in specie or in assignats.

These measures did not prevent the difference from being rapidly manifested. In June a metal franc was worth three francs in assignats; and in August, two months afterwards, a silver franc was worth six francs in assignats. The ratio of diminution, which was as one to three, had therefore increased in the proportion of one to six.

In this situation, the shopkeepers refused to sell their goods

at the former price, because the money offered to them was not worth more than a fifth or a sixth of its nominal value. They held them back, therefore, and refused them to purchasers. This depreciation of value, it is true, would have been in regard to the assignats no inconvenience whatever, had every body, taking them only at their real value, received and paid them away at the same rate. In this case, they might still have continued to perform the office of a sign in the exchanges, and to serve for a circulating medium like any other money; but the capitalists who lived upon their income, the creditors of the state who received an annuity or a compensation for an office, were obliged to take the paper at its nominal value. All debtors were eager to pay off their encumbrances, and creditors, forced to take a fictitious value, got back but a fourth, a fifth, or a sixth of their capital.* Lastly, the working people, always obliged to offer their services and to give them to any one who will accept them, not knowing how to act in concert, in order to obtain a twofold or threefold increase of wages in proportion to the depreciated value of the assignats, were paid only part of what was necessary to obtain in exchange such things as they needed. The capitalist, half ruined, was silent and discontented; but the enraged populace called those tradesmen who would not sell at the old prices forestallers, and loudly demanded that forestallers should be sent to the guillotine.

All this resulted from the assignats, as the assignats had resulted from the necessity of paying old debts, making compensation for offices, and defraying the expenses of a ruinous war: in like manner the *maximum* was destined to result from the assignats. It was, in fact, to little purpose that a forced circulation had been given to this money, if the tradesman, by raising his prices, could evade the necessity of taking it. Let a forced rate then be fixed for commodities as well as for money. The moment the law said, Such a piece of paper shall be worth six francs—it ought also to say, Such a commodity shall be sold for no more than six francs—otherwise the dealer, by raising the price to twelve, would escape the exchange.

It had therefore been absolutely necessary, in spite of the Girondins, who had given excellent reasons deduced from the ordinary economy of things, to fix a *maximum* for grain. The greatest hardship for the lower classes is the want of bread. The crops were not deficient, but the farmers, who would not confront the tumult of the markets, or sell their corn at the rate of the assignats, kept away with their goods. The little corn that did appear was quickly bought up by the communes and by individuals, induced by fear to lay in stocks of provisions.

* "Debtors of every description hastened to discharge their obligations; and the creditors, compelled to accept paper at par, which was not worth a fifth, or a tenth, and at last, not a hundredth of its nominal value, were defrauded of the greater part of their property."—*Alison.* E.

The dearth was more severely felt in Paris than in any town at France, because the supply of that immense city was more difficult, because its markets were more tumultuous, and the farmers were more afraid to attend them. On the 3d and 4th of May, the Convention could not help passing a decree, by which all farmers and corndealers were obliged to declare the quantity of corn in their possession, to thresh out what was still in ear, to carry it to the markets and to the markets only, to sell it at a mean price fixed by each commune, according to the prices which had prevailed between the 1st of January and the 1st of May. No person was allowed to lay in a supply for more than a month; those who sold or bought at a price above the *maximum*, or who made false declarations, were to be punished with confiscation and a fine of three hundred to one thousand francs. Domiciliary visits were ordered to ascertain the truth. Lastly, a statement of all the declarations was to be sent by the municipalities to the minister of the interior, in order to furnish a general statistical survey of the supplies of France. The commune of Paris, adding its police resolutions to the decrees of the Convention, had moreover regulated the distribution of bread at the bakers' shops. No one was allowed to go to them without safety-tickets. On these tickets, delivered by the revolutionary committees, was specified the quantity of bread which the bearers had a right to ask for, and this quantity was proportionate to the number of persons of which each family was composed. Even the mode of getting served at the bakers' shops was regulated. A cord was to be fastened to their door; each customer was to lay hold of it, so as not to lose his turn, and to avoid confusion. Malicious women frequently cut this cord; a frightful tumult ensued, and the armed force was required to restore order. We here see to what drudgery, most laborious to itself and vexatious to those for whom it legislates, a government is doomed, as soon as it is obliged to see every thing in order to regulate every thing. But in this situation each circumstance was the result of another. The forced currency of assignats led to the forcing of sales, the forcing of prices, the forcing even of the quantity, the hour, the mode of purchases; the last fact resulted from the first, and the first had been inevitable, like the Revolution itself.

Meanwhile, the rise in the price of articles of consumption, which had led to the *maximum*, was general for all commodities of the first necessity. Butchers' meat, vegetables, fruit, groceries, candles, fuel, liquors, articles of clothing, and shoe-leather, had all risen in price in proportion as assignats had fallen; and the populace were daily more and more bent on finding forestallers, where there were only dealers who refused a money that had lost its value. It will be recollected that in February it had plundered the grocers' shops, at the instigation of Marat. In July it had plundered boats laden with soap

coming up the Seine to Paris. The indignant commune had passed the most severe resolutions, and Pache had printed this simple and laconic warning:

"*Pache, Mayor, to his Fellow-Citizens.*

"Paris contains seven hundred thousand inhabitants: the soil of Paris produces nothing for their food, their clothing, their subsistence; it is therefore necessary for Paris to obtain every thing from the departments and from abroad.

"When provisions and merchandise come to Paris, if the inhabitants rob the owners of them, supplies will cease to be sent.

"Paris will then have no food, no clothing, nothing for the subsistence of its numerous inhabitants.

"And seven hundred thousand persons, destitute of every thing, will devour one another."

The people had not committed any further depredations, but they still demanded severe measures against the dealers; and we have seen the priest Jacques Roux exciting the Cordeliers, with a view to obtain the insertion of an article against forestallers in the Constitution. They also inveighed bitterly against the stockjobbers, who, they said, raised the prices of goods by speculating in assignats, gold, silver, and foreign paper.

The popular imagination created monsters, and every where discovered inveterate enemies, where there were only eager gamblers, profiting by the evil, but not producing it, and most certainly not having the power to produce it. The depreciation of the assignats had a great number of causes: their considerable quantity; the uncertainty of their pledge, which would be swept away, if the Revolution were to fall; their comparison with specie, which did not lose its reality, and with commodities which, retaining their value, refused to exchange themselves for a money that had lost its value. In this state of things, the capitalists would not keep their funds in the form of assignats, because under that form they were wasting from day to day. At first they had endeavoured to procure money; but six years of annoyance had scared the sellers and the buyers of specie. They had then thought of purchasing commodities, but these offered only a temporary employment of capital, because they would not keep long, and a dangerous employment, because the rage against forestallers was at its height. They sought, therefore, securities in foreign countries.* All those who had assignats

* "Terrified at the continual recurrence of disorders, the capitalists declined investing their money in purchases of any sort: and the shares in foreign mercantile companies rose rapidly from the increased demand for them, as the only investments affording a tolerable degree of security—a striking proof of the consequences of the disorders attendant on popular ambition, and their tendency to turn from the people the reservoirs by which their industry is maintained.—*Alison.* E.

were eager to buy bills of exchange on London, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Geneva, or on any place in Europe. To obtain these foreign values they gave enormous national values, and thus lowered the assignats by parting with them. Some of these bills of exchange were realized out of France, and the amount of them paid over to emigrants. Splendid furniture, the spoils of ancient luxury, consisting of cabinet-makers' work, clocks, mirrors, gilt bronzes, porcelain, paintings, valuable editions of books, paid for these bills of exchange, which were turned into guineas or ducats. But it was only the smallest portion of them that the holders endeavoured to realize. Sought after by the alarmed capitalists, who had no intention to emigrate but merely wished to give a solid guarantee to their fortune, they remained almost all on the spot, where the alarmed transferred them from one to another. There is reason to believe that Pitt had induced the English bankers to sign a great quantity of this paper, and had even opened for them a considerable credit, for the purpose of increasing the mass, and contributing still more to the discredit of the assignats.

Great eagerness was also shown to obtain shares in the stocks of the financial companies, which seemed to be beyond the reach of the Revolution and of the counter-revolution, and to offer moreover an advantageous employment of capital. Those of the *Compagnie d'Escompte* were in high favour; but those of the East India Company were sought after with the greatest avidity, because they rested in some measure on a pledge that could not be laid hold of, consisting in ships and storehouses situated all over the globe. To no purpose had they been subjected to a heavy transfer duty. The directors had evaded the law by abolishing the *actions*, and making them consist in an entry in the registers of the Company, which took place without any formality. They thus defrauded the state of a considerable revenue, for there were several thousand transfers per day, and they frustrated the precautions taken to prevent stockjobbing. To no purpose had a duty of five per cent. been imposed on the produce of these shares, in order to lessen their attraction. The dividends were paid to the shareholders, as a compensation for part of their capital; and by this stratagem the directors again evaded the law. Thus shares of 600 francs rose to 1000, 1200, and even 2000 francs. These were so many values opposed to the revolutionary money, and which served to discredit it still more.

Not only were all these kinds of funds opposed to the assignats, but also certain parts of the public debt, and certain assignats themselves. There existed, in fact, loans subscribed for at all periods, and under all forms. There were some that dated so far back as the reign of Louis XIII. Among the later ones subscribed for under Louis XIV., there were stocks of different creations. Those which were anterior to the constitutional mo-

narchy were preferred to such as had been opened for the wants of the Revolution. All, in short, were opposed to the assignats founded on the spoliation of the clergy and of the emigrants. Lastly, differences were made between the assignats themselves. Out of about five thousand millions which had been issued since their creation, one thousand million had been returned by the sale of national possessions; nearly four thousand millions remained in circulation, and, in these four thousand millions, there were about five hundred millions issued under Louis XVI., and bearing the royal effigy. These latter, it was argued, would be better treated in case of a counter-revolution, and admitted for at least part of their value. Thus they were worth 10 or 15 per cent. more than the others. The republican assignats, the only resource of the government, the only money of the people, were, therefore, wholly discredited, and had to contend at one and the same time with specie, merchandise, foreign paper, the shares in financial companies, the different stocks of the state, and, lastly, the royal assignats.

The compensation made for offices, the payment for the large supplies furnished to the state for the war department, the eagerness of many debtors to pay off their liabilities, had produced a great accumulation of capital in certain hands. The war, and the fear of a terrible revolution, had interrupted many commercial operations, and further increased the mass of stagnant capitals that were seeking securities. These capitals, thus accumulated, were employed in perpetual speculations at the Stock Exchange of Paris, and were converted alternately into gold, silver, merchandise, bills of exchange, companies' shares, old government stocks, &c. Thither resorted, as usual, those adventurous gamblers who plunge into every kind of hazard, who speculate on the accidents of commerce, the supply of armies, the good faith of governments. Placing themselves on the watch at the Exchange, they made a profit by all the rises occasioned by the constant fall of the assignats. The fall of the assignat first began at the Exchange, with reference to specie and to all moveable values. It took place afterwards with reference to commodities, which rose in price in the shops and in the markets. Commodities, however, did not rise so rapidly as specie, because the markets are at a distance from the Exchange, because they are not so easily affected, and, moreover, because the dealers cannot give the word so rapidly to one another as stockjobbers assembled in one and the same building. The difference, pronounced at the Exchange, was not felt in other places till after a longer or shorter time: thus, when the five-franc assignat was worth no more than two francs at the Exchange, it was passing for three in the markets, and the stockjobbers had sufficient time for speculating. Having their capitals quite ready, they procured specie before the rise; as soon as it had risen in comparison with assignats, they exchanged

it for the latter; they had of course a greater quantity, and, as merchandise had not yet had time to rise too, with this greater quantity of assignats they bought a greater quantity of merchandise, and sold it again when the balance between them was restored. Their part had consisted in holding cash or merchandise while one or the other rose in reference to the assignat. It was therefore the constant profit of the rise of every thing in comparison with the assignat which they had made, and it was natural that they should be grudged this profit, invariably founded on a public calamity. Their speculations extended to the variation of all kinds of securities, such as foreign paper, companies' shares, &c. They profited by all the accidents that could produce these fluctuations—a defeat, a motion, a false report. They formed a very considerable class. Among them were included foreign bankers, contractors, usurers, ancient priests or nobles, revolutionary upstarts, and certain deputies, who, to the honour of the Convention, were but five or six, and who possessed the perfidious advantage of contributing to the fluctuation of securities by seasonable motions. They led a dissolute life with actresses, and *ci-devant* nuns, or countesses, who, after performing the part of mistresses, sometimes took up that of women of business.* The two principal deputies engaged in these intrigues were Julien of Toulouse, who lived with the Countess of Beaufort, and Delaunay of Angers, who was intimate with Descoings, the actress. It is asserted that Chabot, dissolute as an ex-Capuchin, and occasionally turning his attention to financial questions, was engaged in this kind of stockjobbing, in company with two brothers, named Frey, expelled from Moravia for their revolutionary opinions, and who had come to Paris to carry on the banking business there. Fabre d'Eglantine also dabbled in it, and Danton was accused, but without any proof, of having had a hand in it too.

The most shameful intrigue was that which connected Baron de Batz, an able banker and financier, with Julien of Toulouse, and Delaunay of Angers, two men most intent on making money. Their scheme was to charge the East India Company with malversations, to reduce the price of its shares, to buy them up immediately, and then to raise them by means of milder motions, and thus to make a profit by the rise. D'Espagnac, that dissolute abbé, who had been commissary to Dumouriez in Belgium, and had since obtained the general contract for carts and waggons, and whose interests Julien patronized in the Convention, was, out of gratitude, to furnish the funds for this

* "The Bourse was crowded with adventurers of every description, who sometimes made enormous gains, and passed a life of debauchery with abandoned women of all sorts. Such was the universal dissoluteness of manners, arising from the dread of popular jealousy, that almost all the members of the Convention lived publicly with mistresses who became possessed of much of the influence in the state."—*Alison.* E.

speculation, into which Julien proposed to draw Fabre, Chabot, and others, who were likely to be useful as members of various committees.

Most of these men were attached to the Revolution, and had no intention to do it disservice; but, at any rate, they were desirous of securing pleasures and wealth. All their secret artifices were not known; but, as they speculated on the discredit of the assignats, the evil by which they profited was imputed to them. As they comprised in their ranks many foreign bankers, they were said to be agents of Pitt and of the coalition; and here, too, people fancied that they discovered that mysterious and so much dreaded influence of the English minister. In short, they were equally incensed against the stockjobbers and the forestallers, and called out for the same punishment against both.

Thus, while the North, the Rhine, the South, were assailed by our enemies, our financial means consisted in a money that was not accepted, the pledge of which was uncertain as the Revolution, and which, on every accident, sunk in a ratio proportionate to the danger. Such was this singular situation: as the danger increased, and the means ought to have increased along with it, they on the contrary diminished; supplies were beyond the reach of the government, and necessaries beyond that of the people. It was requisite, therefore, at one and the same time, to create soldiers, arms, and a currency for the state and for the people, and, after all this, to secure victories.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE 10th OF AUGUST, AND FESTIVAL FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION—EXTRAORDINARY DECREES — GENERAL ARREST OF SUSPECTED PERSONS — LEVY EN MASSE — INSTITUTION OF THE GREAT BOOK — FORCED LOAN—MAXIMUM—DECREES AGAINST LA VENDEE.

THE deputies sent by the primary assemblies to accelerate the anniversary of the 10th of August, and to accept the constitution in the name of all France, had by this time arrived at Paris. It was determined to seize this occasion for exciting a movement of enthusiasm, reconciling the provinces with the capital, and calling forth heroic resolutions. A brilliant reception was prepared. Considerable stores of articles of consumption were amassed, that no dearth might disturb this festival, and that the deputies might enjoy at once the spectacle of peace, abundance, and order. So far was attention to them carried, that all the administrations of the public conveyances were ordered to give them places, even though they had been already bespoken by other travellers. The administration of the department, which rivalled that of the commune in the austerity of its language and its proclamations, made an address to *its brethren* of the primary assemblies. "Here," it said to them, "men covered with the mask of patriotism will talk to you with enthusiasm about liberty, equality, and the republic one and indivisible, while, in the bottom of their hearts, they aspire and labour only to re-establish royalty, and to tear their country in pieces. Those are the rich; and the rich have at all times abhorred virtue and poisoned morals. There you will find perverse women, too seductive by their charms, who will join with them to lead you into vice. .... Beware! above all, beware of that *ci-devant* Palais Royal. It is in that garden that you will meet with those perfidious persons. That famous garden, the cradle of the Revolution, once the asylum of the friends of liberty and equality, is at this day, in spite of our active vigilance, but the filthy drain of society, the haunt of villains, the den of all the conspirators. .... Shun that impoisoned spot; prefer to the dangerous spectacle of luxury and debauchery the useful pictures of laborious virtue; visit the fauxbourgs, the founders of our liberty; enter the workshops where men, active, simple, and virtuous, like yourselves, like you, ready to defend the country, have long been waiting to unite themselves to you by the bonds of fraternity. Come, above all, to our popular societies. Let us unite! let us arm ourselves with fresh courage

to meet the new dangers of the country! let us swear, for the last time, death and destruction to tyrants!"

The first step was to take them to the Jacobins, who gave them the warmest welcome, and offered them their hall to meet in. The deputies accepted this offer, and it was agreed that they should deliberate in the very bosom of the society, and mingle with it during their stay. Thus all the difference was, that there were now four hundred more Jacobins in Paris. The society, which sat every second day, resolved to meet every day, for the purpose of conferring with the envoys of the departments on measures of public welfare. It was said that some of these envoys leant to the side of indulgence, and that they were commissioned to demand a general amnesty on the day of the acceptance of the constitution. Some persons had, in fact, thought of this expedient for saving the imprisoned Girondins and all others who were detained for political causes. But the Jacobins would not hear of any composition, and demanded at once energy and vengeance. The envoys of the primary assemblies, says Hassenfratz, were slandered by a report that they meant to propose an amnesty; they were incapable of such a thing, and were ready to unite with the Jacobins in demanding not only urgent measures of public welfare, but also the punishment of all traitors. The envoys took the hint, and, if some few of them really thought of an amnesty, none of them ventured to propose it.

On the morning of the 7th of August they were conducted to the commune, and from the commune to the Evêché, where the club of the electors was held, and where the 31st of May was prepared. It was there that the reconciliation of the departments with Paris was to take place, since it was thence that the attack upon the national representation had proceeded. Pache, the mayor, Chaumette, the *procureur*, and the whole municipality, walking before them, ushered them into the Evêché. Speeches were made on both sides; the Parisians declared that they never meant either to violate or to usurp the rights of the departments; the envoys acknowledged, in their turn, that Paris had been calumniated; they then embraced one another, and abandoned themselves to the warmest enthusiasm. All at once they bethought them to repair to the Convention, to communicate to it the reconciliation which had just been effected. Accordingly they repaired thither, and were immediately introduced. The discussion was suspended. One of the envoys addressed the Assembly. "Citizens representatives," said he, "we are come to acquaint you with the affecting scene which has just occurred in the hall of the electors, whither we went to give the kiss of peace to our brethren of Paris. Soon, we hope, the heads of the calumniators of this republican city will fall beneath the sword of the law. We are all Mountaineers. The Mountain for ever!' Another begged the representatives to give the envoys the fra-

ternal embrace. The members of the Assembly immediately left their places, and threw themselves into the arms of the envoys of the departments. A scene of emotion and enthusiasm ensued. The envoys then filed off through the hall, shouting "The Mountain for ever! the republic for ever!" and singing,

La Montagne nous a sauvés
En congédiant Gensonné;
La Montagne nous a sauvés
En congédiant Gensonné;
Au diable les Buzot,
Les Vergniaud, les Brissot!
Dansons la Carmagnole.*

They then proceeded to the Jacobins, where they prepared, in the name of all the envoys of the primary assemblies, an address, assuring the departments that Paris had been calumniated. "Brethren and friends," they wrote, "calm your uneasiness. We have all here but one sentiment. All our souls are blended together, and triumphant liberty looks around on none but Jacobins, brethren, and friends. The *Marais* no longer exists. We form here but one enormous and terrible MOUNTAIN, which will soon pour forth its fire upon all the royalists and the partisans of tyranny. Perish the infamous libellers who have calumniated Paris! .... We are all watching here, night and day, and labouring in concert with our brethren of the capital for the public welfare. .... We shall not return to our homes till we can proclaim to you that France is free, and that the country is saved." This address was read, enthusiastically applauded, and sent to the Convention to be inserted forthwith in the minutes of the sitting. The excitement became general. A multitude of speakers rushed to the tribune of the club; many imaginations began to be intoxicated. Robespierre, perceiving this agitation, immediately begged leave to speak. Every one cheerfully gave way to him. Jacobins, envoys, all applauded the celebrated orator, whom some of them had not yet either seen or heard.

He congratulated the departments, which had just saved France. "They saved it," said he, "the first time in 89, by arming themselves spontaneously: a second time, by repairing to Paris to execute the 10th of August; a third time, by coming to exhibit in the heart of the capital a spectacle of union and general reconciliation. At this moment untoward events have afflicted the republic and endangered its existence; but republicans ought never to be afraid, and it is their duty to beware of an emotion which might lead them to excesses. It is the design

* "Carmagnole was the name applied in the early period of the Revolution to a certain dance and the song connected with it. It was afterwards given to the French soldiers who first engaged in the cause of republicanism, and who wore a dress of a peculiar cut."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

of some at this moment to create a factitious dearth, and to produce a tumult; they would urge the people to attack the Arsenal, to disperse the stores there, and to set it on fire, as has been done in many other towns; lastly, they have not yet renounced the intention of causing another event in the prisons, for the purpose of calumniating Paris, and breaking the union which has just been sworn. Beware of all these snares," added Robespierre; "be calm, be firm; look the calamities of the country in the face without fear, and let us all labour to save it!"

These words restored calmness to the Assembly, and it broke up, after greeting the sagacious speaker with reiterated plaudits.

During the following days Paris was not disturbed by any commotion; but nothing was omitted to work upon the imagination, and to dispose it to a generous enthusiasm. No danger was concealed; no unfavourable intelligence was kept secret from the people. The public was informed successively of the discomfitures in La Vendée, of the daily more and more alarming occurrences at Toulon, of the retrograde movement of the army of the Rhine, which was falling back before the conquerors of Mayence, and lastly of the extremely perilous situation of the army of the North, which had retired to Cæsar's Camp, and which the Imperialists, the English, and the Dutch, masters of Condé and Valenciennes, and forming a double mass, might capture by a *coup-de-main*. The distance between Cæsar's Camp and Paris was at most but forty leagues, and there was not a regiment, not an obstacle, to impede the progress of the enemy. The army of the North broken down, all would be lost, and the slightest rumour from that frontier was caught up with anxiety.

These apprehensions were well founded. At this moment Cæsar's Camp was actually in the greatest danger. On the evening of the 7th of August, the allies having arrived before it, threatened it on all sides. A line of heights extends between Cambrai and Bouchain. The Scheldt protects by running along them. This is what is called Cæsar's Camp, supported upon two fortresses and bordered by a stream of water. On the evening of the 7th, the Duke of York, being charged to turn the French, debouched in front of Cambrai, which formed the right of Cæsar's Camp. He summoned the place. The commandant replied by closing the gates and burning the suburbs. The same evening, Coburg, with a mass of forty thousand men, arrived in two columns on the banks of the Scheldt, and bivouacked facing our camp. An intense heat paralyzed the strength of men and horses. Several soldiers, struck by the sun's rays, died in the course of the day. Kilmaine, appointed to succeed Custine, but who would only accept the command *ad interim*, deemed it impossible to maintain his ground in so

perilous a position. Threatened on his right to be turned by the Duke of York, having scarcely thirty-five thousand disheartened men to oppose to seventy thousand elated with victory, he conceived it most prudent to think of retreating, and to gain time by going in quest of another position. The line of the Scarpe, situated behind that of the Scheldt, appeared to him a good one to occupy. Between Arras and Douai, heights bordered by the Scarpe form a camp similar to Cæsar's Camp, and like that, it is supported by two fortresses and protected by a stream of water. Kilmaine prepared to retreat on the morning of the following day. His main body was to cross the Cense, a small river, bordering the rear of the ground which he occupied, and he himself was to proceed with a strong rear-guard towards the right, where the Duke of York was on the point of debouching.

Accordingly, next morning, the 8th, at daybreak, the heavy artillery and the baggage of the infantry moved off, crossed the Cense, and destroyed all the bridges. An hour afterwards, Kilmaine, with some batteries of light artillery and a strong division of cavalry, proceeded towards the right, to protect the retreat against the English. He could not have arrived more opportunely. Two battalions, having lost their way, had strayed to the little village of Marquion, and were making an obstinate resistance against the English. In spite of their efforts, they were on the point of being overwhelmed. Kilmaine, on his arrival, immediately placed his light artillery on the enemy's flank, pushed forward his cavalry upon him, and forced him to retire. The battalions, being then extricated, were enabled to rejoin the rest of the army. At this moment the English and the Imperialists, debouching at the same time on the right and on the front of Cæsar's Camp, found it completely evacuated. At length towards the close of day, the French were reassembled in the camp of Gavarelle, supported upon Arras and Douai, and having the Scarpe in front of them.

Thus, on the 8th of August, Cæsar's Camp was evacuated as that of Famars had been; and Cambrai and Bouchain were left to their own strength, like Valenciennes and Condé. The line of the Scarpe, running behind that of the Scheldt, is not of course between Paris and the Scheldt, but between the Scheldt and the sea. Kilmaine, therefore, had marched on one side instead of falling back; and thus part of the frontier was left uncovered.

The allies had it in their power to overrun the whole department of the Nord. What should they do? Should they, making another day's march, attack the camp of Gavarelle and overwhelm the enemy who had escaped them? Should they march upon Paris? or should they resume their old design upon Dunkirk? Meanwhile they pushed on parties to Peronne and

St. Quentin, and the alarm spread to Paris,* where it was reported with dismay that Cæsar's Camp was lost, like that of Famars; that Cambrai was abandoned like Valenciennes. People inveighed every where against Kilmaine, unmindful of the important service that he had rendered by his masterly retreat.

The preparations for the solemn festival of the 10th of August, destined to electrify all minds, were made amidst sinister rumours. On the 9th, the report on the result of the votes was presented to the Convention. The forty-four thousand municipalities had accepted the constitution. In the number of the votes none were missing but those of Marseilles, Corsica, and La Vendée. A single commune, that of St. Tonnant, in the department of the Côtes-du-Nord, had dared to demand the re-establishment of the Bourbons on the throne.

On the 10th, the festival commenced with the dawn. David, the celebrated painter,† had been appointed to superintend the arrangements. At four in the morning, the persons who were to compose the procession assembled in the Place de la Bastille. The Convention, the envoys of the primary assemblies, the eighty-six oldest of whom had been selected to represent the eighty-six departments, the popular societies, and all the armed sections, were ranged around a large fountain called the Fountain of Regeneration. It was formed by a large statue of Nature,

* "The allies, in great force, were now grouped within one hundred and sixty miles of Paris; fifteen days' march would have brought them to its gates. A camp was formed between Peronne and St. Quentin, and the light troops pushed on to Peronne and Bapaume. Irresolution prevailed in the French army, dismay in the French capital, every where the republican authorities were taking to flight; the Austrian generals, encouraged by such extraordinary success, were at length urgent to advance and improve their successes before the enemy recovered from their consternation; and if they had been permitted to do so, what incalculable disasters would Europe have been spared! Every thing promised success to vigorous operations; but the allies were paralyzed by intestine divisions. The Prussians were chiefly to blame for this torpor."—*Alison*. E.

† "The fine arts, which David studied, had not produced on his mind the softening and humanizing effect ascribed to them. Frightfully ugly in his exterior, his mind seemed to correspond with the harshness of his looks. 'Let us grind enough of the red,' was the professional phrase of which he made use, when sitting down to the bloody work of the day. He held a seat in the committee of public security. David is allowed to have possessed great merit as a draughtsman. Foreigners, however, do not admire his composition and colouring so much as his countrymen."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"While in Paris, in the year 1815, Sir Walter Scott was several times entertained at dinners by distinguished individuals in the French capital; but the last of these dinners at which he was present was thoroughly poisoned by a preliminary circumstance. The poet, on entering the saloon, was introduced to a stranger, whose physiognomy struck him as the most hideous he had ever seen; nor was his disgust lessened when he found, a few minutes afterwards, that he had undergone the *accolade* of David, the painter—him 'of the blood-stained brush.'"—*Lockhart's Life of Scott*. E.

who poured forth the water from her breasts into a spacious basin. As soon as the sun had gilded the tops of the buildings, he was saluted by some stanzas which were sung to the tune of the Marseillaise. The president of the Convention took a goblet, poured some of the water of regeneration on the ground, then drank of it, and handed the goblet to the seniors of the departments, each of whom drank in his turn. After this ceremony, the procession moved along the boulevards. The popular societies, bearing a banner on which was painted the eye of vigilance, advanced first. Next came the whole of the Convention. Each of its members held a bunch of ears of corn, and eight of them, in the centre, bore upon an ark the constitutional act and the rights of man. The senior envoys formed a chain round the Convention, and walked united by a tricoloured cord. Each held in his hands an olive-branch, in token of the reconciliation of the provinces with Paris, and a pike destined to form part of the national fasces which were composed of the eighty-six departments. After this portion of the procession, came groups of people with the implements of their trades, and in the midst of them was a plough, upon which were an aged couple, drawn by their young sons. This plough was immediately followed by a war-chariot containing the urn of the soldiers who had died for their country. The procession was closed by tumbrels laden with sceptres, crowns, coats of arms, and tapestry sprinkled with fleurs de lis.

The procession passed along the boulevards, and pursued its way towards the Place de la Révolution. In passing the boulevard Poissonnière, the president of the Convention handed a laurel bough to the heroines of the 5th and 6th of October, seated on their guns. In the Place de la Révolution he again halted, and set fire to all the insignia of royalty and nobility, drawn thither in the tumbrels. He then tore off a veil thrown over a statue, which, exposed to the view of all, exhibited the features of Liberty. Salutes of artillery marked the moment of its inauguration; and at the same moment thousands of birds bearing light flags were let loose, and seemed, while darting into the air, to proclaim that the earth was set free.

They then proceeded to the Champ de Mars by the Place des Invalides, and filed past a colossal figure representing the French people, which had struck down federalism, and was stifling it in the mud of a marsh. At length the procession arrived at the field of the Federation. There it divided into two columns, which walked round the altar of the country. The president of the Convention and the eighty-six elders occupied the summit of the altar; the members of the Convention, and the mass of the envoys of the primary assemblies, covered the steps. Each group of the people came in turn and deposited on the altar the produce of its trade, stuffs, fruit, articles of every kind. The president then collected the papers on which the primary assem-

blies had inscribed their votes, and laid them on the altar of the country. A general discharge of artillery was instantly made, an immense concourse of people mingled their shouts with the sound of the cannon, and the oath to defend the constitution was sworn with the same enthusiasm as on the 14th of July, 1790 and 1792—a vain oath, if we consider the letter of the constitution, but highly heroic and admirably kept, if we consider only the soil and the Revolution itself. The constitutions, in fact, passed away, but the soil and the Revolution were defended with heroic firmness.

After this ceremony, each of the eighty-six elders handed his pike to the president, who made a bundle of them, and delivered it, together with the constitutional act, to the deputies of the primary assemblies, exhorting them to rally all their forces around the ark of the new covenant. The company then separated; one part of the procession accompanied the cinerary urn of the French who had fallen for their country to a temple prepared for its reception; another went to deposit the ark of the constitution in a place where it was to remain till the following day, when it was to be carried to the hall of the Convention. A large representation of the siege and bombardment of Lille and the heroic resistance of its inhabitants occupied the rest of the day, and disposed the imagination of the people to warlike scenes.

Such was the third Federation of republican France. We do not there behold, as in 1790, all the classes of a great nation, rich and poor, noble and simple, mingled for a moment in one and the same intoxication, and, weary of mutual hate, forgiving one another for a few hours their differences of rank and of opinion; here was seen an immense people, no longer talking of pardon but of danger, of devotion, of desperate resolutions, and feasting itself on that gigantic pomp, till the morrow should call it away to the field of battle. One circumstance heightened the character of this scene, and covered what contemptuous or hostile minds might deem ridiculous in it—namely the danger and the enthusiasm with which it was met. On the first 14th of July, 1790, the Revolution was still innocent and benevolent, but it could not be serious, and might have ended, like a ridiculous farce, in foreign bayonets. In August, 1793, it was tragic, but grand, marked by victories and defeats, and serious as an irrevocable and heroic resolution.

The moment for taking great measures was arrived. The most extraordinary ideas were fermenting every where. It was proposed to exclude all the nobles from public employments, to decree the general imprisonment of suspected persons, against whom there existed as yet no precise law, to raise the population *en masse*, to seize all articles of consumption, to remove them to the magazines of the republic, which should itself distribute them to each individual; and people felt the need of

some expedient for supplying immediately sufficient funds, without being able to devise one. It was particularly desired that the Convention should retain its functions, that it should not give up its powers to the new legislature which was to succeed it, and that the constitution should be veiled, like the statue of the law, till the general defeat of the enemies of the republic.

It was at the Jacobins that all these ideas were successively proposed. Robespierre, striving no longer to repress the energy of opinion, but on the contrary to excite it, insisted particularly on the necessity for maintaining the National Convention in its functions; and in this he gave a piece of excellent advice. To dissolve in a moment an assembly possessed of the entire government, in whose bosom dissensions were extinguished, and to replace it by a new inexperienced assembly, which would be again torn by factions, would have been a most disastrous project. The deputies of the provinces, surrounding Robespierre, exclaimed that they had sworn to continue assembled till the Convention had taken measures of public welfare, and they declared that they would oblige it to retain its functions. Audoin, Pache's son-in-law, then spoke, and proposed to demand the levy *en masse*, and the general apprehension of suspected persons. The envoys of the primary assemblies immediately drew up a petition, which, on the following day, the 12th, they presented to the Convention. They demanded that the Convention should take upon itself the duty of saving the country, that no amnesty should be granted, that suspected persons should be apprehended, that they should be sent off first to meet the enemy, and that the people raised *en masse* should march behind. Some of these suggestions were adopted. The apprehension of suspected persons was decreed in principle; but the project of a levy *en masse*, which appeared too violent, was referred to the committee of public welfare. The Jacobins, dissatisfied, insisted on the proposed measure, and continued to repeat in their club, that it was not a partial but a general movement which was needed.

In the following days, the committee made its report, and proposed too vague a decree and proclamations much too cold. "The committee," exclaimed Danton, "has not said every thing: it has not said that, if France is vanquished, if she is torn in pieces, the rich will be the first victims of the rapacity of the tyrants: it has not said that the vanquished patriots will rend and burn this republic, rather than see it pass into the hands of their insolent conquerors! Such is the lesson that those rich egotists must be taught! . . . . What do you hope?" added Danton, "you who will not do any thing to save the republic? Consider what would be your lot if liberty should fall. A regency directed by an idiot, an infant king whose minority would be long, and lastly, our provinces parcelled out, a frightful dismemberment! Yes, ye rich, they would tax you, they would squeeze out of you more and a thousand times more

than you will have to spend to save your country and to perpetuate liberty! . . . . The Convention," he continued, "has in its hands the popular thunderbolts. Let it make use of them, let it hurl them at the heads of the tyrants. It has the envoys of the primary assemblies, it has its own members; let it send both to effect a general arming."

The *projets de loi* were again referred to the committee. On the following day, the Jacobins once more despatched the envoys of the primary assemblies to the Convention. They came to repeat the demand, not of a partial recruiting, but of the levy *en masse*, because, said they, half-measures are fatal, because it is easier to move the whole nation than part of its citizens.* "*If*," added they, "you demand one hundred thousand soldiers, they will not come forward; but millions of men will respond to a general appeal. Let there be no exemption for the citizen physically constituted for arms, be his occupation what it may; let agriculture alone retain the hands that are indispensable for raising the alimentary productions from the earth; let the course of trade be temporarily suspended, let all business cease, let the grand, the only, the universal business of the French be to save the republic."

The Convention could no longer withstand so pressing a summons. Sharing itself the excitement of the petitioners, it directed its committee to retire, and draw up instantly the *projet* of the levy *en masse*. The committee returned in a few minutes and presented the following *projet*, which was adopted amidst universal transport:

"*Art.* 1. The French people declares, by the organ of its representatives, that it will rise one and all, for the defence of its liberty and of its constitution, and for the final deliverance of its territory from its enemies.

"2. The committee of public welfare will to-morrow present the mode of organization of this great national movement."

By other articles, eighteen representatives were appointed for the purpose of travelling over all France, and directing the envoys

* "The representatives of forty thousand municipalities came to accept the new constitution. Having, when admitted to the bar of the Assembly, signified the consent of the people, they demanded the arrest of all suspected persons, and a general rising of the people, 'Very well,' exclaimed Danton; 'let us consent to their wish. The deputies of the primary assemblies have begun to exercise among us the system of terror. I demand that the Convention, by a decree, invest the commissioners of the primary assemblies with the right to make an appeal to the people, to excite the energy of the people, and to put four hundred thousand men into requisition. It is by the sound of our cannon that we must make our constitution known to our enemies! This is the time to take that great and last oath, that we will die, or annihilate the tyrants!' The oath was immediately taken by every one of the deputies and citizens in the hall. Soon after this, the republic had forty armies, and twelve hundred thousand soldiers. France became, on the one hand, a camp and a workshop for the republicans; and, on the other, a prison for the disaffected."—*Mignet*. E.

of the primary assemblies in their requisitions of men, horses, stores, and provisions. This grand impulse once given, every thing would be possible. When it was once declared that all France, men and things, belonged to the government, that government, according to the danger, its own understanding, and its growing energy, could do whatever it deemed useful and indispensable. It was not expedient, it is true, to raise the population *en masse*, and to interrupt production and even the labours necessary for nutrition; but it was expedient that the government should possess the power of demanding every thing, save and except that which was required by the wants of the moment.

The month of August was the epoch of the grand decrees which set all France in motion, all resources in activity, and which terminated to the advantage of the Revolution: its last and its most terrible crisis.

It was requisite at once to set the population afoot, to provide it with arms, and to supply by some new financial measure the expense of this mighty movement. It was requisite to place the paper money in proportion with the price of articles of consumption; it was requisite to distribute the armies and the generals in a manner suitable to each theatre of war, and lastly, to appease the revolutionary indignation by great and terrible executions. We shall presently see what the government did to satisfy at once these urgent wants and those bad passions, to which it was obliged to submit because they were inseparable from the energy which saves a people in danger.

To impose upon each locality a contingent in men was not a proceeding adapted to the circumstances, nor was it worthy of the enthusiasm which it was necessary to suppose the French to possess, in order to inspire them with it. This German method of laying upon each country a tax in men, like money, was moreover in contradiction with the principle of the levy *en masse*. A general recruiting by lot was equally unsuitable. As every one was not called, every one would then have thought how to get exempted, and would have cursed the lot which had obliged him to serve. The levy *en masse* would throw France into one universal confusion, and excite the sneers of the moderates and of the counter-revolutionists. The committee of public welfare, therefore, devised the expedient that was best adapted to circumstances. This was to make the whole population disposable, to divide it into generations and to send off those generations in the order of age, as they were wanted. The decree of August the 23d ran thus: "From this moment till that when the enemy shall be driven from the territory of the French republic, all the French shall be in permanent requisition for the service of the armies. The young men shall go forth to fight; the married men shall forge the arms and transport the supplies; the women shall make tents, and clothes, and attend on the hospitals; the children shall make lint out of rags; the old men shall cause

themselves to be carried to the public places, to excite the courage of the warriors, to preach hatred of kings and love of the republic."

All the young unmarried men or widowers without children, from the age of eighteen to that of twenty-five years, were to compose the first levy, called the *first requisition*. They were to assemble immediately, not in the chief towns of departments, but in those of districts, for, since the breaking out of federalism, there was a dread of those large assemblages by departments, which gave them a feeling of their strength and an idea of revolt. There was also another motive for adopting this course, namely, the difficulty of collecting in the chief towns sufficient stores of provisions and supplies for large masses. The battalions formed in the chief towns of districts were to commence their military exercises immediately, and to hold themselves in readiness to set out on the very first day. The generation between twenty-five and thirty had notice to prepare itself, and meanwhile it had to do the duty of the interior. Lastly, the remainder, between thirty and sixty, was disposable at the will of the representatives sent to effect this gradual levy. Notwithstanding these dispositions, the instantaneous levy *en masse* of the whole population was ordered in certain parts, where the danger was most urgent, as La Vendée, Lyons, Toulon, the Rhine, &c.

The means employed for arming, lodging, and subsisting the levies, were adapted to the circumstances. All the horses and beasts of burden which were not necessary either for agriculture or manufactures were required and placed at the disposal of the army commissaries. Muskets were to be given to the generation that was to march: the fowlingpieces and pikes were reserved for the duty of the interior. In the departments where manufactures of arms could be established, the public places and promenades, and the large houses comprehended in the national possessions, were to serve for the erection of workshops. The principal establishment was placed at Paris. The forges were to be erected in the gardens of the Luxembourg, and the machines for boring cannon on the banks of the Seine. All the journeymen gunsmiths were put into requisition, as were also the watch and clock makers, who had very little work at the moment, and who were capable of executing certain parts in the manufacture of arms. For this manufacture alone, thirty millions were placed at the disposal of the minister of war. These extraordinary means were to be employed, till the quantity produced should amount to one thousand muskets per day. This great establishment was placed at Paris, because there, under the eyes of the government and the Jacobins, negligence became utterly impossible, and all the prodigies of expedition and energy were ensured. Accordingly, this manufacture very soon fulfilled its destination.

As there was a want of saltpetre, an idea occurred to extract

it from the mould of cellars. Directions were issued to examine them all, to ascertain whether the soil in which they were sunk contained any portion of that substance or not. In consequence, every person was obliged to suffer his cellar to be inspected and dug up, that the mould might be lixiviated when it contained saltpetre.

The houses which had become national property were destined to serve for barracks and magazines. In order to procure supplies for these large armed masses, various measures, not less extraordinary than the preceding, were adopted. The Jacobins proposed that the republic should have a general statement of the articles of consumption drawn up, that it should buy them all, and then undertake the task of distributing them, either by giving them to the soldiers armed for its defence, or by selling them to the other citizens at a moderate price. This propensity to attempt to do every thing, to make amends for Nature herself, when her course is not according to our wishes, was not so blindly followed as the Jacobins would have desired. In consequence it was ordered that the statements of the articles of consumption already demanded from the municipalities should be forthwith completed and sent to the office of the minister of the interior, in order to furnish a general statistical view of the wants and the resources of the country; that all the corn should be thrashed where that had not yet been done, and that the municipalities themselves should cause it to be thrashed where individuals refused to comply; that the farmers or proprietors of corn should pay the arrears of their contributions, and two-thirds of those for the year 1793, in kind; lastly, that the farmers and managers of the national domains should pay the rents of them in kind.*

The execution of these extraordinary measures could not be otherwise than extraordinary also. Limited powers, confided to local authorities, which would have been stopped every moment by resistance, and by remonstrances, which, moreover, feeling a greater or a less degree of zeal, would have acted with very unequal energy, would not have been adapted either to the nature of the measures decreed or to their urgency. In this case, therefore, the dictatorship of the commissioners of the Convention was the only engine that could be made use of. They had been employed for the first levy of three hundred thousand men decreed in March, and they had speedily and completely fulfilled their mission. Sent to the armies, they narrowly watched

* "This system of forced requisitions gave the government the command of a large proportion of the agricultural produce of the kingdom, and it was enforced with merciless severity. Not only grain, but horses, carriages, and conveyances of every sort, were forcibly taken from the cultivators. These exactions excited the most violent discontent, but no one ventured to give it vent; to have expressed dissatisfaction, would have put the complainer in imminent hazard of his life."—*Alison.* E.

the generals and their operations, sometimes thwarted consummate commanders, but every where kindled zeal and imparted great vigour. Shut up in fortresses, they had sustained heroic sieges in Valenciennes and Mayence; spread through the interior, they had powerfully contributed to quell federalism. They were, therefore, again employed in this instance, and invested with unlimited powers for executing this requisition of men and *matériel*. Having under their orders the envoys of the primary assemblies, being authorized to direct them at pleasure, and to commit to them a portion of their powers, they had at hand devoted men, perfectly acquainted with the state of each district, and possessing no authority but what they themselves gave them for the necessities of that extraordinary service.

Different representatives had already been sent into the interior, both to La Vendée, and to Lyons and Grenoble, for the purpose of destroying the relics of federalism; eighteen more were appointed, with directions to divide France among them, and to take, in concert with those previously in commission, the needful steps for calling out the young men of the first requisition, for arming them, for supplying them with provisions, and for despatching them to the most suitable points, according to the advice and demands of the generals. They were instructed moreover, to effect the complete submission of the federalist administrations.

With these military plans it was necessary to combine financial measures, in order to defray the expenses of the war. We have seen what was the state of France in this respect. A public debt in disorder, composed of debts of all sorts, of all dates, and which were opposed to the debts contracted under the republic; discredited assignats, to which were opposed specie, foreign paper, the shares of the financial companies, and which were no longer available to the government for paying the public services, or the people for purchasing the commodities which they needed—such was then our situation. What was to be done in such a conjuncture?—resort to a loan, or issue assignats? To borrow would be impossible, in the disorder in which the public debt then was, and with the little confidence which the engagements of the republic inspired. To issue assignats would be easy enough; for this nothing more was required than the national printing-office. But, in order to defray the most trifling expenses, it would be necessary to issue enormous quantities of paper, that is to say, five or six times its nominal value, and this would serve to increase the great calamity of its discredit, and to cause a fresh rise in the prices of commodities. We shall see what the genius of necessity suggested to the men who had undertaken the salvation of France.

The first and the most indispensable measure was to establish order in the debt, and to prevent its being divided into contracts of all forms and of all periods, and which, by their differences of

origin and nature, gave rise to a dangerous and counter-revolutionary stockjobbing. The knowledge of these old titles, their verification, and their classification, required a particular study, and occasioned a frightful complication in the accounts. It was only in Paris that every stockholder could obtain payment of his dividends, and sometimes the division of his credit into several portions obliged him to apply to twenty different paymasters. There was the constituted debt, the debt demandable at a fixed period, the demandable debt proceeding from the liquidation, and in this manner the exchequer was daily liable to demands, and obliged to procure funds for the payment of sums thus falling due. "The debt must be made uniform and *republicanised*," said Cambon, and he proposed to convert all the contracts of the creditors of the state into an inscription in a great book, which should be called *the great Book of the Public Debt*. This inscription, and the extract from it which should be delivered to the creditors, were thenceforward to constitute their only titles. To prevent any alarm for the safety of this book, a duplicate was to be deposited in the archives of the treasury; and besides, it was not in greater danger from fire or other accidents than the registers of the notaries. The creditors were, therefore, within a certain time to transmit their titles, that they might be inscribed and then burned. The notaries were ordered to deliver up all the titles deposited in their hands, and to be punished with ten years' imprisonment, if, before they gave them up, they kept or furnished any copies. If the creditor suffered six months to elapse without applying to have his debt inscribed, he was to lose his interest; if he allowed a year to pass away, he was to forfeit the principal. "In this manner," said Cambon, "it will no longer be possible to distinguish the debt contracted by despotism from that which has been contracted since the Revolution; and I would defy *Monseigneur le Despotisme*, if he were to rise from his grave, to recognise his old debt when it shall be blended with the new one. This operation effected, you will see the capitalist, who wishes for a king because he has a king for his debtor, and who is apprehensive of losing his credit if his debtor is not re-established, wishing well to the republic which will have become his debtor, because he will be afraid of losing his capital in losing it."

This was not the only advantage of that institution, it had others equally great, and it commenced the system of the public credit. The capital of each credit was converted into a perpetual annuity at the rate of five per cent. Thus the creditor of a sum of one thousand francs was inscribed in the great book for an annuity of fifty francs. In this manner, the old debts, some of which bore an usurious interest, while others were liable to unjust deductions, or burdened with certain taxes, would be brought back to a uniform and equitable interest. Then too, the state, changing its debt into a perpetual annuity, would be

no longer liable to repayments, and could not be obliged to refund the capital, provided it paid the interest. It would find moreover an easy and advantageous mode of acquitting itself, namely, to redeem the annuity at once whenever it happened to fall below its value. Thus when an annuity of fifty livres, arising from a capital of one thousand francs, should be worth but nine hundred or eight hundred livres, the state would gain, said Cambon, one-tenth or one-fifth of the capital by redeeming it at once. This redemption was not yet organized by means of a fixed sinking-fund, but the expedient had suggested itself, and the science of public credit began to be formed.

Thus the inscription in the Great Book would simplify the form of titles, bind the existence of the debt to the existence of the republic, and change the credits into a perpetual annuity, the capital of which should not be repayable, and the interests of which should be alike for all portions of the inscriptions. This idea was simple and in part borrowed from the English; but it required great courage of execution to apply it to France, and it possessed the merit of being peculiarly seasonable at that moment. There was something forced, to be sure, in thus changing the nature of the titles and the credits, in reducing the interest to a uniform rate, and in punishing with forfeiture those creditors who would not submit to this conversion: but for a state justice is the best possible order; and this grand and energetic plan for giving uniformity to the debt was befitting a bold and complete revolution, which aimed at regulating every thing by the standard of the public right.*

With this boldness Cambon's plan combined a scrupulous regard for engagements made with foreigners, who had been promised repayment at fixed periods. It provided that, as the assignats were not current out of France, the foreign creditors should be paid in specie, and at the promised periods. Moreover, the communes having contracted particular debts, exposing their creditors to great inconvenience by not paying them, the state was to take upon itself their debts, but not to seize their property till the payment of the sums for which it should have engaged. This plan was adopted entire, and it was as well executed as conceived. The capital of the debt thus reduced to uniformity was converted into a mass of annuities of two hundred millions per annum. It was deemed right, by way of compensating for the old taxes of different kinds with which it was burdened, to impose a general duty of one-fifth, which reduced the amount of interest to one hundred and sixty millions.

* "The whole of the creditors, both royal and republican, were paid only in assignats, which progressively fell to a fifth, a tenth, a hundredth, and at last, in 1797, to a two hundred and fiftieth part of their nominal value; so that, in the space of a few years, the payment was entirely illusory, and a national bankruptcy had, in fact, existed many years before it was formally declared by the Directory."—*Alison.* E.

In this manner every thing was simplified and rendered perfectly clear; a great source of stockjobbing was destroyed, and confidence was restored, because a partial bankruptcy in regard to this or that kind of stock could no longer take place, and it was not to be supposed in regard to the whole debt.

From this moment it became more easy to have recourse to a loan. We shall presently see in what manner that expedient was employed to support the assignats.

The value which the Revolution disposed of in order to defray its extraordinary expenses, still consisted in national domains. This value, represented by the assignats, floated in the circulation. It was necessary to favour sales for the purpose of bringing back the assignats, and to raise their value by rendering them more rare. Victories were the best but not the readiest means of promoting sales. Various expedients had been devised to make amends for the want of them. The purchasers had, for instance, been allowed to pay in several yearly instalments. But this measure, designed to favour the peasants and to render them proprietors, was more likely to encourage sales than to bring back the assignats. In order to diminish their circulating quantity with greater certainty, it was resolved to make the compensation for offices partly in assignats and partly in *acknowledgments of liquidation.* The compensations amounting to less than three thousand francs were to be paid in assignats, the others in acknowledgments of liquidation, which could not be divided into smaller sums than ten thousand livres, which were not to circulate as money, were to be transferable only like any other effects to bearer, and were to be taken in payment for national domains. In this manner the portion of the national domains converted into forced money would be diminished, all that would be transformed into acknowledgments of liquidation would consist of sums not minutely divided, transferable with difficulty, fixed in the hands of the rich, withdrawn from circulation and from stockjobbing.

In order to promote still more the sale of the national domains, it was decided, in creating the Great Book, that the inscriptions of annuities in that book should be taken for one-half the amount in payment for those possessions. This facility could not fail to produce new sales and new returns of assignats.

But all these schemes were insufficient, and the mass of paper money was still far too considerable. The Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the Convention, had decreed the creation of five thousand one hundred millions of assignats: four hundred and eighty-four millions had not yet been issued, and remained in the exchequer; consequently four thousand six hundred and sixteen millions only had been thrown into circulation. Part had come back by means of sales; the purchasers being allowed to pay by instalments, from twelve to fifteen

millions were due upon sales effected, and eight hundred and forty millions had been returned and burnt. Thus the amount in circulation, in the month of August, 1793, was three thousand seven hundred and seventy-six millions.

The first step was to take the character of money from the assignats with the royal effigy, which were hoarded, and injured the republican assignats by the superior confidence which they enjoyed. Though deprived of their monetary character, they ceased not to have a value; they were transformed into paper payable to bearer, and they retained the faculty of being taken in payment either of contributions or for national property, till the first of January ensuing. After that period they were not to have any sort of value. These assignats amounted to five hundred and fifty-eight millions. This measure ensured their withdrawal from circulation in less than four months; and, as it was well known that they were all in the hands of counter-revolutionary speculators, the government exhibited a proof of justice in not annulling them, and in merely obliging the holders to return them to the exchequer.

It will be recollected that, in the month of May, when it was declared in principle that there should be armies called revolutionary, it was decreed also that a forced loan of one thousand millions should be raised from the rich, in order to defray the expenses of a war of which they, as aristocrats, were reputed to be the authors, and to which they would not devote either their persons or their fortunes. This loan, assessed as we shall presently see, was destined, according to Cambon's plan, to be employed in taking one thousand millions of assignats out of circulation. To leave the option to the well-disposed citizens, and to ensure them some advantages, a voluntary loan was opened; those who came forward to fill it received an inscription of annuity at the rate already decreed of five per cent., and thus obtained interest for their capital. This inscription was to exempt them from their contribution to the forced loan, or at least from a portion of it equivalent to the amount invested in the voluntary loan. The ill-disposed people of wealth, who waited for the forced loan, were to receive a title bearing no interest, and which was, like the inscription of annuity, but a republican title with a deduction of five per cent. Lastly, as it had been settled that the inscriptions should be taken for half the amount in payment for national property, those who contributed to the voluntary loan, receiving an inscription of annuity, had the faculty of reimbursing themselves in national property: on the contrary, the certificates of the forced loan were not to be taken till two years after the peace in payment for purchased domains. It was requisite, so said the *projet*, to interest the rich in the speedy conclusion of the war, and in the pacification of Europe.

By means of the forced voluntary loan, one thousand millions

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of assignats were to be returned to the exchequer. These were destined to be burned. There would be returned by the contributions which yet remained to be paid seven hundred millions, five hundred and fifty-eight millions of which were in royal assignats, already deprived of their monetary value, and no longer possessing the faculty of paying for the taxes. It was certain, therefore, that, in two or three months, in the first place the thousand millions from the loan, and in the next, seven hundred millions in contributions, would be withdrawn from circulation. The floating sum of three thousand seven hundred and seventy-six millions would thus be reduced to two thousand and seventy-six millions. It was to be presumed that the faculty of changing the inscriptions of the debt into national property would lead to new purchases, and that in this way five or six hundred millions might be returned. The amount then would be further reduced to fifteen or sixteen hundred millions. Thus, for the moment, by reducing the floating mass more than one half, the assignats would be restored to their value; and the four hundred and eighty-four millions in the exchequer might be employed to advantage. The seven hundred millions returned by taxes, five hundred and fifty-eight of which were to receive the republican effigy and to be thrown into circulation again, would thus recover their value, and might be employed in the following year. The assignats would thus be raised for the moment, and that was the essential point. If the republic should be successful and save itself, victory would completely establish their value, allow new issues to be made, and the remainder of the national domains to be realized—a remainder that was still considerable, and that was daily increasing by emigration.

The manner in which this forced loan was to be executed was in its nature prompt and necessarily arbitrary. How is it possible to estimate property without error, without injustice, even in periods of tranquillity, taking the necessary time, and consulting all probabilities? Now, that which is not possible even with the most propitious circumstances, could still less be hoped for in a time of violence and hurry. But when the government was compelled to injure so many families, to strike so many individuals, could it care much about a mistake in regard to fortune or any little inaccuracy in the assessment? It therefore instituted, for the forced loan as for the requisitions, a sort of dictatorship, and assigned it to the communes. Every person was obliged to give in a statement of his income. In every commune the general council appointed examiners, and these decided from their knowledge of the localities if those statements were probable; and, if they supposed them to be false, they had a right to double them. Out of the income of each family the sum of one thousand francs was set aside for each individual, husband, wife, and children: all beyond this was deemed sur-

plus income, and as such, liable to taxation. For a taxable income of 1000 to 10,000 francs the tax was one-tenth; a surplus of 1000 francs paid 100; a surplus of 2000 paid 200, and so on. All surplus income exceeding 10,000 francs was charged a sum of equal amount. In this manner every family which, besides the 1000 francs allowed per head, and the surplus income of 10,000 francs which had to pay a tax of one-tenth, possessed a still larger income, was obliged to give the whole excess to the loan. Thus a family consisting of five persons and enjoying an income of 50,000 livres, had 5000 francs reputed to be necessary, 10,000 francs taxed one-tenth, which reduced it to 9000, making in the whole 14,000; and was obliged to give up for this year the remaining 36,000 to the forced or voluntary loan. To take one year's surplus from all the opulent classes was certainly not so very harsh a proceeding, when so many individuals were going to sacrifice their lives in the field of battle; and this sum, which, moreover, the government might have taken irrevocably and as an indispensable war-tax, might be changed for a republican title, convertible either into state annuities or into portions of the national property.

This grand operation consisted therefore in withdrawing from circulation one thousand millions in assignats, by taking it from the rich; in divesting that sum of its quality of money and of circulating medium, and turning it into a mere charge upon the national property, which the rich might change or not into a corresponding portion of that property. In this manner they were obliged to become purchasers, or at least to furnish the same sum in assignats as they would have furnished had they become so. It was in short one thousand millions in assignats, the forced placing of which was effected.

To these measures for supporting paper money were added others. After destroying the rivalry between the old contracts of the state and that of the assignats with the royal effigy, it became necessary to destroy the rivalry of the shares in the financial companies. A decree was therefore passed abolishing the life insurance company, the *compagnie de la caisse d'escompte*, and in short all those whose funds consisted in shares payable to bearer, in negotiable effects, or inscriptions transferable at pleasure. It was decided that they should wind up their accounts within a short period, and that in future the government alone should have a right to establish institutions of that kind. A speedy report concerning the East India Company was ordered; that company, from its importance, requiring a separate examination. It was impossible to prevent the existence of bills of exchange upon foreign countries, but those Frenchmen were declared traitors to their country who should place their funds in the banks or counting-houses of countries with which the republic was at war. Lastly, new severities were enacted against specie and the traffic carried on with it. Six years' im-

prisonment had already been awarded to any one who should buy or sell specie, that is, who should receive or give it for a different sum in assignats; in like manner all buyers and sellers of goods, who should bargain for a different price according as payment might be stipulated for in specie or in assignats, had been subjected to a fine: such facts were difficult to come at, and the legislature made itself amends by increasing the penalty. Every person convicted of having refused to take assignats in payment, or of having received or paid them away at a certain loss, was sentenced to a fine of three thousand livres and six months imprisonment for the first offence; and to a fine of double the amount and twenty years' imprisonment for the second. Lastly, as metallic money was indispensable in the markets, and a substitute for it could not easily be found, it was enacted that the bells should be used for making decimes, demi-decimes, &c., equivalent to two sous, one sou, &c.

But what means soever might be employed for raising the value of assignats, and destroying the rivalry which was so prejudicial to them, no hope could be entertained of restoring them to a level with the price of commodities; and the forced reduction of the latter became, therefore, a measure of necessity. Besides, the people were impressed with a belief that a bad spirit prevailed among the dealers, and that they were guilty of forestalling; and, whatever might be the opinion of the legislators, they could not bridle on this particular point a populace which, in all other respects, they were obliged to let loose. It was therefore requisite to do for commodities in general what had already been done in regard to corn. A decree was issued which placed forestalling among the number of capital crimes, and attached to it the punishment of death. He was considered as a forestaller *who should withhold from circulation commodities of first necessity*, without placing them publicly on sale. The articles and commodities declared *of first necessity* were bread, wine, butchers' meat, corn, flour, vegetables, fruit, charcoal, wood, butter, tallow, hemp, flax, salt, leather, drinkables, salted meat, cloth, wool, and all stuffs, excepting silks. The means of execution for such a decree were necessarily inquisitorial and vexatious. Every dealer was required to render a statement of the stock in his possession. These declarations were to be verified by means of domiciliary visits. Any fraud was, like the crime itself, to be punished with death. Commissioners appointed by the communes were authorized to inspect the invoices, and, from these invoices, to fix a price which, while it left a moderate profit to the dealer, should not exceed the means of the people. If, however, added the decree, the high price of the invoices should render it impossible for the dealers to make any profit, the sale must nevertheless take place at such a price as the purchaser could afford. Thus, in this decree, as in that which ordered a declaration respecting

corn and a *maximum*, the legislature left to the communes the task of fixing the prices according to the state of things in each locality. It was soon led to generalize these measures still more, and, in generalizing them more, to render them more violent.*

The military, financial, and administrative operations of this epoch were, therefore, as ably conceived as the situation permitted, and as vigorous as the danger required. The whole population, divided into generations, was at the disposal of the representatives, and might be called out either to fight or to manufacture arms, or to nurse the wounded. All the old debts, converted into a single republican debt, were made liable to one and the same fate, and to be worth no more than the assignats. The numerous rivalships of the old contracts, of the royal assignats, of the shares in companies, were destroyed; the government prevented capital from being thus locked up by assimilating them all; as the assignats did not come back, it took one thousand millions from the rich, and made it pass from the state of money to the state of a mere charge upon the national property. Lastly, in order to establish a forced relation between the circulating medium and the commodities of first necessity, it invested the communes with authority to seek out all articles of consumption, all merchandise, and to cause them to be sold at a price suited to each locality. Never did a government adopt at once measures more vast or more boldly conceived; and, before we can make their violence a subject of reproach against their authors, we must forget the danger of a universal invasion, and the necessity of living upon the national domains without purchasers. The whole system of forced means sprang from these two causes. At the present day, a superficial and ungrateful generation finds fault with these operations, condemns some as violent, others as contrary to right principles of economy, and adds the vice of ingratitude to ignorance of the time and of the situation. Let us revert to the facts, and let us at length be just to those whom it cost such efforts and such perils to save us!

After these general measures of finance and administration, others were adopted with more particular reference to each theatre of the war. The extraordinary means long resolved upon in regard to La Vendée were at length decreed. The character of that war was now well known. The forces of the rebellion did not consist in organized troops which it might be

* "These extravagant measures had not been long in operation, before they produced the most disastrous effects. A great proportion of the shops in Paris, and all the principal towns, were shut; business of every sort was at a stand. the laws of the maximum and against forestallers had spread terror and distrust as much among the middling classes who had commenced the Revolution, as the guillotine had among nobles and priests who had been its earliest victims."—*Alison.* E.

possible to destroy by victories, but in a population which, apparently peaceable and engaged in agricultural occupations, suddenly rose at a given signal, overwhelmed by its numbers, surprised by its unforeseen attack, the republican troops, and, if defeated, concealed itself in its woods, in its fields, and resumed its labours, without it being possible to distinguish him who had been a soldier from him who had never ceased to be a peasant. An obstinate struggle of more than six months, insurrections which had sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand men, acts of the greatest temerity, a renown inspiring terror, and the established opinion that the greatest danger to the Revolution lay in this destructive civil war, could not but call the whole attention of the government to La Vendée, and provoke the most violent and angry measures in regard to it.

It had long been asserted that the only way to reduce that unfortunate country was, not to fight, but to destroy it, since its armies were nowhere and yet every where. These views were adopted in a violent decree, in which La Vendée, the Bourbons, the foreigners, were all at once doomed to extermination. In consequence of this decree, the minister at war was ordered to send into the disturbed departments combustible matters for setting fire to the woods, the copses, and the bushes.* "The forests," it was there said, "shall be cut down, the haunts of the rebels shall be destroyed, the crops shall be cut by companies of labourers, the cattle seized, and the whole carried out of the country. The old men, the women, and the children, shall be removed from the country, and provision shall be made for their subsistence with the care due to humanity." The generals and the representatives on mission were moreover enjoined to collect around La Vendée the supplies necessary for the subsistence of large masses, and immediately afterwards to raise in the surrounding departments not a gradual levy, as in the other parts of France, but a sudden and general levy, and thus pour one whole population on another.

The choice of the men corresponded with the nature of these measures. We have seen Biron, Berthier, Menou, Westermann, compromised and stripped of their command for having

* "I did not see a single male being at the towns of St. Hermand, Chantonnay, or Herbiers. A few women alone had escaped the sword. Country-seats, cottages, habitations of whichever kind, were burnt. The herds and flocks were wandering in terror around their usual places of shelter, now smoking in ruins. I was surprised by night, but the wavering and dismal blaze of the conflagration afforded light over the country. To the bleating of the disturbed flocks, and bellowing of the terrified cattle, were joined the deep hoarse notes of carrion crows, and the yells of wild animals coming from the recesses of the woods to prey on the carcasses of the slain. At length a distant column of fire, widening and increasing as I approached, served me as a beacon. It was the town of Mortagne in flames. When I arrived there, no living creatures were to be seen, save a few wretched women, who were striving to save some remnants of their property from the general conflagration."—*Memoirs of a Republican Officer.* E.

supported the system of discipline, and Rossignol, who infringed that discipline, taken out of prison by the agents of the ministry. The triumph of the Jacobin system was complete. Rossignol, from merely *chef de bataillon*, was at once appointed general and commander of the army of the coasts of La Rochelle. Ronsin, the principal of those agents of the ministry who carried into La Vendée all the passions of the Jacobins, and asserted that it was not experienced generals, but stanch republican generals, who were wanted, that it was not a regular war, but a war of extermination which ought to be waged, that every man of the new levy was a soldier, and that every soldier might be a general—Ronsin, the principal of these agents, was made, in four days, captain, *chef d'escadron*, general of brigade, and assistant to Rossignol, with all the powers of the minister himself, for the purpose of presiding over the execution of this new system of warfare. Orders were issued, at the same time, that the garrison of Mayence should be conveyed post from the Rhine to La Vendée.

So great was the prevailing distrust, that the generals of that brave garrison had been put under arrest for having capitulated. Fortunately, the brave Merlin, who was always listened to with the respect due to an heroic character, came forward and bore testimony to their devotedness and intrepidity. Kleber and Aubert-Dubayet were restored to their soldiers, who had resolved to liberate them by force, and they repaired to La Vendée, where they were destined by their ability to retrieve the disasters caused by the agents of the ministry. There is a truth which cannot be too often repeated: Passion is never either judicious or enlightened, but it is passion alone that can save nations in great extremities. The appointment of Rossignol was a strange boldness, but it indicated a course firmly resolved upon. It admitted of no more half measures in that disastrous war in La Vendée, and it obliged all the local administrations that were still wavering to speak out. Those fiery Jacobins, dispersed among the armies, frequently excited agitation in them, but they imparted to them that energy of resolution, without which there would have been no equipping, no provisioning, no means of any kind. They were most iniquitously unjust towards the generals, but they permitted none of them to falter or to hesitate. We shall soon see that their frantic ardour when combined with the prudence of more sedate men produced the grandest and the most glorious results.

Kilmaine, after effecting that admirable retreat which had saved the army of the North, was immediately superseded by Houchard, formerly commander of the army of the Moselle, who possessed a high reputation for bravery and zeal. In the committee of public welfare some changes had taken place. Thuriot and Gasparin had resigned on account of illness. One of them was succeeded by Robespierre, who at last made his way

to the government, and whose immense power was thus acknowledged and submitted to by the Convention, which hitherto had not appointed him upon any committee. The other was replaced by the celebrated Carnot,* who had previously been sent to the army of the North, where he had obtained the character of an able and intelligent officer.

To all these administrative and military measures were added measures of vengeance, agreeably to the usual custom of following up acts of energy with acts of cruelty. We have already seen that, on the demand of the envoys of the primary assemblies, a law against suspected persons had been resolved upon. The *projet* of it was yet to be presented. It was called for every day, on the ground that the decree of the 27th of March, which put the aristocrats out of the pale of the law, did not go far enough. That decree required a trial, but people wanted one which should permit the imprisonment without trial of the citizens suspected on account of their opinions, merely to secure their

* "Carnot was one of the first officers of the French army who embraced cordially and enthusiastically the regenerating views of the National Assembly. In 1791 he was in the garrison at St. Omer, where he married Mademoiselle Dupont, daughter of a merchant there. His political principles, the moderation of his conduct, and his varied knowledge procured for him soon after the honour of a seat in the legislature, from which period he devoted himself wholly to the imperative duties imposed on him either by the choice of his fellow-citizens, or by the suffrages of his colleagues. The Convention placed in the hands of Carnot the colossal and incoherent mass of the military requisition.' It was necessary to organize, discipline, and teach. He drew from it fourteen armies. He had to create able leaders. His penetrating eye ranged through the most obscure ranks in search of talent united with courage and disinterestedness; and he promoted it rapidly to the highest grades. In 1802, Carnot opposed the creation of the Legion of Honour. He likewise opposed the erection of the consulate for life; but it was more especially at the period when it was proposed to raise Bonaparte to the throne that he exerted all his energy. He stood alone in the midst of the general defection. His conduct during the Hundred Days appears to me summed up completely in the memorable words which Napoleon addressed to him, on entering the carriage when he was going to Rochefort, 'Carnot, I have known you too late!' After the catastrophe of the Hundred Days, Carnot was proscribed, and obliged to expatriate himself. He died at Magdeburg in 1823, at the age of seventy years. It is true, he had ambition, but he has himself told us its character—it was the ambition of the three hundred Spartans going to defend Thermopylæ."—*Arago.* E.

"Carnot was a man laborious and sincere, but liable to the influence of intrigues, and easily deceived. When minister of war he showed but little talent, and had many quarrels with the ministers of finance and the treasury, in all of which he was wrong. He left the government, convinced that he could not fulfil his station for want of money. He afterwards voted against the establishment of the empire, but as his conduct was always upright, he never gave any umbrage to the government. During the prosperity of the empire he never asked for any thing; but, after the misfortunes of Russia, he demanded employment and got the command of Antwerp, where he acquitted himself very well. After Napoleon's return from Elba, he was minister of the interior, and the emperor had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was faithful, and a man of truth and probity."—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

persons. While this decree was pending, it was decided that the property of all those who were outlawed should belong to the republic. More severe measures against foreigners were next demanded. They had already been placed under the *surveillance* of the committees styled revolutionary, but something more was required. The idea of a foreign conspiracy, of which Pitt was supposed to be the prime mover, filled all minds more than ever. A pocket-book found on the walls of one of our frontier-towns contained letters written in English, and which English agents in France addressed to one another. In these letters mention was made of considerable sums sent to secret agents dispersed in our camps, in our fortresses, and in our principal towns. Some were charged with contracting an intimacy with our generals in order to seduce them, and to obtain accurate information concerning the state of our forces, of our fortified places, and of our supplies; others were commissioned to penetrate into our arsenals and our magazines with phosphoric matches and to set them on fire. "Make the exchange," it was also said in these letters, "rise to two hundred livres for one pound sterling. The assignats must be discredited as much as possible, and all those which have not the royal effigy must be refused. Make the price of all articles of consumption rise too. Give orders to all your merchants to buy up all the articles of first necessity. If you can persuade Cott— to buy up the tallow and the candles, no matter at what price, make the public pay five francs per pound for them. His lordship is highly pleased with the way in which B—t—z has acted. We hope that the murders will be prudently committed. Disguised priests and women are fittest for this operation."

These letters merely proved that England had some military spies in our armies, some agents in our commercial towns for the purpose of aggravating there the distress occasioned by the dearth, and that some of them might *perhaps* take money upon the pretext of committing seasonable murders.* But all these means were far from formidable, and they were certainly exaggerated by the usual boasting of the agents employed in this

* We need scarcely point out to our readers the utter absurdity of the supposition that the English government employed agents in France to recommend that "seasonable murders" should be "prudently committed," and to reward those who perpetrated them! We are surprised that an historian so temperate and sagacious as M. Thiers should have thought it worth his while to insinuate even a qualified belief in such a preposterous rumour. His cautious introduction of the word "perhaps" does not much mend the matter. But, granting that there were the slightest foundation for such a supposition, was it for France to take fright at, and be filled with a virtuous abhorrence of, murder---that same France which had winked at the wholesale slaughter of the Swiss guards, and the still more indefensible and atrocious massacre of upwards of eight thousand persons in the dungeons of Paris? When a nation has not hesitated to "swallow the camel," it is sheer affectation in it to "strain at the gnat." E.

kind of manœuvre. It is true that fires had broken out at Douai, at Valenciennes, in the sailmakers' building at Lorient, at Bayonne, and in the parks of artillery near Chemillé and Saumur. It is possible that these agents might have been the authors of those fires; but assuredly they had not pointed either the dagger of Paris, the life-guardsman against Lepelletier, or the knife of Charlotte Corday against Marat; and, if they were engaged in stockjobbing speculations upon foreign paper and assignats, if they bought some goods by means of the credits opened in London by Pitt, they had but a very slight influence on our commercial and financial situation, which was the effect of causes far more general, and of far greater magnitude than these paltry intrigues. These letters, however, concurring with several fires, two murders, and the jobbing in foreign paper, excited universal indignation. The Convention, by a decree, denounced the British government to all nations, and declared Pitt the enemy of mankind. At the same time it ordered that all foreigners domiciliated in France since the 14th of July, 1789, should be immediately put in a state of arrest.

Lastly, it was directed by a decree that the proceedings against Custine should be speedily brought to a conclusion. Biron and Lamarche were put upon trial. The act of accusation of the Girondins was pressed afresh, and orders were given to the revolutionary tribunal to take up the proceedings against them with the least possible delay. The wrath of the Assembly was again directed against the remnant of the Bourbons and that unfortunate family which was deploring in the tower of the Temple the death of the late King. It was decreed that all the Bourbons who were still in France should be exiled, excepting those who were under the sword of the law; that the Duke of Orleans, who had been transferred in the month of May to Marseilles, and whom the federalists were against bringing to trial, should be conveyed back to Paris, and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. His death would stop the mouths of those who accused the Mountain of an intention to set up a king. The unhappy Marie Antoinette, notwithstanding her sex, was, like her husband, devoted to the scaffold. She was reputed to have instigated all the plots of the late court, and was deemed much more culpable than Louis XVI. Above all, she was a daughter of Austria, which was at this moment the most formidable of all the hostile powers. According to the custom of most daringly defying the most dangerous enemy, it was determined to send Marie Antoinette to the scaffold, at the very moment when the imperial armies were advancing towards our territory. She was, therefore, transferred to the Conciergerie to be tried, like any ordinary accused person, by the revolutionary tribunal. The Princess Elisabeth, destined to banishment, was detained as a witness against her sister. The two children were to be maintained and educated by the republic;

which would judge, at the return of peace, what was fitting to be done in regard to them. Up to this time the family imprisoned in the Temple had been supplied with a degree of luxury consistent with its former rank. The Assembly now decreed that it should be reduced to what was barely necessary. Lastly, to crown all these acts of revolutionary vengeance, it was decreed that the royal tombs at St. Denis should be destroyed.*

Such were the measures which the imminent dangers of the month of August, 1793, provoked for the defence and for the vengeance of the Revolution.

* "The royal tombs at St. Denis near Paris, the ancient cemetery of the Bourbons, the Valois, and all the long line of French monarchs, were not only defaced on the outside, but utterly broken down, the bodies exposed, and the bones dispersed. The first vault opened was that of Turenne. The body was found dry like a mummy, and the features perfectly resembling the portrait of this distinguished general. Relics were sought after with eagerness, and Camille Desmoulins cut off one of the little fingers. The features of Henry IV. were also perfect. A soldier cut off a lock of the beard with his sabre. The body was placed upright on a stone for the rabble to divert themselves with it; and a woman, reproaching the dead Henry with the crime of having been a king, knocked down the corpse, by giving it a blow in the face. Two large pits had been dug in front of the north entrance of the church, and quicklime laid in them; into those pits the bodies were thrown promiscuously; the leaden coffins were then carried to a furnace, which had been erected in the cemetery, and cast into balls, destined to punish the enemies of the republic."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

MOVEMENT OF THE ARMIES IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1793 —INVESTMENT OF LYONS—TREASON OF TOULON—PLAN OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST LA VENDÉE — VICTORY OF HONDTSCHOOTE — GENERAL REJOICING — FRESH REVERSES — DEFEAT AT MENIN, AT PIRMASENS, AT PERPIGNAN, AND AT TORFOU—RETREAT OF CANCLAUX UPON NANTES.

After the retreat of the French from Cæsar's Camp to the camp of Gavarelle, it was again the moment for the allies to follow up a demoralized army, which had been uniformly unfortunate ever since the opening of the campaign. Since the month of March, in fact, beaten at Aix-la-Chapelle and at Neerwinden, it had lost Dutch Flanders, Belgium, the camp of Famars, Cæsar's Camp, and the fortresses of Condé and Valenciennes. One of its generals had gone over to the enemy, another had been killed. Thus, ever since the battle of Jemappes, it had been making only a series of retreats, highly meritorious, it is true, but by no means encouraging. Without even entertaining the too bold design of a direct march to Paris, the allies had it in their power to destroy this nucleus of an army, and then they might take at their leisure all the places which it might suit their selfishness to occupy. But as soon as Valenciennes had surrendered, the English, in virtue of the agreement made at Antwerp, insisted on the siege of Dunkirk. Then, while the Prince of Coburg, remaining in the environs of his camp at Herin, between the Scarpe and the Scheldt, meant to occupy the French, and thought of taking Le Quesnoy, the Duke of York, marching with the English and Hanoverian army by Orchies, Menin, Dixmude, and Furnes, sat down before Dunkirk between the Langmoor and the sea. Two sieges to be carried on would therefore give us a little more time. Houchard sent to Gavarelle, hastily collected there all the disposable force in order to fly to the relief of Dunkirk. To prevent the English from gaining a seaport on the continent, to beat individually our greatest enemy, to deprive him of all advantage from this war, and to furnish the English opposition with new weapons against Pitt—such were the reasons that caused Dunkirk to be considered as the most important point of the whole theatre of war. "The salvation of the republic is there"—wrote the committee of public welfare to Houchard; and at the instance of Carnot, who was perfectly sensible that the troops collected between the northern frontier and that of the Rhine, that is on the Moselle, were useless there, it was decided that a reinforcement should

be drawn from them and sent to Flanders. Twenty or twenty-five days were thus spent in preparations, a delay easily conceivable on the part of the French, who had to reassemble their troops dispersed at considerable distances, but inconceivable on the part of the English, who had only four or five marches to make in order to be under the walls of Dunkirk.

We left the two French armies of the Moselle and of the Rhine endeavouring to advance, but too late, towards Mayence, and without preventing the reduction of that place. They had afterwards fallen back upon Saarbruck, Hornbach, and Weissenburg. We must give the reader a notion of the theatre of war, to enable him to comprehend these movements. The French frontier is of a singular conformation to the north and east. The Scheldt, the Meuse, the Moselle, the chain of the Vosges, and the Rhine, run towards the north, forming nearly parallel lines. The Rhine, on reaching the extremity of the Vosges, makes a sudden bend, ceases to run in a parallel direction with those lines, and terminates them by turning the foot of the Vosges, and receiving in its course the Moselle and the Meuse. On the northern frontier, the allies had advanced as far as between the Scheldt and the Meuse. Between the Meuse and the Moselle they had not made any progress, because the weak corps left by them between Luxemburg and Treves had not been able to attempt any thing; but they were stronger between the Moselle, the Vosges, and the Rhine.

We have seen that they placed themselves *à cheval* at the Vosges, partly on the eastern and partly on the western slope. The plan to be pursued was, as we have before observed, extremely simple. Considering the backbone of the Vosges as a river, all the passages of which you ought to occupy, you might throw all your masses upon one bank, overwhelm the enemy on that side, and then return and crush him on the other. This idea had not occurred either to the French or to the allies; and ever since the capture of Mayence, the Prussians, placed on the western slope, faced the army of the Rhine. We had retired within the celebrated lines of Weissenburg. The army of the Moselle, to the number of twenty thousand men, was posted at Saarbruck, on the Sarre; the corps of the Vosges, twelve thousand in number, was at Hornbach and Kettrick, and was connected in the mountains with the extreme left of the army of the Rhine. The army of the Rhine, twenty thousand strong, guarded the Lauter from Weissenburg to Lauterburg. Such are the lines of Weissenburg. The Sarre runs from the Vosges to the Moselle, the Lauter from the Vosges to the Rhine, and both form a single line, which almost perpendicularly intersects the Moselle, the Vosges, and the Rhine. You make yourself master of it by occupying Saarbruck, Hornbach, Kettrick, Weissenburg, and Lauterburg. This we had done, We had scarcely sixty thousand men on this whole frontier,

because it had been necessary to send succours to Houchard. The Prussians had taken two months to approach us, and had at length arrived at Pirmasens. Reinforced by the forty thousand men who had just brought the siege of Mayence to a conclusion, and united with the Austrians, they might have overwhelmed us on one or the other of the two slopes, but discord prevailed between Prussia and Austria, on account of the partition of Poland. Frederick William, who was still at the camp of the Vosges, did not second the impatient ardour of Wurmser. The latter, full of fire, notwithstanding his age,* made every day fresh attempts upon the lines of Weissenburg; but his partial attacks had proved unsuccessful, and served only to slaughter men to no purpose. Such was still, early in September, the state of things on the Rhine.

In the South, events had begun to develop themselves. The long uncertainty of the Lyonnese had at length terminated in open resistance, and the siege of their city had become inevitable. We have seen that they offered to submit and to acknowledge the Constitution, but without explaining themselves respecting the decrees which enjoined them to send the imprisoned patriots to Paris, and to dissolve the new sectionary authority: nay, it was not long before they infringed those decrees in the most signal manner, by sending Chalier and Riard to the scaffold, making daily preparations for war, taking money from the public coffers, and detaining the convoys destined for the armies. Many partisans of the emigration had gained admittance among them, and alarmed them about the re-establishment of the old Mountaineer municipality. They flattered them, moreover, with the arrival of the Marseillais, who, they said, were ascending the Rhone, and with the march of the Piedmontese, who were about to debouch from the Alps with sixty thousand men. Though the Lyonnese, stanch federalists, bore an equal enmity to the foreign powers and to the emigrants, yet they felt such a horror of the Mountain and the old municipality, that they were ready to expose themselves to the danger and the infamy of a foreign alliance rather than to the vengeance of the Convention.

The Saône, running between the Jura and the Côte-d'Or, and the Rhone, coming from the Valais between the Jura and the Alps, unite at Lyons. That wealthy city is seated at their confluence. Up the Saône, towards Macon, the country was entirely republican, and Laporte and Reverchond, the deputies, having collected some thousands of the requisitionary force, cut

* "Wurmser, observed Bonaparte, was very old, brave as a lion, but so extremely deaf, that he could not hear the balls whistling about him. Wurmser saved my life on one occasion. When I reached Rimini, a messenger overtook me with a letter from him, containing an account of a plan to poison me, and where it was to have been put into execution. It would in all probability have succeeded, had it not been for this information. Wurmser, like Fox, acted a noble part."—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

off the communication with the Jura. Dubois-Crancé was approaching on the side next to the Alps, and guarding the upper course of the Rhone. But the Lyonnese were completely masters of the lower course of the Rhone, and of its right bank as far as the mountains of Auvergne. They were masters also of the whole Forez, into which they made frequent incursions, and supplied themselves with arms at St. Etienne. A skilful engineer had erected excellent fortifications around their city; and a foreigner had founded cannon for the ramparts. The population was divided into two portions. The young men accompanied Precy, the commandant, in his excursions; the married men, the fathers of families, guarded the city and its intrenchments.

At length, on the 8th of August, Dubois-Crancé, who had quelled the federalist revolt at Grenoble, prepared to march upon Lyons, agreeably to the decree which enjoined him to reduce that rebellious city to obedience. The army of the Alps amounted at the utmost to twenty-five thousand men, and it was soon likely to have on its hands the Piedmontese, who, profiting at length by the month of August, made preparations for debouching by the great chain. This army had lately been weakened, as we have seen, by two detachments, the one to reinforce the army of Italy, and the other to reduce the Marseillais. The Puy-de-Dôme, which was to send its recruits, had kept them to stifle the revolt of La Lozère, of which we have already treated. Houchard had retained the legion of the Rhine, which was destined for the Alps; and the minister was continually promising a reinforcement of one thousand horse, which did not arrive. Dubois-Crancé nevertheless detached five thousand regular troops, and added to them seven or eight thousand young requisitionaries. He came with his forces and placed himself between the Saône and the Rhone in such a manner as to occupy their upper course, to intercept the supplies coming to Lyons by water, to remain in communication with the army of the Alps, and to cut off all communication with Switzerland and Savoy. By these dispositions he still left the Forez and the still more important heights of Fourvières to the Lyonnese; but in his situation he could not act otherwise. The essential point was to occupy the courses of the two rivers, and to cut off Lyons from Switzerland and Piedmont. Dubois-Crancé awaited, in order to complete the blockade, the fresh forces which had been promised him, and the siege artillery which he was obliged to fetch from our fortresses near the Alps. The transport of this artillery required five thousand horses.

On the 8th of August, he summoned the city. The conditions on which he insisted were the absolute disarming of all the citizens, the retirement of each to his own house, the surrender of the arsenal, and the formation of a provisional municipality. But at this moment, the secret emigrants in the commission and

the staff continued to deceive the Lyonnese, and to alarm them about the return of the Mountaineer municipality, telling them at the same time that sixty thousand Piedmontese were ready to debouch upon their city. An action which took place between two advanced posts, and which terminated in favour of the Lyonnese, excited them to the highest pitch and decided their resistance and their misfortunes. Dubois-Crancé opened his fire upon the quarter of the Croix Rousse, between the two rivers, where he had taken position, and on the very first day his artillery did great mischief. Thus one of our most important manufacturing cities was involved in the horrors of bombardment, and we had to execute this bombardment in presence of the Piedmontese, who were ready to descend from the Alps.

Meanwhile Cartaux* had marched upon Marseilles, and had crossed the Durance in the month of August. The Marseillais had retired from Aix towards their own city, and had resolved to defend the gorges of Septème, through which the road from Aix to Marseilles runs. On the 24th, General Doppet attacked them with the advanced guard of Cartaux. The action was very brisk, but a section, which had always been in opposition to the others, went over to the side of the republicans, and turned the combat in their favour. The gorges were carried, and on the 25th Cartaux entered Marseilles with his little army.

This event decided another, the most calamitous that had yet afflicted the republic. The city of Toulon, which had always appeared to be animated with the most violent republicanism, while the municipality had been maintained there, had changed its spirit under the new authority of the sections, and was soon destined to change masters. The Jacobins, jointly with the municipality, inveighed against the aristocratic officers of the navy; they never ceased to complain of the slowness of the repairs done to the squadron, and of its loitering in port; and they loudly demanded the punishment of the officers to whom they attributed the unfavourable result of the expedition against Sardinia. The moderate republicans replied there, as every where else, that the old officers alone were capable of commanding squadrons; that the ships could not be more expeditiously repaired; that it would be the height of imprudence to insist on their sailing against the combined Spanish and English fleet; and lastly, that the officers whose punishment was called for were not traitors, but warriors whom the fortune of war had not favoured. The moderates predominated in the sections. A mul-

* "General Cartaux, originally a painter, had become an adjutant in the Parisian corps; he was afterwards employed in the army; and, having been successful against the Marseillais, the deputies of the Mountain had on the same day obtained him the appointments of brigadier-general, and general of division. He was extremely ignorant, and had nothing military about him; otherwise he was not ill-disposed, and committed no excesses at Marseilles on the taking of that city."—*Bourrienne.* E.

titude of secret agents, intriguing on behalf of the emigrants and the English, immediately introduced themselves into Toulon, and induced the inhabitants to go farther than they intended. These agents communicated with Admiral Lord Hood, and made sure that the allied squadrons would be off the harbour, ready to make their appearance at the first signal. In the first place, after the example of the Lyonnese, they caused the president of the Jacobin club, named Sevestre, to be tried and executed. They then restored the refractory priests to their functions. They dug up and carried about in triumph the bones of some unfortunate persons who had perished in the disturbances in behalf of the royalist cause.

The committee of public welfare having ordered the squadron to stop the ships bound to Marseilles, for the purpose of reducing that city, they caused the execution of this order to be refused, and made a merit of it with the sections of Marseilles. They then began to talk of the dangers to which the city was exposed by resisting the Convention, of the necessity for securing aid against its fury, and of the propriety of obtaining that of England by proclaiming Louis XVII. The commissioner of the navy was, as it appears, the principal instrument of the conspiracy. He seized the money in the coffers, sent by sea in quest of funds as far as the department of the Herault, and wrote to Genoa desiring the supplies of provisions to be withheld, that the situation of Toulon might be rendered more critical. The staffs had been changed; a naval officer, compromised in the expedition to Sardinia, was taken out of prison and appointed commander of the place; an old life-guardsman was put at the head of the national guard, and the forts were intrusted to returned emigrants: lastly, Admiral Trogoff, a foreigner whom France had loaded with favours, was secured. A negotiation was opened with Lord Hood, under pretext of an exchange of prisoners, and at the moment when Cartaux had just entered Marseilles, when terror was at its height in Toulon, and when eight or ten thousand Provençals, the most counter-revolutionary in the country, had taken refuge there, the conspirators ventured to submit to the sections the disgraceful proposal to receive the English, who were to take possession of the place in trust for Louis XVII.

The marine, indignant at the treachery, sent a deputation to the sections to oppose the infamy that was preparing. But the Toulonese and Marseillais counter-revolutionists, more daring than ever, rejected the remonstrances of the marine, and caused the proposal of the 29th of August to be adopted. The signal was immediately given to the English. Admiral Trogoff, putting himself at the head of those who were for delivering up the port, called the squadron around him and hoisted the white flag. The brave Rear-admiral Julien, declaring Trogoff a traitor, hoisted the flag of commander-in-chief on board his own ship, and endeavoured to rally round him such of the squadron as re-

mained faithful. But at this moment the traitors, already in possession of the forts, threatened to burn St. Julien and his ships. He was then obliged to fly with a few officers and seamen; the others were hurried away without knowing precisely what was going to be done with them; and Lord Hood, who had long hesitated, at length appeared, and, upon pretext of receiving the port of Toulon in trust for Louis XVII., took possession of it for the purpose of burning and destroying it.*

During this interval, no movement had taken place in the Pyrenees. In the West, preparations were made to carry into execution the measures decreed by the Convention.

We left all the columns of Upper Vendée reorganizing themselves at Angers, Saumur, and Niort. The Vendeans had meanwhile gained possession of the Ponts-de-Cé, and, in consequence of the terror which they excited, Saumur was placed in a state of siege. The column of Luçon and Les Sables was the only one capable of acting on the offensive. It was commanded by a general named Tuncq, one of those who were reputed to belong to the military aristocracy, and whose dismissal had been solicited of the minister by Ronsin. He had with him the two representatives, Bourdon of the Oise, and Goupilleau of Fontenay, whose sentiments were similar to his own, and who were adverse to Ronsin and Rossignol. Goupilleau, in particular, being a native of the country, was inclined, from the ties of consanguinity and friendship, to treat the inhabitants with indulgence, and to spare them the severities which Ronsin and his partisans would fain have inflicted upon them.

The Vendeans, in whom the column of Luçon excited some apprehensions, resolved to direct against it their forces, which had been every where victorious. They wished more especially to succour the division of M. de Roïrand, which, placed before Luçon, and between the two great armies of Upper and Lower Vendée, acted with its own unaided resources, and deserved to be seconded in its efforts. Accordingly, early in August, they directed some parties against Luçon, but were completely repulsed by General Tuncq. They then resolved to make a

* The following is Lord Hood's proclamation on taking possession of Toulon, which certainly does not warrant M. Thiers's assumption, that he entered, "for the purpose of burning and destroying" the town:—"Considering that the sections of Toulon have, by the commissioners whom they have sent to me, made a solemn declaration in favour of Louis XVII. and a monarchical government; and that they will use their utmost efforts to break the chains which fetter their country, and re-establish the Constitution, as it was accepted by their defunct sovereign in 1789; I repeat, by this present declaration, that I take possession of Toulon, and shall keep it solely as a deposit for Louis XVII., and that only till peace is re-established in France." In another proclamation his lordship is still more explicit. "I declare," says he, "that property and persons in Toulon shall be held sacred; we wish only to re-establish peace." Surely Lord Hood could never have dreamed of entering Toulon "for the purpose of burning and destroying it," after publicly pledging himself to sentiments like these! E.

more decisive effort. Messrs. d'Elbée, de Lescure, de Laroche-Jacquelein, and Charette, joined with forty thousand men, proceeded on the 14th of August to the environs of Luçon. Tuncq had scarcely six thousand. M. de Lescure, confident in the superiority of number, gave the fatal advice to attack the republican army on open ground. Messrs. de Lescure and Charette took the command of the left, M. d'Elbée that of the centre, M. de Laroche-Jacquelein that of the right. Messrs. de Lescure and Charette acted with great vigour on the right, but in the centre, the men, obliged to meet regular troops on plain ground, manifested hesitation; and M. de Laroche-Jacquelein, having missed his way, did not arrive in time on the left. General Tuncq, seizing the favourable moment for directing his light artillery against the staggered centre, threw it into confusion, and, in a few moments, put to flight all the Vendeans, forty thousand in number. Never had the latter experienced such a disaster. They lost the whole of their artillery, and returned home stricken with consternation.*

At this moment the dismissal of General Tuncq arrived, which had been demanded by Ronsin. Bourdon and Goupilleau, indignant at this procedure, retained him in his command, wrote to the Convention to obtain the revocation of the minister's decision, and made fresh complaints against the disorganizing party of Saumur, which, they said, produced nothing but confusion, and would fain turn out all the experienced generals to make room for ignorant demagogues. At this moment Rossignol, who was inspecting the different columns under his command, arrived at Luçon. His interview with Tuncq, Goupilleau, and Bourdon, was but an interchange of reproaches. Notwithstanding two victories, he was dissatisfied because battles had been fought with-

* "The Vendeans had to fight in an open plain, a new and difficult thing to them. Lescure proposed arranging the divisions behind each other, in such a manner that they could successively support, and warmly urged the advantages of this plan, which was adopted. The Blues fell back at the first, and the left wing had already taken five cannon, when they perceived that the centre did not follow the movement. M. d'Elbée had given no instructions to his officers; and his soldiers, intending to fight according to their usual custom, by running upon the enemy, M. d'Elbée stopped them, and called repeatedly, 'Form your lines, my friends, by my horse.' M. Herbauld, who commanded a part of the centre, and who knew nothing of this circumstance, led his soldiers forward, without suspecting that the others did not follow. The republican general, seizing the moment of this disorder, made a manœuvre with the light artillery, which entirely separated M. d'Elbée's division; and this being followed by a charge of cavalry, the rout became complete. M. de Larochejaquelein succeeded in covering the retreat, and saved many lives by the timely removal of an overturned waggon from the bridge of Bessay. In the midst of this rout of the centre, forty peasants of Courlay, with crossed bayonets, sustained the whole charge of cavalry without losing ground. This unfortunate affair, the most disastrous that had yet taken place, cost many lives, The light artillery acted with great effect on the level plain; and the peasants had never taken flight in so much terror and disorder."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

out his approbation; for he thought, and indeed with reason, that any engagement ought to be avoided before the general reorganization of the different armies. They separated, and immediately afterwards, Bourdon and Goupilleau, being informed of certain acts of severity exercised by Rossignol in the country, had the boldness to issue an order for displacing him. The representatives who were at Saumur, Merlin, Bourbotte, Choudieu, and Rewbel, immediately cancelled the order of Goupilleau and Bourdon, and reinstated Rossignol. The affair was referred to the Convention. Rossignol, again confirmed, triumphed over his adversaries. Bourdon and Goupilleau were recalled, and Tuncq was suspended.

Such was the state of things when the garrison of Mayence arrived in La Vendée. It became a question what plan should be adopted, and in what quarter this brave garrison was to act. Should it be attached to the army of La Rochelle, and placed under the command of Rossignol, or to the army of Brest under Canclaux?* Each was desirous of having it, because it could not fail to ensure success wherever it might act. It was agreed to overwhelm the country by simultaneous attacks, which, directed from all the points of the circumference, should meet at the centre. But as the column to which the men of Mayence should be attached, would necessarily act upon a more decidedly offensive plan, and drive back the Vendeans upon the others, it became a subject for consideration on which point it would be most advantageous to repel the enemy. Rossignol and his partisans maintained that the best plan would be to let the men of Mayence march by Saumur, in order to drive back the Vendeans upon the sea and the Upper Loire, where they might be entirely destroyed; that the columns of Saumur and Angers, being too weak, needed the support of the men of Mayence to act; that, left to themselves, it would be impossible for them to advance in the field, and to keep pace with the other columns of Niort and Luçon; that they would not even be able to stop the Vendeans, when driven back, and prevent them from spreading over the interior; that, lastly, by letting the Mayençais march by Saumur, no time would be lost, whereas in making them march by Nantes, they would be obliged to take a considerable circuit and would lose ten or fifteen days.

Canclaux, on the contrary, was struck by the danger of leaving the sea open to the Vendeans. An English squadron had just been discovered off the west coast, and it was impossible to doubt that the English meditated a landing in the Marais. Such was at the time the general notion, and though it was erro-

* "General Canclaux, the heroic defender of Nantes, was a man of military skill and high courage. He was born at Paris in 1740. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, Napoleon gave him the command of a military division, and made him a senator. At the restoration he was created a peer. Canclaux died in the year 1817."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

neous, it was the general topic of conversation. The English, however, had only just sent an emissary into La Vendée. He had arrived in disguise, and had inquired the names of the chiefs, the number of their forces, their intentions, and their precise object: so ignorant was Europe of the occurrences in the interior of France! The Vendeans replied by a demand of money and ammunition, and by a promise to send fifty thousand men to any point where it might be resolved upon to effect a landing. Any operation of this kind, therefore, was still far distant, but it was every where supposed to be on the point of execution. It was consequently necessary, said Canclaux, that the Mayençais should act by Nantes, and thus cut off the Vendeans from the sea, and drive them back towards the upper country. If they were to spread themselves in the interior, added Canclaux, they would soon be destroyed, and as for loss of time, that was a consideration which ought not to have any weight, for the army of Saumur was in such a state as not to be able to act in less than ten or twelve days, even with the Mayençais. One reason, which was not assigned, was that the army of Mayence, ready trained to the business of war, would rather serve with professional men; and preferred Canclaux, an experienced general, to Rossignol, an ignorant general; and the army of Brest, signalized by glorious deeds, to that of Saumur, known only by its defeats. The representatives attached to the cause of discipline, were also of this opinion, and were afraid of compromising the army of Mayence by placing it amidst the unruly Jacobin soldiers of Saumur.

Philippeaux,* the most zealous of the representatives against Ronsin's party, repaired to Paris and obtained an order of the committee of public welfare in favour of Canclaux's plan. Ronsin obtained the revocation of the order, and it was then agreed that a council of war, to be held at Saumur, should decide on the employment of the forces. The council was held on the 2nd of September. Among its members were many representatives and generals. Opinions were divided. Rossignol, who was perfectly sincere in his, offered to resign the command to Canclaux if he would suffer the Mayençais to act by Saumur. The opinion of Canclaux, however, prevailed. The Mayençais were attached to the army of Brest, and the principal attack was to be directed from Lower upon Upper Vendée. The plan of campaign was signed, and it was agreed to start on a given day from Saumur, Nantes, Les Sables, and Niort.

*"Pierre Philippeaux, a lawyer, deputy to the Convention, voted for the King's death. He was afterwards sent into La Vendée to reorganize the administration of Nantes, where he was involved in a contention with some of the representatives sent into the same country, which ended in his recall to Paris. He was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. Philippeaux was an honest, enthusiastic republican."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

The greatest mortification prevailed in the Saumur party. Rossignol possessed zeal, sincerity, but no military knowledge. He had ill health, and, though stanch in principle, he was incapable of serving in a useful manner. He felt less resentment on account of the decision adopted than his partisans themselves, Ronsin, Momoro, and all the ministerial agents. They wrote forthwith to Paris, complaining of the injudicious course which had been taken, of the calumnies circulated against the *sans-culotte* generals, and of the prejudices which had been infused into the army of Mayence; and by so doing, they showed dispositions which left no room to hope for much zeal on their part in seconding the plan agreed upon at Saumur. Ronsin even carried his ill-will to such a length as to interrupt the distribution of provisions to the Mayence troops, because, as they were transferred from the army of La Rochelle to that of Brest, it was the duty of the administrators of the latter to furnish them with supplies. The Mayençais set out immediately for Nantes, and Canclaux made all the necessary arrangements for executing the plan agreed upon early in September. We must now follow the grand operations which succeeded these preparations.

The Duke of York had arrived before Dunkirk with twenty-one thousand English and Hanoverians, and twelve thousand Austrians. Marshal Freytag was at Ost Capelle with sixteen thousand men; the Prince of Orange at Menin with fifteen thousand Dutch. The two latter corps were placed there as an army of observation. The rest of the allies, dispersed around Le Quesnoy and as far as the Moselle, amounted to about one hundred thousand men. Thus one hundred and sixty or one hundred and seventy thousand men were spread over that immense line, engaged in sieges and in guarding all the passes. Carnot, who began to direct the operations of the French, had already perceived that their principal object ought to be, not to fight at every point, but to employ a mass opportunely on one decisive point. He had, therefore, recommended the removal of thirty-five thousand men from the Moselle and the Rhine to the North. His advice had been adopted, but only twelve thousand of them had been able to reach Flanders. With this reinforcement, however, and with the different camps at Gavarelle, at Lille, and at Cassel, the French could have formed a mass of sixty thousand men, and struck severe blows in the state of dispersion in which the enemy then was. To convince himself of this, the reader need but cast his eye on the theatre of the war. In following the coast of Flanders to enter France, you first come to Furnes, and then to Dunkirk. These two towns, bathed on the one hand by the ocean, on the other by the extensive marshes of the Grande-Moer, have no communication with each other but by a narrow stripe of land. The Duke of York arriving by Furnes, which is the first town you come to on entering France, had placed himself on this stripe of land between the

Grande-Moer and the ocean, for the purpose of besieging Dunkirk. Freytag's corps of observation was not at Furnes, so as to protect the rear of the besieging army, but at a great distance in advance of the marshes and of Dunkirk, so as to intercept any succours that might come from the interior of France. The Dutch troops of the Prince of Orange, posted at Menin, three days' march from this point, became wholly useless. A mass of sixty thousand men, marching rapidly between the Dutch and Freytag, might push on to Furnes, in the rear of the Duke of York, and, manœuvring thus between the three hostile corps, successively overwhelm Freytag, the Duke of York, and the Prince of Orange. For this purpose a single mass and rapid movements were required. But then, nothing further was contemplated than to push on in front, by opposing to each detachment a similar force. The committee of public safety, however, had very nearly hit upon this plan. It had ordered a single corps to be formed and marched upon Furnes. Houchard seized the idea for a moment, but did not adhere to it, and thought of merely marching against Freytag, driving him back upon the rear of the Duke of York, and then endeavouring to disturb the operations of the siege.

While Houchard was hastening his preparations, Dunkirk made a vigorous resistance. General Souham, seconded by young Hoche,* who behaved in an heroic manner at this siege,

* "Lazare Hoche, general in the French revolutionary war, was born in 1764 at Montreuil, near Versailles, where his father was keeper of the King's hounds. He entered the army in his sixteenth year. At the beginning of the Revolution he joined the popular party, and studied military science with great diligence. He was not twenty-four years old when he received the command of the army of the Moselle. He defeated Wurmser, and drove the Austrians out of Alsace. His frankness displeased St. Just, who deprived him of his command, and sent him a prisoner to Paris. The revolution of the 9th Thermidor saved him from the guillotine. In 1795 Hoche was employed against the royalists in the West, where he displayed great ability and humanity. He was one of the chief pacificators of La Vendée. He afterwards sailed for Ireland, but his scheme of exciting a disturbance there failed. On his return he received the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, in which capacity he was frequently victorious over the enemy. Hoche died suddenly in the year 1797, at Wetzlar, it was supposed, at the time, of poison."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

"The death of Hoche may be regarded as an event in our revolution. With his military talent he combined extensive abilities of various kinds; and he was a citizen as well as a soldier. When his death was made known, the public voice rose in an accusing outcry against the Directory. I am satisfied that Hoche was the constant object of the hatred of a party, then unfortunately powerful, though acting in the shade. I entertain a firm conviction also that he died by assassination."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

"Hoche, said Bonaparte, was one of the first generals that ever France produced. He was brave, intelligent, abounding in talent, decisive, and penetrating. If he had landed in Ireland he would have succeeded. He was accustomed to civil war, had pacified La Vendée, and was well adapted for Ireland. He had a fine, handsome figure, a good address, and was prepossessing and intriguing."—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

had already repulsed several attacks. The besiegers could not easily open the trenches in a sandy soil beneath which they came to water at the depth of only three feet. The flotilla which was to sail from the Thames to bombard the place had not arrived; and on the other hand a French flotilla which had come from Dunkirk, and lay broadside-to along the coast, annoyed the besiegers, hemmed in on their narrow neck of land, destitute of water fit to drink, and exposed to all sorts of dangers. It was a case that called for despatch and for decisive blows. Houchard arrived towards the end of August. Agreeably to the tactics of the old school, he began by a demonstration upon Menin, which led to nothing but a sanguinary and useless action. Having given this preliminary alarm, he advanced by several roads towards the line of the Yser, a small stream which separated him from Freytag's corps of observation. Instead of placing himself between the corps of observation and the besieging corps, he directed Hedouville to march upon Rousbrugghe, merely to harass the retreat of Freytag upon Furnes, and went himself to meet Freytag in front, by marching with his whole army by Houtkerke, Herseele, and Bambeke. Freytag had disposed his corps on a very extended line, and he had but part of it around him when he received Houchard's first attack. He resisted at Herseele; but, after a very warm action, he was obliged to recross the Yser, and to fall back upon Bambeke, and successively from Bambeke upon Rexpoede and Killem. In thus falling back beyond the Yser, he left his wings compromised in advance. Walmoden's division was thrown to a great distance from him on his right, and his own retreat was threatened near Rousbrugghe by Hedouville.

Freytag then resolved on the same day to advance again and to retake Rexpoede, with a view to rally Walmoden's division to him. He arrived there at the moment when the French were entering the place. A most obstinate action ensued. Freytag was wounded and taken prisoner. Meanwhile evening came on. Houchard, apprehensive of a night attack, retired from the village, leaving there only three battalions. Walmoden, who was falling back with his compromised division, arrived at this moment, and resolved to make a brisk attack upon Rexpoede, in order to force a passage. A bloody action was fought at midnight. The passage was cleared, Freytag delivered, and the enemy retired *en masse* upon the village of Hondtschoote. This village, situated between the Grande-Moer and the Furnes road, was one of the points which must be passed in retiring upon Furnes. Houchard had relinquished the essential idea of manœuvring towards Furnes, between the besieging corps and the corps of observation; he had, therefore, nothing to do but to continue to push Marshal Freytag in front, and to throw himself against the village of Hondtschoote. The 7th was spent in observing the enemy's positions, defended by very powerful ar-

tillery, and on the 8th the decisive attack was resolved upon. In the morning, the French army advanced upon the whole line to attack the front. The right, under the command of Hedouville, extended between Killem and Beveren; the centre, under Jourdan,* marched direct from Killem upon Hondtschoote; the left attacked between Killem and the canal of Furnes. The action commenced in the copses which covered the centre. On both sides, the principal force was directed upon this same point. The French returned several times to the attack of the positions, and at length made themselves masters of them. While they were victorious in the centre, the intrenchments were carried on the right, and the enemy determined to retreat upon Furnes by the Houthem and Hoghestade roads.

During these transactions at Hondtschoote, the garrison of Dunkirk, under the conduct of Hoche, made a vigorous sortie, and placed the besiegers in the greatest danger. Next day, they actually held a council of war: finding themselves threatened on the rear, and seeing that the naval armament which was to be employed in bombarding the place had not arrived, they resolved to raise the siege and to retire upon Furnes, where Freytag had just arrived. They joined there in the evening of the 9th of September.

Such were those three actions the result of which had been to oblige the corps of observation to fall back upon the rear of the besieging corps, by following a direct march. The last conflict gave name to this operation, and the battle of Hondtschoote was considered as the salvation of Dunkirk. This operation, indeed, broke the long chain of our reverses in the North,

* "Jean Baptiste Jourdan, born in 1762 at Limoges, where his father practised as a surgeon, entered the army in 1778, and fought in America. After the peace he employed himself in commerce. In 1793 he was appointed general of division, and, in the battle of Hondtschoote, mounted the enemy's works at the head of his troops, and afterwards received the command of the army in the place of Houchard. In 1794 he gained the victory of Fleurus, by which he became master of Belgium, and drove the allies behind the Rhine. In 1796 he undertook the celebrated invasion of the right bank of the Rhine, in which he conquered Franconia, and pressed forward towards Bohemia and Ratisbon. The Archduke Charles, however, defeated him, and his retreat became a disorderly flight, whereupon Beurnonville took the command, and Jourdan retired to Limoges, as a private individual. In 1797 he was chosen a member of the council of Five Hundred, and was twice their president, remaining a stanch friend to the republic. After the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, which he opposed, he received the command of Piedmont. In the year 1803 Napoleon named him general-in-chief of the army of Italy, and, in the following year, marshal of France, and grand cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1808 he went with King Joseph, as major-general, to Spain, and, after the decisive battle of Vittoria, lived in retirement at Rouen. In 1815 he took the oath of allegiance to Louis, and, when the latter left France, retired to his seat. Napoleon then made him a peer, and intrusted him with the defence of Besançon. After the return of Louis, Jourdan was one of the first to declare for him; and in 1819 the King raised him to the peerage. Jourdan belonged to the party of liberal constitutionalists."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

gave a personal check to the English, disappointed their fondest wishes, saved the republic from the misfortune which it would have felt the most keenly, and gave great encouragement to France.

The victory of Hondtschoote produced great joy in Paris, inspired all our youth with greater ardour, and excited hopes that our energy might prove successful. Reverses are, in fact, of little consequence, provided that success be mingled with them, and impart hope and courage to the vanquished. The alternative has but the effect of increasing the energy, and exalting the enthusiasm of the resistance.

While the Duke of York was occupied with Dunkirk, Coburg had resolved to attack Le Quesnoy. That fortress was in want of all the means necessary for its defence, and Coburg pressed it very closely. The committee of public welfare, not neglecting that portion of the frontier any more than the others, had immediately issued orders that columns should march from Landrecies, Cambrai, and Maubeuge. Unluckily these columns could not act at the same time. One of them was shut up in Landrecies; another, surrounded in the plain of Avesne, and formed into a square battalion, was broken, after a most honourable resistance. At length, on the 11th of September, Le Quesnoy was obliged to capitulate. This loss was of little importance compared with the deliverance of Dunkirk, but it mixed up some bitterness with the joy which the latter event had just produced.

Houchard, after obliging the Duke of York to concentrate himself at Furnes with Freytag, could not make any further successful attempt on that point. All that he could do was to throw himself with equal forces on soldiers more inured to war, without any of those circumstances, either favourable or urgent, which induce a commander to hazard a doubtful battle. In this situation, the best step he could take was to fall upon the Dutch, divided into several detachments round Menin, Halluin, Roncq, Werwike, and Ypres. Houchard, acting prudently, ordered the camp at Lille to make a sortie upon Menin, while he should himself act by Ypres. The advanced posts of Werwike, Roncq, and Halluin, were contested for two days. On both sides great intrepidity was displayed with a moderate degree of intelligence. The Prince of Orange, though pressed on all sides, and having lost his advanced post, made an obstinate resistance, because he had been apprized of the surrender of Le Quesnoy and the approach of Beaulieu, who was bringing him succour. At length, on the 13th of September, he was obliged to evacuate Menin, after losing in these different actions two or three thousand men and forty pieces of cannon. Though our army had not derived from its position all the advantages that it might have done, and though, contrary to the instructions of the committee of public welfare, it had operated in too divided masses, it nevertheless occupied Menin. On the 16th it left Menin and marched upon

Courtray. At Bisseghem it fell in with Beaulieu. The battle began with advantage on our side; but all at once the appearance of a corps of cavalry on the wings spread an alarm which was not founded on any real danger. The whole army was thrown into confusion, and fled to Menin. This inconceivable panic did not stop there. It was communicated to all the camps, to all the posts, and the army *en masse* sought refuge under the guns of Lille. This terror, the example of which was not new, which was owing to the youth and inexperience of our troops, perhaps also to a perfidious *Sauve qui peut*, occasioned us the loss of the greatest advantages, and brought us back beneath the walls of Lille. The tidings of this event, on reaching Paris, produced the most gloomy impression, deprived Houchard of the fruit of his victory, and excited the most violent invectives against him, some of which even recoiled upon the committee of public welfare itself. A fresh series of checks immediately followed, and threw us into the same perilous position from which we had been extricated for a moment by the victory of Hondtschoote.

The Prussians and Austrians, placed on the two slopes of the Vosges, facing our two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine, began at length to make some serious attempts. Old Wurmser, more ardent than the Prussians, and aware of the advantage of the passes of the Vosges, resolved to occupy the important post of Bodenthal, towards the Upper Lauter. He hazarded, however, a corps of four thousand men, which, after traversing frightful mountains, took possession of Bodenthal. The representatives with the army of the Rhine, yielding on their part to the general impulse which every where stimulated the troops to redoubled energy, resolved upon a general sortie from the lines of Weissenburg, for the 12th of September. The three generals, Desaix,*

* "Louis Charles Antoine Desaix de Voygoux, was born in 1768, of a noble family, and entered the regiment of Bretagne in 1784 as sub-lieutenant. He contributed in 1793 to the capture of the Haguenau lines, which the left wing, where he was stationed, first broke through. In the year 1795 he served in the army of the North under Pichegru, and repeatedly distinguished himself. In 1798, he accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt; and, on his return to France, hastened to join the First Consul in Italy, where he contributed to the victory of Marengo, in which battle he was mortally wounded."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

"Desaix, said Bonaparte, was wholly wrapped up in war and glory: To him riches and pleasure were valueless. He was a little black-looking man, about an inch shorter than I am, always badly dressed, sometimes even ragged, and despising comfort and convenience. Wrapped up in his cloak, he would throw himself under a gun, and sleep as contentedly as if he were in a palace. Upright and honest in all his proceedings, he was called by the Arabs, the Just Sultan. Desaix was intended by nature for a great general."—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

"Desaix was a man for whom the First Consul had a high esteem, and whose talents and character afforded the fairest promise of what might one day be expected from him. Napoleon was jealous of some generals, but

Dubois, and Michaud, pushed at once against the Austrians, made useless efforts, and were obliged to return to the lines. The attempts directed in particular against the Austrian corps at Bodenthal, were completely repulsed. Preparations were nevertheless made for a new attack on the 14th. While General Ferrette was to march upon Bodenthal, the army of the Moselle acting upon the other slope, was to attack Pirmasens, which corresponds with Bodenthal, and where Brunswick was posted with part of the Prussian army. The attack of General Ferrette was completely successful. The soldiers assaulted the Austrian positions with heroic temerity, took them, and recovered the important defile of Bodenthal. But on the opposite slope Fortune was not equally favourable. Brunswick was sensible of the importance of Pirmasens, which closed the defiles; he possessed considerable forces, and was in excellent position. While the army of the Moselle was making head upon the Savre against the rest of the Prussian army, twelve thousand men were thrown from Hornbach upon Pirmasens. The only hope of the French was to take Pirmasens by surprise, but, being perceived and fired upon with grape-shot at their first approach, the best thing they could do was to retire. So thought the generals, but the representatives opposed that intention, and ordered an attack in three columns and by three ravines, terminating at the height on which Pirmasens is seated. Our soldiers, urged on by their bravery, had already far advanced; the column on the right was indeed on the point of clearing the ravine and turning Pirmasens, when a double fire poured upon both flanks unexpectedly stopped it. Our soldiers at first resisted, but the fire became more fierce, and they were forced to return through the ravine which they had entered. The other columns fell back in like manner, and all fled along the valleys in the utmost disorder. The army was obliged to return to the post from which it had started. Very fortunately the Prussians did not think of pursuing it, nor even of occupying its camp at Hornbach, which it had quitted to march upon Pirmasens. In this affair we lost twenty-two pieces of cannon, and four thousand men, killed, wounded, or prisoners. This check of the 14th of September was likely to be of great importance. The allies, encouraged by success, began to think of using all their forces, and prepared to march upon the Sarre and the Lauter, and thus to drive us out of the lines of Weissenburg.

The siege of Lyons was proceeding slowly. The Piedmontese, in debouching by the high Alps into the valleys of Savoy, had made a diversion, and obliged Dubois-Crancé and Kellermann

Desaix gave him no uneasiness; equally remarkable for his unassuming disposition, his talent, and his information, he proved by his conduct that he loved glory for its own sake. Bonaparte's friendship for him was enthusiastic."—*Bourrienne*. E.

to divide their forces. Kellermann had marched into Savoy. Dubois-Crancé, continuing before Lyons with insufficient means, poured in vain showers of iron and of fire upon that unfortunate city, which, resolved to endure all extremities, was no longer to be reduced by the horrors of blockade and bombardment, but only by assault.

At the Pyrenees we had just received a sanguinary check. Our troops had remained since the late events in the environs of Perpignan. The Spaniards were in their camp at Mas-d'Eu. In considerable force, inured to war, and commanded by an able general, they were full of ardour and hope. We have already described the theatre of the war. The two nearly parallel valleys of the Tech and of the Tet run off from the great chain and terminate near the sea. Perpignan is in the second of these valleys. Ricardos had passed the first line, that of the Tech, since he was at Mas-d'Eu, and he had resolved to pass the Tet considerably above Perpignan, so as to turn that place and to force our army to abandon it. For this purpose, he proposed first to take Villefranche. This little fortress, situated on the upper course of the Tet, would secure his left wing against the brave Dagobert, who, with three thousand men, was gaining advantages in Cerdagen. Accordingly, early in August, he detached General Crespo with some battalions. The latter had only to make his appearance before Villefranche; the commandant, in a cowardly manner, abandoned the fortress to him. Crespo, having left a garrison there, rejoined Ricardos. Meanwhile Dagobert, with a very small corps, overran the whole Cerdagne, compelled the Spaniards to fall back as far as the Seu-d'Urgel, and even thought of driving them to Campredon. Owing, however, to the weakness of the detachment, and the fortress of Villefranche, Ricardos felt no uneasiness about the advantages obtained over his left wing. He persisted, therefore, in the offensive. On the 31st of August, he threatened the French camp under Perpignan, and crossed the Tet above the Soler, driving before him our right wing, which fell back to Salces, a few leagues in the rear of Perpignan, and close to the sea. In this position, the French, some shut up in Perpignan, the others backed upon Salces, having the sea behind them, were in a most dangerous situation. Dagobert, it is true, was gaining fresh advantages in the Cerdagne, but too unimportant to alarm Ricardos. The representatives, Fabre and Cassaigne, who had retired with the army to Salces, resolved to call Dagobert to supersede Barbantanes, with a view to bring fortune back to our arms. Whilst awaiting the arrival of the new general, they planned a combined movement between Salces and Perpignan, for the purpose of extricating themselves from the unfortunate situation in which they were. They ordered a column to advance from Perpignan and to attack the Spaniards in the rear, while they would leave their positions and attack them in front. Accord-

ingly, on the 15th of September, General Davoust* marched from Perpignan with six or seven thousand men, while Perignon advanced from Salces upon the Spaniards. At a concerted signal they fell on both sides upon the enemy's camp. The Spaniards, pressed on all quarters, were obliged to fly across the Tet, leaving behind them twenty-six pieces of cannon. They immediately returned to the camp at Mas-d'Eu, whence they had set out for these bold but unfortunate operations.

During these occurrences, Dagobert arrived; and that officer, possessing at the age of seventy-five the fire of a young man, together with the consummate prudence of a veteran general, lost no time in marking his arrival by an attempt on the camp of Mas-d'Eu. He divided his attack into three columns: one, starting from our right, and marching by Thuir to St. Colombe, was to turn the Spaniards; the second, acting in the centre, was ordered to attack them in front, and drive them back; and the third, operating on the left, was to place itself in a wood, and to cut off their retreat. This last, commanded by Davoust, had scarcely attacked, before it fled in disorder. The Spaniards were then able to direct all their forces against the two other columns of the centre and of the right. Ricardos, judging that all the danger was on the right, opposed his main force to it, and repulsed the French on that side. In the centre alone, Dagobert, animating all by his presence, carried the intrenchments which were before him, and was even on the point of deciding the victory, when Ricardos, returning with the troops victorious on the right and left, overwhelmed his enemy with his whole united force. Dagobert nevertheless made a brave resistance, when a battalion threw down its arms, shouting *Vive le Roi!* The enraged Dagobert ordered two pieces of cannon to be turned upon the traitors, and, while these were playing upon them, he rallied round him some of the brave fellows who yet remained faithful, and retired with a few hundred men; the enemy, intimidated by his bold front, not daring to pursue him.

* "Louis Nicholas Davoust was born in 1770 of a noble family, and studied with Bonaparte in the military school of Brienne. He distinguished himself under Dumouriez, and in the year 1793 was made general. In the Italian campaigns under Napoleon, he zealously attached himself to the First Consul, whom he accompanied to Egypt. After the battle of Marengo, Davoust was made chief of the grenadiers of the consular guard. When Napoleon ascended the throne in 1804, he created Davoust marshal of the empire, and grand cross of the Legion of Honour. In 1806 he created him Duke of Auerstadt, and after the peace of Tilsit, commander-in-chief of the army of the Rhine. Having had an important share in the victories of Eckmuhl and Wagram, Davoust was created prince of the former place. He accompanied Napoleon to Russia; and in 1813 was besieged in Hamburg, where he lost eleven thousand men, and was accused of great cruelty. On the Emperor's return to Paris, in 1815, he was appointed minister of war. After the battle of Waterloo he submitted to Louis XVIII., and was subsequently employed by the court. Davoust died in the year 1823, leaving a son and two daughters."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

This gallant general had assuredly deserved laurels only by his firmness amidst such a reverse; for, had his left column behaved better, and his centre battalions not disbanded themselves, his dispositions would have been attended with complete success. The jealous distrust of the representatives, nevertheless, imputed to him this disaster. Indignant at this injustice, he returned to resume the subordinate command in the Cerdagne. Our army was, therefore, again driven back to Perpignan, and likely to lose the important line of the Tet.

The plan of campaign of the 2nd of September was carried into execution in La Vendée. The division of Mayence was, as we have seen, to act by Nantes. The committee of public welfare, which had received alarming intelligence concerning the designs of the English upon the West, entirely approved of the idea of directing the principal force towards the coast. Rossignol and his party were extremely mortified at this, and the letters which they wrote to the minister afforded no hope of any great zeal on their part in seconding the plan agreed upon. The division of Mayence marched to Nantes, where it was received with great demonstrations of joy and festivities. An entertainment was prepared, and, before the troops went to partake of it, a prelude was made by a sharp skirmish with the hostile parties spread over the banks of the Loire. If the division of Nantes was glad to be united to the celebrated army of Mayence, the latter was not less delighted to serve under the brave Canclaux, and with his division, which had already signalized itself by the defence of Nantes and by a great number of honourable feats. According to the adopted plan, columns starting from all the points of the theatre of war were to unite in the centre, and to crush the enemy there. Canclaux, commanding the army of Brest, was to march from Nantes, to descend the left bank of the Loire, to turn round the extensive lake of Grand-Lieu, to sweep Lower Vendée, and then to ascend again towards Machecoul, and to be at Leger between the 11th and the 13th. His arrival at the latter point was to be the signal for the departure of the columns of the army of La Rochelle, destined to assail the country from the south and east.

It will be recollected that the army of La Rochelle, of which Rossignol was commander-in-chief, was composed of several divisions: that of Les Sables was commanded by Mieszkousky, that of Luçon by Beffroy, that of Niort by Chalbos, that of Saumur by Santerre, that of Angers by Duhoux. The column of Les Sables had orders to move the moment Canclaux should be at Leger, and to arrive on the 13th at St. Fulgent, on the 14th at Herbiers, and on the 16th to join Canclaux at Mortagne. The columns of Luçon and Niort were to advance, supporting one another, towards Bressuire and Argenton, and to reach those parts on the 14th; lastly, the columns of Saumur and Angers, quitting the Loire, were to arrive also on the 14th in the environs of

Vihiers and Chemillé. Thus, according to this plan, the whole country was to be scoured from the 14th to the 16th, and the rebels were to be enclosed by the republican columns between Mortagne, Bressuire, Argenton, Vihiers, and Chemillé. Their destruction would then be inevitable.

We have already seen that, having been twice repulsed from Luçon with considerable loss, the Vendeans had it much at heart to take their revenge. They collected in force before the republicans had time to carry their plans into execution, and, while Charette* attacked the camp of Les Naudières towards Nantes, they attacked the division of Luçon, which had advanced to Chantonay. These two attempts were made on the 5th of September. That of Charette on Les Naudières was repulsed; but the attack on Chantonay, unforeseen and well-directed, threw the republicans into the greatest disorder.† The young and gallant Marceau performed prodigies to prevent a disaster; but his division, after losing its baggage and its artillery, retired in confusion to Luçon. This check was likely to derange the projected plan, because the disorganization of one of the columns would leave a chasm between the division of Les Sables and that of Niort; but the

* "Charette was the only individual to whom Napoleon attached particular importance. I have read a history of La Vendée, said he to me, and if the details and portraits are correct, Charette was the only great character —the true hero of that remarkable episode in our revolution. He impressed me with the idea of a great man. He betrayed genius. I replied, that I had known Charette very well in my youth, and that his brilliant exploits astonished all who had formerly been acquainted with him. We looked on him as a commonplace sort of man, devoid of information, ill-tempered, and extremely indolent. When, however, he began to rise into celebrity his early friends recollected a circumstance which certainly indicated decision of character. When Charette was first called into service during the American war, he sailed out of Brest on board a cutter during the winter. The cutter lost her mast, and to a vessel of that description, such an accident was equivalent to certain destruction. The weather was stormy—death seemed inevitable—and the sailors, throwing themselves on their knees, lost all presence of mind, and refused to exert themselves. At this crisis, Charette, notwithstanding his extreme youth, killed one of the men, in order to compel the rest to do their duty. This dreadful example had the desired effect, and the ship was saved. Ay, said the emperor, here was the spark that distinguished the hero of La Vendée. Men's dispositions are often misunderstood. There are sleepers whose waking is terrible. Charette was one of these."—*Las Cases.* E.

† "The Blues again occupied Chantonay. We were much distressed at seeing them thus established in the Bocage. A new plan was concerted with M. de Royrand. He made a false attack towards the four roads, while the grand army, making a great circuit, assailed the republican rear-guard towards the bridge of Charron. The victory was due to Bonchamp's division, which, with great intrepidity, carried the intrenchments. Thus surrounded, the defeat of the Blues was terrible. The great roads were intercepted, and their columns bewildered in the Bocage. They lost both their cannon and baggage, and seldom had suffered so great a loss of men. A battalion that had assumed the name of the 'Avenger,' and had never given quarter to any Vendean, was wholly exterminated."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

representatives made the most active efforts for reorganizing it, and couriers were despatched to Rossignol to apprize him of the event.

All the Vendeans were at this moment collected at Les Herbiers around the generalissimo d'Elbée. Discord prevailed among them as among their adversaries, for the human heart is every where the same, and Nature does not reserve disinterestedness and the virtues for one party, leaving pride, selfishness, and the vices to the other. The Vendean chiefs had their mutual jealousies, as well as the republican chiefs. The generals paid but little deference to the superior council, which affected a sort of sovereignty. Possessing the real strength, they were by no means disposed to yield the command to a power which owed to themselves its factitious existence. They were, moreover, envious of d'Elbée, the generalissimo, and alleged that Bonchamps was much better qualified for the supreme command. Charette, for his part, wished to remain sole master of Lower Vendée. There was, consequently, but little disposition among them to unite and to concert a plan in opposition to that of the republicans. An intercepted despatch had made them acquainted with the intentions of their enemies. Bonchamps was the only one who proposed a bold project, and which indicated comprehensive views. He was of opinion that it would not be possible to resist much longer the forces of the republic collected in La Vendée; that it behoved them to quit their woods and ravines, in which they would be everlastingly buried, without knowing their allies, or being known by them; he insisted consequently that, instead of exposing themselves to the risk of being destroyed, it would be better to march in close column from La Vendée, and to advance into Bretagne, where they were desired, and where the republic did not expect to be struck. He proposed that they should proceed to the coast, and secure a seaport, communicate with the English, receive an emigrant prince there, then start for Paris, and thus carry on an offensive and decisive war. This advice, which is attributed to Bonchamps, was not followed by the Vendeans, whose views were still so narrow, and whose repugnance to leave their own country was still so strong. Their chiefs thought only of dividing that country into four parts, that they might reign over them individually. Charette was to have Lower Vendée, M. de Bonchamps the banks of the Loire towards Angers, M. de Laroche-Jacquelein the remainder of Upper Anjou, M. de Lescure the whole insurgent portion of Poitou. M. d'Elbée was to retain his useless title of generalissimo, and the superior council its factitious authority.

On the 9th, Canclaux put himself in motion, leaving a strong reserve under the command of Grouchy* and Haxo† for the pro-

* "Emanuel, Count de Grouchy, born in 1766, entered the army at the age of fourteen. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he showed his

tection of Nantes, and despatched the Mayence column towards Leger. Meanwhile, the former army of Brest, under Beysser, making the circuit of Lower Vendée by Pornic, Bourneuf, and Machecoul, was to rejoin the Mayence column at Leger.

These movements, directed by Canclaux, were executed without impediment. The Mayence column, its advanced guard commanded by Kleber, and the main body by Aubert-Dubayet, drove all its enemies before it. Kleber, with the advanced guard, equally humane and heroic, encamped his troops out of the villages to prevent devastations. "In passing the beautiful lake of Grand-Lieu," said he, "we had delightful landscapes and scenery equally pleasing and diversified. In an immense pasture strolled at random numerous herds left entirely to themselves. I could not help lamenting the fate of those unfortunate inhabitants, who, led astray and imbued with fanaticism by their priests, refused the benefits offered by a new order of things to run into certain destruction." Kleber made continual efforts to protect the country against the soldiers, and most frequently with success. A civil commission had been added to the staff, to carry into execution the decree of the 1st of August, which directed that the country should be laid waste, and the inhabitants removed to other places. The soldiers were forbidden ever to burn any thing, and it was only by the orders of the generals and of the civil commission that the means of destruction were to be employed.

On the 14th, the Mayence column arrived at Leger, and was there joined by that of Brest, under the command of Beysser. Meanwhile the column of Les Sables, under Mieszkousky, had advanced to St. Fulgent, according to the concerted plan, and already given a hand to the army of Canclaux. That of Luçon, delayed for a moment by its defeat at Chantonay, was behind its

attachment to liberal principles, and served in the campaign of 1792 as commander of a regiment of dragoons. He was afterwards sent into La Vendée, where he distinguished himself on several occasions. In 1797 he was appointed second in command of the army destined for the invasion of Ireland, but was compelled to return to France without effecting any thing. In 1799 he contributed to Moreau's victories in Germany, and the battle of Hohenlinden was gained chiefly by his skill and courage. During the campaign in Russia, Grouchy commanded one of the three cavalry corps of the grand army; and was rewarded with the marshal's baton for his brilliant services in the campaign of 1814. After the restoration, he joined Napoleon on his return from Elba, and was accused by him of being the author of the defeat at Waterloo, by permitting two divisions of the Prussian army under Blucher to join the English forces. Grouchy was afterwards ordered to be arrested by the ordinance of 1815, in consequence of which he retired to the United States, where he remained until he received permission to return to France."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

† "The republican general Haxo was a man of great military talent. He distinguished himself in the Vendean war, but in the year 1794, shot himself through the head, when he saw his army defeated by the insurgents, rather than encounter the vengeance of the Convention."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

time; but, thanks to the zeal of the representatives, who had given it a new general, Beffroy, it was again advancing. That of Niort had reached La Châtaigneraie. Thus, though the general movement had been retarded for a day or two on all the points, and though Canclaux had not arrived till the 14th at Leger, where he ought to have been on the 12th, still the delay was common to all the columns, their unity was not destroyed, and there was nothing to prevent the prosecution of the plan of campaign. But, in this interval of time, the news of the defeat sustained by the Luçon division had reached Saumur; Rossignol, Ronsin, and the whole of the staff had taken alarm; and, apprehensive that similar accidents might befall the two other columns of Niort and Les Sables, whose force they suspected, they determined to order them to return immediately to their first posts. This order was most imprudent; yet it was not issued with the wilful design of uncovering Canclaux and exposing his wings: but those from whom it emanated had little confidence in his plan; they were well disposed, on the slightest obstacle to deem it impossible, and to give it up. It was no doubt this feeling that determined the staff of Saumur to order the retrograde movement of the columns of Niort, Luçon, and Les Sables.

Canclaux, pursuing his march, had made fresh progress; he had attacked Montaigu on three points. Kleber by the Nantes road, Aubert-Dubayel by that of Roche-Servière, and Beysser by that of St. Fulgent, had fallen upon it all at once, and had soon dislodged the enemy. On the 17th, Canclaux took Clisson, and, not perceiving that Rossignol was yet acting, he resolved to halt, and to confine himself to reconnoissances till he should receive further intelligence.

Canclaux, therefore, established himself in the environs of Clisson, left Beysser at Montaigu, and pushed forward Kleber with the advanced guard to Torfou. Such was the state of things on the 18th. The counter-orders given from Saumur had reached the Niort division, and been communicated to the two other divisions of Luçon and Les Sables; they had immediately turned back, and, by their retrograde movement, thrown the Vendeans into astonishment, and Canclaux into the greatest embarrassment. The Vendeans were about a hundred thousand men under arms. There was an immense number of them towards Vihiers and Chemillé, facing the columns of Saumur and Angers. There was a still greater number about Clisson and Montaigu, on Canclaux's hands. The columns of Angers and Saumur, seeing them so numerous, said that it was the Mayence army which threw them upon their hands, and inveighed against the plan which exposed them to the attack of so formidable an enemy. This, however, was not the case. The Vendeans were on foot in sufficient number to find employment for the republicans in every quarter. On the same day, instead of throwing themselves upon Rossignol's columns, they advanced upon Canclaux;

and d'Elbée and Lescure quitted Upper Vendée with the intention of marching against the army of Mayence.

By a singular complication of circumstances, Rossignol, on learning the success of Canclaux, who had penetrated into the very heart of La Vendée, countermanded his first orders for retreat, and directed his columns to advance. The columns of Saumur and Angers, being nearest to him, acted first and skirmished, the one at Doué, the other at the Ponts-de-Cé. The advantages were equal. On the 18th, the column of Saumur, commanded by Santerre, attempted to advance from Vihiers to a small village called Coron. Owing to faulty dispositions, artillery, cavalry, and infantry were confusedly crowded together in the streets of this village. Santerre endeavoured to repair this blunder, and ordered the troops to fall back, with the intention of drawing them up in order of battle on a height. But Ronsin, who, in the absence of Rossignol, arrogated to himself a superior authority, found fault with Santerre for ordering the retreat, and opposed it. At this moment the Vendeans rushed upon the republicans, and the whole division was thrown into the most frightful disorder.* It contained many men of the new contingent raised with the tocsin; these dispersed: all were hurried away, and fled in confusion from Coron to Vihiers, Doué, and Saumur. On the following day, the 19th, the Vendeans advanced against the Angers division, commanded by Duhoux. As fortunate as the day before, they drove back the republicans beyond Erigne and once more possessed themselves of the Ponts-de-Cé.

* "M. de Piron opposed Santerre at the head of twelve thousand men; the Blues marched from Coron upon Vihiers, and their army, forty thousand strong, the most part from levies *en masse*, occupied a line of four leagues along the great road. M. de Piron, observing the error of this disposition, attacked with vigour the centre of the republicans, and, after an hour and a half's fighting, succeeded in cutting their line and throwing them into disorder. Their artillery filing off at that moment through a long and narrow street of Coron, M. de Piron instantly secured it, by placing troops at each end of the village, and the rout became complete. The enemy were followed for four miles, and lost eighteen cannon and their waggons. It was somewhere about this period that the republicans found the dead body of a woman, about whom a great deal was said in the newspapers. A short time previously to the engagement at Coron, a soldier accosted me at Boulaye, saying he had a secret to confide to me. It was a woman, who said her name was Jeanne Robin, and that she was from Courlay. The vicar of that parish to whom I wrote, answered, that she was a very good girl, but that he had been unable to dissuade her from being a soldier. The evening before one of our battles, she sought for M. de Lescure, and addressing him, said, 'General, I am a woman. To-morrow there is to be a battle; let me but have a pair of shoes; I am sure I shall fight so that you will not send me away.' She indeed fought under Lescure's eye, and called to him, 'General, you must not pass me; I shall always be nearer the Blues than you!' She was wounded in the hand, but this only animated her the more, and, rushing furiously into the thick of the conflict, she perished. There were in other divisions a few women who also fought disguised as men. I saw two sisters, fourteen and fifteen years old, who were very courageous. In the army of M. de Bonchamp, a young woman became a dragoon to avenge the death of her father, and during the war performed prodigies of valour."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

In the quarter where Canclaux was, the fighting was not less brisk. On the same day, twenty thousand Vendeans, posted in the environs of Torfou, rushed upon Kleber's advanced guard, consisting at most of two thousand men. Kleber placed himself in the midst of his soldiers, and supported them against this host of assailants. The ground on which the action took place was a road commanded by heights; in spite of the disadvantage of the position, he retired with order and firmness. Meanwhile a piece of artillery was dismounted; some confusion then ensued in his battalions, and those brave fellows were giving way for the first time. At this sight, Kleber, in order to stop the enemy, placed an officer with a few soldiers at a bridge, saying, "My lads, defend this passage to your last gasp." This order they executed with admirable heroism. In the mean time the main body came up and renewed the combat. The Vendeans were at length repulsed, driven to a great distance, and punished for their transient advantage.*

All these events had occurred on the 19th. The order to advance, which had so ill succeeded with the two divisions of Saumur and Angers, had not yet reached the columns of Luçon and Niort, on account of the distance. Beysser was still at Montaigu, forming the right of Canclaux, and finding himself uncovered. Canclaux, with a view to place Beysser under cover, ordered him to leave Montaigu and to draw nearer to the main body. He directed Kleber to advance towards Beysser, in order to protect his movement. Beysser, too negligent, had left his column ill-guarded at Montaigu. Messrs. de Lescure and Charette had proceeded thither; they surprised and would have annihilated it but for the intrepidity of two battalions, which by their firmness checked the rapidity of the pursuit and of the retreat. The artillery and the baggage were lost, and the wrecks of this column fled to Nantes, where they were received by the brave reserve left to protect the place. Canclaux then resolved to fall back, that he might not be left alone *en flèche* in

* "At the head of three thousand men, M. de Lescure succeeded in maintaining the battle of Torfou for two hours. This part of the country, the most unequal and woody of the Bocage, did not allow the Mayençais to observe how weak a force was opposed to them before Bonchamp's division arrived, and Charette and the other chiefs had succeeded in rallying those who had fled on the first onset. They then spread themselves round the left of the republicans, whose columns, entangled in deep and intricate roads were exposed to the fire of the Vendeans. The courage of the republican officers would scarcely have saved them, had not Kleber, after a retreat of about a league, placed two pieces of cannon on the bridge of Boussay, and said to a colonel, 'You and your battalion must die here.'—'Yes, general,' replied the brave man, 'and perished on the spot. This allowed Kleber time to rally the Mayençais, so as to stop the career of the Vendeans, who proceeded no further. The next day Charette and Lescure attacked General Beysser at Montaigu, to prevent his junction with the Mayençais, and completely defeated him. The panic of the republicans was such that they could not be rallied nearer than Nantes."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

the country, exposed to all the attacks of the Vendeans. Accordingly, he retreated upon Nantes with his brave Mayençais, who had not suffered, owing to their imposing attitude, and to the refusal of Charette to join Messrs. d'Elbée and Bonchamps in the pursuit of the republicans.

The cause which had prevented the success of this new expedition against La Vendée is evident. The staff of Saumur had been dissatisfied with a plan which allotted the Mayence column to Canclaux. The check of the 5th of September furnished it with a sufficient pretext for being disheartened and relinquishing that plan. A counter-order was immediately issued to the columns of Les Sables, Luçon, and La Rochelle. Canclaux, who had successfully advanced, found himself thus uncovered, and the check at Torfou rendered his position still more difficult. Meanwhile, the army of Saumur, on receiving intelligence of his progress, marched from Saumur and Angers to Vihiers and Chemillé, and, had it not so suddenly dispersed, it is probable that the retreat of the wings would not have prevented the success of the enterprise. Thus, too great promptness in relinquishing the proposed plan, the defective organization of the new levies, and the great force of the Vendeans, who amounted to more than one hundred thousand under arms, were the causes of these new reverses. But there was neither treason on the part of the staff of Saumur, nor folly in the plan of Canclaux. The effect of these reverses was disastrous, for the new resistance of La Vendée awakened all the hopes of the counter-revolutionists, and exceedingly aggravated the perils of the republic. Lastly, if the armies of Brest and Mayence had not been shaken by them, that of La Rochelle was once more disorganized, and all the contingents proceeding from the levy *en masse* had returned to their homes, carrying the deepest discouragement along with them.

The two parties in the army lost no time in accusing one another. Philippeaux, always the most ardent, sent to the committee of public welfare a letter full of indignation, in which he attributed to treason the counter-order given to the columns of the army of La Rochelle. Choudieu and Richard, commissioners at Saumur, wrote answers equally vehement, and Ronsin went to the minister and to the committee of public welfare, to denounce the faults of the plan of campaign. Canclaux, he said, by causing too strong masses to act by Lower Vendée, had driven the whole insurgent population into Upper Vendée, and occasioned the defeat of the columns of Saumur and Angers. Lastly, Ronsin, returning calumnies with calumnies, replied to the charge of treason by that of aristocracy, and denounced at once the two armies of Brest and Mayence as full of suspicious and evil-disposed men. Thus the quarrel of the Jacobin party with that which was in favour of discipline and regular warfare became more and more acrimonious.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

ATTACKS ON THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE—INSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT—ORDER TO THE ARMIES TO CONQUER BEFORE THE 20TH OF OCTOBER—TRIAL AND DEATH OF CUSTINE—ARREST OF SEVENTY-THREE MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION.

THE inconceivable rout at Menin, the useless and sanguinary attempt on Pirmasens, the defeats in the Eastern Pyrenees, the disastrous issue of the new expedition against La Vendée, were known in Paris almost all at the same time, and produced a most painful impression there. The tidings of these events arrived in succession from the 18th to the 25th of September, and, as usual, fear excited violence. We have already seen that the most vehement agitators met at the Cordeliers, the members of which society imposed less reserve upon themselves than the Jacobins, and that they governed the war department under the weak Bouchotte. Vincent was their head in Paris, as Ronsin was in La Vendée; and they seized this occasion to renew their customary complaints. Placed beneath the Convention, they would fain have got rid of its inconvenient authority, which they encountered in the armies in the person of the representatives, and in Paris in the committee of public welfare. The representatives on mission did not allow them to carry the revolutionary measures into execution with all the violence that they could have wished. The committee of public welfare, directing with sovereign authority all operations agreeably to the most lofty and the most impartial views, continually thwarted them, and of all the obstacles which they met with, this annoyed them most: hence they frequently thought of effecting the establishment of the new executive power, as it was organized by the constitution.

The enforcing of the constitution, repeatedly and maliciously demanded by the aristocrats, would have been attended with great dangers. It would have required new elections, superseded the Convention by another assembly, necessarily inexperienced, unknown, and comprehending all the factions at once. The enthusiastic revolutionists, aware of this danger, did not demand the renewal of the representation, but claimed the execution of the constitution in so far as it chimed in with their views.

Being almost all of them placed in the public offices, they merely desired the formation of the constitutional ministry, which was to be independent of the legislative power, and consequently of the committee of public welfare. Vincent had, therefore, the boldness to cause a petition to be addressed to the Cordeliers, demanding the organization of the constitutional ministry, and the recall of the deputies on mission. The agitation was extreme. Legendre, the friend of Danton, and already ranked among those whose energy seemed to relax, in vain opposed this petition, which was adopted, with the exception of one clause, that which demanded the recall of the representatives on mission. The utility of these representatives was so evident, and there was in this demand something so personal against the members of the Convention, that those who brought it forward dared not persist in it. This petition produced great tumult in Paris, and seriously compromised the nascent authority of the committee of public welfare.

Besides these violent adversaries, this committee had others, namely the new moderates, who were accused of reviving the system of the Girondins and thwarting the revolutionary energy. Decidedly hostile to the Cordeliers, the Jacobins, and the disorganizers of the armies, they were constantly preferring their complaints to the committee, and even reproached it for not declaring itself forcibly enough against the anarchists.

The committee had therefore against it the two new parties that began to be formed. As usual, these parties laid hold of disastrous events to accuse it, and both, joining to condemn its operations, criticised them each in its own way.

The rout of the 15th at Menin was already known; confused accounts of the late reverses in La Vendée began to be received. There were vague rumours of defeats at Coron, Torfou, and Montaigu. Thuriot, who had refused to be a member of the committee of public welfare, and who was accused of being one of the new moderates, inveighed, at the commencement of the sitting, against the intriguers, the disorganizers, who had just made new and extremely violent propositions relative to articles of consumption. "Our committees and the executive council," said he, "are harassed, surrounded by a gang of intriguers, who make pretensions to extraordinary patriotism solely because it is productive to them. Yes, it is high time to drive out those men of rapine and of conflagration, who conceive that the revolution was made for them, while the upright and the pure uphold it solely for the welfare of mankind." The propositions attacked by Thuriot were rejected. Briez, then one of the commissioners to Valenciennes, read a critical memorial on the military operations; he insisted that the war hitherto carried on had been slow and ill-suited to the French character; that the operations had always been upon a small

scale and executed by small masses, and that in this system was to be sought the cause of the reverses which had been sustained. Then, without openly attacking the committee of public welfare, he appeared to insinuate that this committee had not communicated all that it knew to the Convention, and that, for instance, there had been near Douai a corps of six thousand Austrians which might have been taken.

The Convention, after hearing Briez, added him to the committee of public welfare. At this moment detailed accounts arrived from La Vendée, contained in a letter from Montaigu. These alarming particulars produced a general excitement. "Instead of being intimidated," cried one of the members, "let us swear to save the republic!" At these words the whole Assembly rose, and once more swore to save the republic, be the perils that threatened it what they might. The members of the committee of public welfare, who had not yet arrived, entered at this moment. Barrère, the ordinary reporter, addressed the Assembly. "Every suspicion directed against the committee of public welfare," said he, "would be a victory won by Pitt. It is not right to give our enemies the too great advantage of throwing discredit ourselves on the power instituted to save us." Barrère then communicated the measures adopted by the committee. "For some days past," continued he, "the committee has had reason to suspect that serious blunders were committed at Dunkirk, where the English might have been exterminated to the last man, and at Menin, where no effort was made to check the strange effects of panic terror. The committee has removed Houchard, as well as the divisionary general, Hedouville, who did not behave as he ought to have done at Menin. The conduct of those two generals will be immediately investigated; the committee will then cause all the staffs and all the administrations of the armies to be purified; it has placed our fleets on such a footing as will enable them to cope with our enemies: it has just raised eighteen thousand men; it has ordered a new system of attack *en masse;* lastly, it is in Rome itself that it purposes to attack Rome, and one hundred thousand men, landing in England, will march to London and strangle the system of Pitt. The committee of public welfare, then, is wrongfully accused. It has never ceased to merit the confidence which the Convention has hitherto testified towards it." Robespierre then spoke. "For a long time," said he, "people have been intent on defaming the Convention and the committee, the depository of its power. Briez, who ought to have died at Valenciennes, left the place like a coward, to come to Paris to serve Pitt and the coalition by throwing discredit upon the government. It is not enough," added he, "that the Convention continues to repose confidence in us. It is requisite that it should solemnly proclaim this, and that it should make known its decision in regard to Briez, whom it has just

added to our number." This demand was greeted with applause; it was decided that Briez should not be joined to the committee of public welfare, and it was declared by acclamation that this committee still possessed the entire confidence of the National Convention.

The moderates were in the Convention, and they had just been defeated; but the most formidable adversaries of the committee, that is the ardent revolutionists, were among the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. It was against the latter, in particular, that it behoved the committee to defend itself. Robespierre repaired to the Jacobins, and exercised his ascendency over them: he explained the conduct of the committee; he justified it against the twofold attacks of the moderates and the enthusiasts, and expatiated on the danger of petitions tending to demand the formation of the constitutional ministry. "A government of some sort," said he, "must succeed that which we have destroyed. The system of organizing at this moment the constitutional ministry is no other than that of ousting the Convention itself, and breaking up the supreme power in presence of the hostile armies. Pitt alone can be the author of that idea. His agents have propagated it; they have seduced the sincere patriots; and the credulous and suffering people, always inclined to complain of the government, which is not able to remedy all these evils, have become the faithful echo of their calumnies and their propositions. You Jacobins," exclaimed Robespierre, "too sincere to be gained, too enlightened to be seduced, will defend the Mountain, which is attacked; you will support the committee of public welfare, which men strive to calumniate in order to ruin you, and thus with you it will triumph over all the secret intrigues of the enemies of the people."

Robespierre was applauded, and the whole committee in his person. The Cordeliers were brought back to order, their petition was forgotten, and the attack of Vincent, victoriously repelled, had no result.

It became a matter of urgent necessity, however, to adopt some course in regard to the new constitution. To give up the place to new revolutionists, equivocal, unknown, probably divided, because they would be the offspring of all the factions subsisting below the Convention, would be dangerous. It was therefore necessary to declare to all the parties that the government would retain the supreme power, and that before it left the republic to itself and to the effect of the laws which had been given to it, it should be governed revolutionarily till it should be saved. Numerous petitions had already prayed the Convention to continue at its post. On the 10th of October, St. Just, speaking in the name of the committee of public welfare, proposed new measures of government. He drew a most melancholy picture of France; he overspread this picture with the

sombre colours of his gloomy imagination; and, by means of his rare talent and facts otherwise perfectly authentic, he produced a sort of terror in the minds of his auditors. He presented, therefore, and procured the adoption of, a decree containing the following resolutions. By the first clause, the government of France was declared revolutionary till the peace; which signified that the constitution was temporarily suspended, and that an extraordinary dictatorship should be instituted till the expiration of all dangers. This dictatorship was conferred on the Convention and on the committee of public welfare. "The executive council," said the decree, "the ministers, the generals, the constituted bodies, are placed under the superintendence of the committee of public welfare, which will render an account of it every week to the Convention."

We have already explained how the superintendence was transformed into supreme authority, because the ministers, the generals, the functionaries, obliged to submit their operations to the committee, had at length no longer dared to act of their own motion, but waited for the orders of the committee itself. It was then said: "The revolutionary laws ought to be rapidly executed. The inertness of the government being the cause of the reverses, the delays for the execution of these laws shall be fixed. The violation of these terms shall be punished as a crime against liberty." Measures relative to articles of consumption were added to these measures of government, for bread is the right of the people, observed St. Just. The general statement of articles of consumption, when definitively completed, was to be sent to all the authorities. The stock of necessaries in the departments was to be approximatively estimated and guaranteed; as to the surplus of each of them, it was subjected to requisitions either for the armies or for the provinces which had not sufficient for their consumption. These requisitions had been regulated by a committee of cousumption. Paris was to be provisioned, like a fortress, for a year, from the 1st of the ensuing March. Lastly, it was decreed that a tribunal should be instituted to investigate the conduct and the property of all those who had had the management of the public money.

By this grand and important declaration, the government, composed of the committee of public welfare, the committee of general safety, and the extraordinary tribunal, found itself completed and maintained while the danger lasted. It was declaring the Revolution in a state of siege, and applying to it the extraordinary laws of that state, during the whole time that it should last. To this government were added various institutions, which had long been called for and had become inevitable. A revolutionary army, that is, a force specially charged with carrying into execution the orders of the government in the interior, was demanded. It had long since been decreed; it

was at length organized by a new decree. It was to consist of six thousand men and twelve hundred artillery; to repair from Paris to any town where its presence might be necessary, and to remain there in garrison at the cost of the wealthiest inhabitants. The Cordeliers wanted to have one in each department, but this was opposed, on the ground that it would be reverting to federalism to give an individual force to each department. The same Cordeliers desired, moreover, that the detachments of the revolutionary army should be accompanied by a moveable guillotine upon wheels. All sorts of ideas float in the mind of the populace when it gains the upper hand. The Convention rejected all these suggestions, and adhered to its decree. Bouchotte, who was directed to raise this army, composed it of the greatest vagabonds in Paris, and who were ready to become the satellites of the ruling power. He filled the staff with Jacobins and more especially with Cordeliers; he took Ronsin away from Rossignol and La Vendée, to put him at the head of this revolutionary army. He submitted the list of this staff to the Jacobins, and made each officer undergo the test of the ballot. None of them in fact was confirmed by the minister, until he had been approved by the society.

To the institution of the revolutionary army was at length added the law against suspected persons, so frequently demanded, and resolved upon in principle on the same day as the levy *en masse*. The extraordinary tribunal, though instituted in such a manner as to strike upon mere probabilities, was not sufficiently satisfactory to the revolutionary imagination. It desired the power of confining those who could not be sent to death, and demanded decrees which should permit their persons to be secured. The decree which outlawed the aristocrats was too vague, and required a trial. It was desired that, on the mere denunciation of the revolutionary committees, a person declared suspected might be immediately thrown into prison. The provisional détention till the peace of all suspected persons was at length decreed. As such were considered, 1stly, those who, either by their conduct or by their connexions, or by their language or their writings, had shown themselves partisans of tyranny and of federalism, and enemies of liberty; 2ndly, those who could not certify, in the manner prescribed by the law of the 20th of March last, their means of subsistence and the performance of their civic duties; 3rdly, those to whom certificates of civism had been refused; 4thly, the public functionaries suspended or removed from their functions by the National Convention and by its commissioners; 5thly, the *ci-devant* nobles, the husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons or daughters, brothers or sisters, and agents, of emigrants who had not constantly manifested their attachment to the Revolution; 6thly, those who had emigrated in the interval between the 1st of July,

1789, and the publication of the law of the 8th of April, 1792, though they might have returned to France within the specified time.

The detained persons were to be confined in the national houses, and guarded at their own cost. They were allowed to remove to these houses such furniture as they needed. The committees authorized to issue orders for apprehension could only do so by a majority, and on condition of transmitting to the committee of general safety the list of the motives of each apprehension. Their functions, becoming from that moment extremely arduous and almost incessant, constituted a sort of profession which it was requisite to pay. A salary was therefore allowed them by way of indemnity.

To these resolutions was added a last, which rendered this law against suspected persons still more formidable, and which was adopted on the urgent demand of the commune of Paris; this was to revoke the decree which forbade domiciliary visits during the night. From that moment, every citizen who was sought after was threatened at all hours, and had not a moment's rest. By shutting themselves up in the day-time in very narrow places of concealment, ingeniously contrived at the suggestion of necessity, suspected persons had at least enjoyed the faculty of breathing during the night; but, from this moment, they could no longer do so, and arrests, multiplied day and night, soon filled all the prisons of France.

The sectional assemblies were held daily; but people of the lower classes had no time to attend them, and, in their absence, the revolutionary motions were no longer supported. It was decided, at the express proposition of the Jacobins and of the commune, that these assemblies should be held only twice a week, and that every citizen who attended them should be paid forty sous per sitting. The surest way of having the people was not to call them together too often, and to pay them for their presence. The ardent revolutionists were angry, because bounds were set to their zeal by this limitation of the meetings of sections to two in a week. They therefore drew up a very warm petition, complaining that attacks were made on the rights of the sovereign people, inasmuch as they were prevented from assembling as often as they pleased. Young Varlet was the author of this new petition; which was rejected, and no more attention paid to it than to all the demands suggested by the revolutionary ferment.

Thus the machine was complete in the two points most necessary to a threatened state—war and police. In the Convention, a committee directed the military operations, appointed the generals, and the agents of all kinds, and was empowered by the decree of permanent requisition to dispose alike of men and things. All this it did, either of itself, or by the representatives

sent on missions. This committee had under it another, that of general safety, which exercised the high police, and caused it to be exercised by the revolutionary committees* instituted in each commune. Persons slightly suspected of hostility, or even of indifference, were confined; those who were more seriously compromised were punished by the extraordinary tribunal, but, fortunately as yet, in small number, for that tribunal had, up to this time, pronounced but few condemnations. A special army, a real moveable column or gendarmerie of this system, enforced the execution of the orders of government; and lastly, the populace, paid for attending at the sections, was always ready to support it. Thus war and police both centred in the committee of public welfare. Absolute master, having the means of putting in requisition all the wealth of the country, being empowered to send the citizens either to the field of battle, to the scaffold, or to prison, it possessed for the defence of the Revolution a sovereign and terrible dictatorship. It was, indeed, obliged to render a weekly account of its proceedings to the Convention, but this account was always approved, for critical opinion was exercised only at the Jacobins, and of them it had been master ever since Robespierre had become one of its members. There was nothing in opposition to this power but the moderates, who did not go so far, and the new enthusiasts, who went farther, but who were neither of them much to be feared.

We have already seen that Robespierre and Carnot had been attached to the committee of public welfare as successors to Gasparin and Thuriot, who were both ill. Robespierre had brought with him his powerful influence, and Carnot his military science. The Convention would have joined with Robespierre Danton, his colleague, and his rival in renown; but the latter, weary of toil, little qualified for the details of administration, disgusted, moreover, by the calumnies of the parties, had resolved not to be on any committee. He had already done a great deal for the Revolution; he had supported flagging courage on all the days of danger; he had furnished the first idea of the revolutionary tribunal, of the revolutionary army, of the permanent requisition, of the tax on the rich, and of the allowance of forty sous per sitting to the members of the sections; he was, in short, the author of all the measures which, though cruel in the execution, had nevertheless imparted to the Rveolution the energy that saved it. At this period he began to be no longer so necessary, for, since the first invasion of the Prussians, people had become in a manner habituated to danger; he disapproved of the

* "The revolutionary committees were declared the judges of the persons liable to arrest. Their number augmented with frightful rapidity. Paris had soon forty-eight. Every village throughout the country followed its example. Fifty thousand were soon in operation from Calais to Bayonne."—*Alison.* E.

vengeance preparing against the Girondins; he had just married a young wife, of whom he was deeply enamoured, and on whom he had settled the gold of Belgium, said his enemies, and the compensation for his place of advocate to the council, said his friends; he was attacked, like Mirabeau and Marat, by an inflammatory disorder; and, lastly, he needed rest, and solicited leave of absence, that he might go to Arcis-sur-Aube, his native place, to enjoy the country, of which he was passionately fond. He had been advised to adopt this mode of putting an end to calumnies by a temporary retirement. The victory of the Revolution might thenceforward be accomplished without him; two months of war and energy would suffice; and he purposed to return when the victory was achieved, to raise his mighty voice in favour of the vanquished and of a better order of things. Vain illusion of indolence and discouragement! To abandon so rapid a revolution for two months, nay, for one only, was making himself a stranger to it, impotent, and mortal.

Danton, therefore, declined the appointment, and obtained leave of absence. Billaud-Varennes and Collot-d'Herbois were added to the committee, and carried with them, the one his cold, implacable disposition, the other, his fire and his influence over the turbulent Cordeliers. The committee of general safety was reformed. From eighteen members it was reduced to nine, known to be the most severe.

While the government was thus organizing itself in the strongest manner, redoubled energy was apparent in all the resolutions. The great measures adopted in the month of August had not yet produced their results. La Vendée, though attacked upon a regular plan, had resisted; the check at Menin had nearly occasioned the loss of all the advantages of the victory of Hondtschoote; new efforts were required. Revolutionary enthusiasm suggested this idea—that in war, as in every thing else, the will has a decisive influence; and, for the first time, an army was enjoined to conquer within a given term.

All the dangers of the republic in La Vendée were fully appreciated. "Destroy La Vendée," said Barrère, "and Valenciennes and Condé will be no longer in the hands of the Austrian. Destroy La Vendée, and the English will think no more of Dunkirk. Destroy La Vendée, and the Rhine will be delivered from the Prussians. Destroy La Vendée, and Spain will find herself harassed, conquered, by the southerns, united with the victorious soldiers of Mortagne and Cholet. Destroy La Vendée, and part of the army of the interior may reinforce that courageous army of the North, so often betrayed and so often disorganized. Destroy La Vendée, and Lyons will cease to resist, Toulon will rise against the Spaniards and the English, and the spirit of Marseilles will again mount to the height of the republican Revolution. In short, every blow that you strike

at La Vendée will resound in the rebellious towns, in the federalist departments, on the invaded frontiers! La Vendée is still La Vendée! It is there that you must strike between this day and the 20th of October, before the winter, before the roads become impassable, before the brigands* find impunity in the climate and in the season.

"The committee, in one comprehensive and rapid glance, has discovered in these few words all the vices of La Vendée:

"Too many representatives;

"Too much moral division;

"Too many military divisions;

"Too much indiscipline in success;

"Too many false reports in the relation of events;

"Too much avidity, too much love of money, in a portion of the chiefs and of the administrators."

In accordance with these views, the Convention reduced the number of the representatives on mission, united the armies of La Rochelle and Brest into one, called the army of the West, and gave the command of it not to Rossignol, not to Canclaux, but to Lechelle, general of brigade in the division of Luçon. Lastly, it fixed the day in which the war of La Vendée was to be finished, and that day was the 20th of October. The proclamation which accompanied the decree was as follows:

"*The National Convention to the Army of the West.*

"Soldiers of liberty, the brigands of La Vendée must be exterminated before the end of October. The welfare of the country requires this; the impatience of the French people commands it; their courage ought to accomplish it. The national gratitude awaits at that period all those whose valour and patriotism shall have irrevocably established liberty and the republic!"

Measures not less prompt and not less energetic were adopted in regard to the army of the North, for the purpose of repairing the check at Menin, and deciding new successes. Houchard, removed from the command, was arrested. Jourdan, who had commanded the centre at Hondtschoote, was appointed general-in-chief of the army of the North and that of the Ardennes. He was directed to collect considerable masses at Guise for the purpose of attacking the enemy. There was but one outcry against attacks in detail. Without considering either the plan

* "The Vendean officers wore, for distinction, a sort of chequered red handkerchief, knotted round their head, with others of the same colour tied round their waist, by way of sash, in which they stuck their pistols. The adoption of this wild costume procured them the name of *brigands* from its fantastic singularity. It originated in the whim of Henri de Larochejaquelein, who first used the attire."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

or the operations of Houchard around Dunkirk, it was alleged that he had not fought *en masse*, and people insisted exclusively on this kind of combat, asserting that it was more appropriate to the impetuosity of the French character. Carnot had set out for Guise to join Jourdan, and to put in execution a new and wholly revolutionary system of warfare. Three new commissioners had been appointed to assist Dubois-Crancé in raising levies *en masse*, and directing them against Lyons. Orders were issued to relinquish the system of methodical attacks, and to assault the rebellious city. Thus redoubled efforts were making in every quarter to bring the campaign to a victorious conclusion.

But severity is always the companion of energy. The trial of Custine, too long deferred in the opinion of the Jacobins, was at length commenced, and it was conducted with all the violence and barbarity of the new judicial forms. No general-in-chief had yet ascended the scaffold. People were impatient to strike an elevated head, and to make the commanders of armies bend to the popular authority; they desired above all to make one of the generals atone for the defection of Dumouriez, and they chose Custine, whose opinions and sentiments caused him to be considered as another Dumouriez. He had been arrested at the moment when, holding the command of the army of the North, he had repaired to Paris to concert operations with the ministry. He was at first thrown into prison, and a decree for transferring him to the revolutionary tribunal was soon demanded and obtained.

The reader will recollect Custine's campaign on the Rhine. Commanding a division of the army, he had found Spire and Worms weakly guarded, because the allies, in their hurry to march upon Champagne, had neglected every thing on their wings and in their rear. German patriots, flocking from all quarters, offered him their towns; he advanced, took Spire Worms was delivered up to him, neglected Mannheim, which was in his route, out of respect to the neutrality of the elector-palatine, and also out of fear that he should not easily enter it. At length he arrived at Mayence, made himself master of it, rejoiced France by his unexpected conquests, and obtained a command which rendered him independent of Biron. At this moment Dumouriez had repulsed the Prussians, and driven them beyond the Rhine. Kellermann was near Treves. Custine was then to descend the Rhine to Coblentz, to join Kellermann, and thus make himself master of the banks of that river. All reasons concurred to favour this plan. The inhabitants of Coblentz called for Custine, those of St. Goar and Rheinfels also called for him: it is impossible to tell how far he might have gone had he followed the course of the Rhine. Perhaps he might even have descended to Holland. But from the interior of Germany

other patriots called for him too; people fancied, on seeing him advance so boldly, that he had one hundred thousand men. To penetrate into the enemy's territory and beyond the Rhine was more gratifying to the imagination and the vanity of Custine. He made an incursion to Frankfort, to levy contributions and to exercise impolitic vexations. There he was again beset with solicitations. Madmen invited him to come to Cassel, in the heart of electoral Hesse, and seize the elector's treasures. The wiser counsels of the French government advised him to return to the Rhine and to march towards Coblentz. But he would not listen to them, and dreamt of a revolution in Germany.

Meanwhile Custine became sensible of the dangers of his position. Seeing clearly that, if the elector were to break the neutrality, his rear would be threatened by Mannheim, he would fain have taken that place, which was offered to him, but durst not. Threatened to be attacked at Frankfort, where he could not maintain himself, still he would not abandon that city and return to the line of the Rhine, that he might not abandon his pretended conquests, and not involve himself in the operations of others by descending towards Coblentz. In this situation he was surprised by the Prussians, lost Frankfort, was driven back upon Mayence, remained undecided whether he should keep that place or not, threw into it some artillery brought from Strasburg, issued not till very late the order to provision it, was again surprised amidst his vacillation by the Prussians, withdrew from Mayence, and, smitten with terror and fancying that he was pursued by one hundred and fifty thousand men, retreated to Upper Alsace, almost under the cannon of Strasburg. Placed on the Upper Rhine with a considerable army, he might have marched upon Mayence, and put the besiegers between two fires, but he durst not; at length, ashamed of his inactivity, he made an unsuccessful attack on the 15th of May, was beaten, and went with regret to the army of the North, where he completed his ruin by moderate language and by a very prudent piece of advice, namely, that the army should be allowed to reorganize itself in Cæsar's Camp, instead of being made to fight uselessly for the relief of Valenciennes.

Such had been the career of Custine. There were many faults in it but no treason. His trial began, and representatives on mission, agents of the executive power, bitter enemies of the generals, discontented officers, members of the clubs of Strasburg, Mayence, and Cambrai, and lastly the terrible Vincent, the tyrant of the war-office under Bouchotte, were brought forward as witnesses. There was a host of accusers, accumulating unjust and contradictory charges, charges not founded on genuine military criticism but on accidental misfortunes, of which the general was not guilty, and which could not be imputed to him. Custine replied with a certain military

vehemence to all these accusations, but he was overwhelmed. Jacobins of Strasburg told him that he would not take the gorges of Porentruy when Luckner ordered him to do so; and he proved, to no purpose, that it was impossible. He was reproached by a German with not having taken Mannheim, which he offered to him. Custine excused himself by alleging the neutrality of the elector and the difficulties of the project. The inhabitants of Coblentz, Rheinfels, Darmstadt, Hanau, of all the towns which had wanted to give themselves up to him, and which he had not consented to occupy, accused him at once. Against the charge of not marching to Coblentz he made a weak defence, and calumniated Kellermann, who, he said, had refused to second him. As to his refusal to take the other places, he alleged with reason that all the German enthusiasts called for him, and that to satisfy them he must have occupied a hundred leagues of country. By a singular contradiction, while he was blamed for not taking this town, or not levying contributions on that, it was urged against him as a crime that he had taken Frankfort, plundered the inhabitants, not made the necessary dispositions there for resisting the Prussians, and exposed the French garrison to the risk of being slaughtered. The brave Merlin de Thionville, who gave evidence against him, justified him in this instance with equal generosity and reason. Had he left twenty thousand men at Frankfort, said Merlin, he could not have kept that city; it was absolutely necessary to retire to Mayence, and he was only wrong in not having done so sooner. But at Mayence, added a multitude of other witnesses, he had not made any of the necessary preparations; he had not collected either provisions or ammunition, but merely crowded together there the artillery of which he had stripped Strasburg, for the purpose of putting it into the hands of the Prussians, with a garrison of twenty thousand men and two deputies. Custine proved that he had given orders for provisioning the place, that the artillery was scarcely sufficient, and that it had not been uselessly accumulated there merely to be given up. Merlin supported all these assertions of Custine, but he could not forgive his pusillanimous retreat and his inactivity on the Upper Rhine, while the garrison of Mayence was performing prodigies. On these points Custine had nothing to reply. He was then charged with having burned the magazines of Spire on retiring—an absurd charge, for when once the retreat became imperative, it was better to burn the magazines than to leave them to the enemy. He was accused of having caused some volunteers to be shot at Spire on account of pillage; to this he replied that the Convention had approved of his conduct. He was further accused of having particularly spared the Prussians; of having voluntarily exposed his army to be beaten on the 15th of May; of having tarried long before

he repaired to his command in the North; of having attempted to strip Lille of its artillery for the purpose of taking it to Cæsar's Camp; of having prevented Valenciennes from being succoured; of not having opposed any obstacle to the landing of the English —charges which were each more absurd than the other. Lastly, it was said to him, "You pitied Lous XVI.; you were sad on the 31st of May; you wanted to hang Dr. Hoffmann, president of the Jacobins at Mayence; you prevented the circulation of the journal of Père Duchesne, and the journal of the Mountain in your army; you said that Marat and Robespierre were disturbers; you surrounded yourself with aristocratic officers; you never had at your table good republicans." These charges were fatal. They comprehended the real crimes for which he was prosecuted.

The trial had been long; all the imputations were so vague that the tribunal hesitated. Custine's daughter, and several persons who interested themselves on his behalf, had ventured to take some steps; for, at this period, though the terror was already great, still persons durst yet testify some interest for the victims. The revolutionary tribunal itself was immediately denounced at the Jacobins. "It is painful to me," said Hebert, addressing that society, "to have to denounce an authority, which was the hope of the patriots, which at first deserved their confidence, and which will before long become their bane. The revolutionary tribunal is on the point of acquitting a villain, in whose favour, it is true, the handsomest women in Paris are soliciting every body. Custine's daughter, as clever a comedian in this city as was her father at the head of armies, is calling upon every body, and promising every thing to obtain his pardon." Robespierre, on his part, denounced the spirit of chicane and the fondness for formalities, which had seized the tribunal; and maintained that, if it were only for the attempt to strip Lille of its artillery, Custine deserved death.

Vincent, one of the witnesses, had ransacked the portfolios of the war-office, and brought the letters and orders for which Custine was accused, and which assuredly did not constitute crimes. Fouquier-Tinville* drew a comparison between Custine and Du-

* "Fouquier Tinville, the son of a farmer, was first an attorney at the Chatelet, but having dissipated his property, he lost his place, and became a bankrupt. In 1793 he was appointed head-juryman of the revolutionary tribunal, and caused the Queen to be condemned to death; but in the year 1795 was himself condemned and executed, for having caused the destruction of an innumerable multitude of French persons, under pretence of conspiracies; for having caused between sixty and eighty individuals to be tried in four hours; for having caused carts which were ready beforehand, to be loaded with victims whose very names were not mentioned, and against whom no depositions were made, and for having constituted a jury of his own adherents. It would be impossible to detail all his atrocities, but a few instances will convey an idea of his character. M. de Gamache was brought

mouriez, which was the ruin of the unfortunate general. Dumouriez, he said, had advanced rapidly into Belgium to abandon it afterwards as rapidly, and to deliver up to the enemy soldiers,

into court, but the officer declared that he was not the person accused. "Never mind," said Fouquier, "bring him nevertheless." A moment after, the real Gamache appeared, and both were at once condemned and executed. Sixty or eighty unhappy wretches were often confounded in the same accusation, though they had never seen each other, and when Fouquier wished to despatch them in the mass, he merely said to the jury, "I think, citizens, that you are convinced of the guilt of the accused." When this hint was thrown out, the jury would declare themselves sufficiently enlightened, and condemn all the accused in the gross, without hearing one of them. Fouquier Tinville was accustomed to frequent a coffee-house in the Palace of Justice, where the judges and jurymen of his tribunal met. There they reckoned the number of heads which had fallen in the course of the decade. "What do you think I have gained to-day for the republic?" Some of the guests, to pay court to him, would answer, "so many millions," when he would immediately add, "in the next decade I shall undress three or four hundred," meaning, guillotine them. A considerable number of victims were one day met on their way home from the tribunal by Fouquier, who had not been present at their trial; he asked the jury on what crime they had been pronouncing sentence. They did not know, they said, but he might run after the condemned persons, and inquire, upon which they all burst into laughter. When he was himself led to execution, after the fall of Robespierre, Fouquier Tinville's forehead, hard as marble, defied all the eyes of the multitude; he was even seen to smile and utter threatening words. He trembled however as he ascended the scaffold, and seemed for the first time to feel remorse. He had a round head, black straight hair, a narrow and wan forehead, small round eyes, a full face marked with the smallpox, a look sometimes fixed, sometimes oblique, a middling stature, and thick legs."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Fouquier Tinville who was excessively artful, quick in attributing guilt, and skilled in controverting facts, showed immoveable presence of mind on his trial. While standing before the tribunal from which he had condemned so many victims, he kept constantly writing; but like Argus, all eyes and ears, he lost not while he wrote, one single word uttered by the president, by an accused person, by a judge, by a witness, or by a public accuser. He affected to sleep during the public accuser's recapitulation, as if to feign tranquillity, while he had hell in his heart. No eye but must involuntarily fall before his steadfast gaze; when he prepared to speak, he frowned; his brow was furrowed; his voice was rough, loud, and menacing; he carried audacity to the utmost in his denial; and showed equal address in altering facts and rendering them independent of each other, and especially in judiciously placing his alibis."—*Mercier.* E.

"Fouquier Tinville was the public accuser in the revolutionary tribunal, and his name soon became as terrible as that of Robespierre to all France. He was born in Picardy, and exhibited a combination of qualities so extraordinary, that if it had not been established by undoubted testimony, it would have been deemed fabulous. Justice in his eyes consisted in condemning; an acquittal was the source of profound vexation; he was never happy unless when he had secured the conviction of all the accused. He required no species of recreation; women, the pleasures of the table or of the theatre, were alike indifferent to him. Sober and sparing in diet, he never indulged in excess, excepting when with the judges of the revolutionary tribunal, when he would at times give way to intemperance. His power of undergoing fatigue was unbounded. The sole recreation which he allowed himself was to behold his victims perish on the scaffold. He confessed that that object

magazines, and representatives themselves. In like manner, Custine had advanced rapidly into Germany, had abandoned our soldiers at Frankfort and at Mayence, and meant to deliver up with the latter city twenty thousand men, two representatives, and all our artillery, which he had maliciously removed from Strasburg. Like Dumouriez, he slandered the Convention and the Jacobins, and caused brave volunteers to be shot upon the pretext of maintaining discipline. After this parallel, the tribunal ceased to hesitate. Custine defended his military operations in a speech of two hours; and Tronçon-Decoudray defended his administrative and civil conduct, but to no purpose. The tribunal declared the general guilty, to the great joy of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, who filled the hall and gave tumultuous demonstrations of their satisfaction. Custine, however, had not been unanimously condemned. On the three questions, he had successively had against him ten, nine, eight voices out of eleven. The president asked if he had any thing further to say. He looked around, and not seeing his counsel, he replied, " I have no longer any defenders; I die calm and innocent."

He was executed on the following morning. This warrior, a man of acknowledged intrepidity, was staggered at the sight of the scaffold. He nevertheless knelt down at the foot of the ladder, offered up a short prayer, recovered himself, and received death with courage.* Such was the end of this unfortunate general, who lacked neither intelligence nor firmness, but who combined inconsistency with presumption, and who committed three capital faults; the first in leaving his proper line of operation and marching to Frankfort; the second in not returning to it when exhorted to do so; and the third in remaining in the most timid inaction during the siege of Mayence. None of these faults, however, were deserving of death; but he suffered the punishment which could not be inflicted on Dumouriez, and which he had not merited, like the latter, by great and guilty projects. His death was a terrible example for all the generals,

had great attractions for him. He might during the period of his power have amassed an immense fortune; he remained to the last poor, and his wife is said to have died of famine. His lodgings were destitute of every comfort; their whole furniture, after his death, did not sell for twenty pounds. No seduction could influence him. He was literally a bar of iron against all the ordinary desires of men. Nothing roused his mind but the prospect of inflicting death, and then his animation was such, that his countenance became radiant and expressive."—*Alison.* E.

* " Custine's beautiful and gifted daughter-in-law in vain sat daily by his side, and exerted herself to the utmost in his behalf; her grace and the obvious injustice of the accusation produced some impression on the judges, and a few were inclined to an acquittal; but immediately the revolutionary tribunal itself was complained of, and Custine was found guilty. When he ascended the scaffold, the crowd murmured because he appeared with a minister of religion by his side."—*Alison.* E.

and a signal to them for absolute obedience to the orders of the revolutionary government.

This act of rigour was destined to be followed up by executions without intermission. The order for hastening the trial of Marie Antoinette was renewed. The act of accusation of the Girondins, so long demanded and never prepared, was presented to the Convention. It was drawn up by St. Just. Petitions came from the Jacobins to oblige the Convention to adopt it. It was directed not only against the twenty-two and the commission of twelve, but also against seventy-three members of the right side, who had maintained an absolute silence since the victory of the Mountain, and who had drawn up a well-known protest against the events of the 31st of May and the 2nd of June. Some furious Mountaineers insisted on the accusation, that is death, against the twenty-two, the twelve, and the seventy-three; but Robespierre opposed this and suggested a middle course, namely, to send the twenty-two and the twelve to the revolutionary tribunal, and to put the seventy-three under arrest. His proposal was adopted. The doors of the hall were immediately secured, the seventy-three were apprehended, and Fouquier-Tinville was ordered to take into his hands the unfortunate Girondins. Thus the Convention, becoming more and more docile, suffered the order for sending part of its colleagues to execution to be extorted from it. In truth it could no longer delay issuing it, for the Jacobins had sent five petitions, each more imperative than the other, in order to obtain these last decrees of accusation.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

SIEGE AND REDUCTION OF LYONS—VICTORY OF WATIGNIES—THE BLOCKADE OF MAUBEUGE RAISED—JUNCTION OF THE REPUBLICAN ARMIES IN THE CENTRE OF LA VENDEE—VICTORY OF CHOLET; FLIGHT OF THE VENDEANS BEYOND THE LOIRE.

EVERY reverse roused the revolutionary energy, and that energy produced success. It had always been thus during that memorable campaign. A continual series of disasters, from the defeat of Neerwinden till the month of August, had at length stimulated to desperate efforts. The annihilation of federalism, the defence of Nantes, the victory of Hondtschoote, the raising of the blockade of Dunkirk, had been the consequence of these efforts. Fresh reverses at Menin, Pirmasens, the Pyrenees, and at Torfou and Coron, in La Vendée, had just given fresh excitement to energy, and decisive successes on all the theatres of the war were destined to be the result of it.

Of all the operations, the siege of Lyons was that the end of which was awaited with the greatest impatience. We left Dubois-Crancé encamped before that city, with five thousand of the requisitionary force. He was threatened with soon having on his rear the Sardinians, whom the weak army of the great Alps was no longer able to keep in check. As we have already observed, he had placed himself to the north, between the Saône and the Rhone, facing the redoubts of Croix-Rousse, and not on the heights of St. Foy and Fourvières situated to the west, from which the attack ought by rights to have been directed. The motive for this preference was founded on more than one reason. It was above all important to keep in communication with the frontier of the Alps, where the main body of the republican army was, and whence the Piedmontese could come to succour the Lyonnese. In this position he also had the advantage of occupying the upper course of the two rivers, and of intercepting any provisions which might have been descending the Saône and the Rhone. It is true that the west was thus left open to the Lyonnese, and that they could make continual excursions towards St. Etienne and Mont-Brison; but the arrival of the contingents of the Puy-de-Dôme was daily expected, and, when these new requisitions had once joined, Dubois-Crancé would be enabled to complete the blockade of the west side, and then to choose the real point of attack. Mean-

while, he contented himself with pressing the enemy closely, with cannonading the Croix-Rousse to the north, and with commencing his lines on the east, before the bridge of La Guillotière. The transport of ammunition was difficult and slow. It had to be brought from Grenoble, Fort Barreaux, Briançon, and Embrun, and thus to travel over sixty leagues of mountains. These extraordinary convoys could be effected only by way of forced requisition, and by putting in motion five thousand horses; for they had to transport before Lyons fourteen thousand bombs, thirty-four thousand cannon-balls, three hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder, eight hundred thousand cartridges, and one hundred and thirty pieces of artillery.

Very early in the siege, the march of the Piedmontese, who were debouching from the Little St. Bernard and from Mont-Cenis, was announced. At the urgent solicitations of the department of the Isère, Kellermann immediately set out, and left General Dumay to succeed him at Lyons. Dumuy, however, was his successor only in appearance, for Dubois-Crancé, a representative and an able engineer, directed alone all the operations of the siege. To hasten the levy of the requisitions of the Puy-de-Dôme, Dubois-Crancé detached General Nicolas, with a small corps of cavalry; but it was taken in the Forez and delivered up to the Lyonnese. Dubois-Crancé then sent thither a thousand good troops with Javognes,* the representative. The mission of the latter was more fortunate; he repressed the aristocrats of Mont-Brison and St. Etienne, and levied seven or eight thousand peasants, whom he brought before Lyons. Dubois-Crancé placed them at the bridge of Oullins, situated to the north-west of Lyons, so as to cramp the communications of Lyons with the Forez. He ordered Reverchon, the deputy, who had collected some thousand requisitionaries at Maçon, to draw nearer, and placed him up the Saône, quite to the north. In this manner the blockade began to be rather strict, but the operations were slow, and attacks by main force impossible. The fortifications of La Croix-Rousse, between the Rhone and the Loire, before which the principal corps lay, could not be carried by assault. On the east side and on the left bank of the Rhone, the bridge of Morand was defended by a semicircular redoubt, very skilfully constructed. On the west the decisive heights of St. Foy and Fourvières could not be taken without a strong army, and for the moment

* "Javognes, was famous for his cruelties and rapine at Lyons. He traversed the departments of Ain and Loire at the head of a revolutionary army, and began by establishing at Feurs a tribunal composed of ignorant and profligate men, to one of whom he said, 'The *sans-culottes* must profit by this opportunity to do their own business; so send all the rich men to the guillotine, and you will quickly become rich yourself.' With such tools he quickly organized death and pillage in all the towns which he visited."—*Prudhomme.* E.

nothing further was to be thought of than intercepting provisions, pressing the city, and setting it on fire.

From the commencement of August to the middle of September Dubois-Crancé had not been able to do more, and in Paris people complained of his slowness without making allowance for its motives. He had, nevertheless, done great damage to the unfortunate city. Conflagrations had consumed the magnificent square of Bellecour, the arsenal, the quarter of St. Clair, and the port of the Temple, and damaged in particular that fine building, the Hospital, which rises so majestically on the bank of the Rhone. The Lyonnese, however, still continued to resist with the utmost obstinacy. A report was circulated among them that fifty thousand Piedmontese were approaching their city; the emigrants loaded them with promises, but without throwing themselves into the midst of them; and those worthy manufacturers, sincere republicans, were by their false position forced to desire the baneful and ignominious succour of emigrants and foreigners. Their sentiments had more than once burst forth in an unequivocal manner. Precy had proposed to hoist the white flag, but had soon perceived the impossibility of doing so. An obsidional paper having been created to supply the wants of the siege, and there being *fleurs de lis* in the water-mark of this paper, it had been found necessary to destroy it and to make another. Thus the sentiments of the Lyonnese were republican, but the fear of the vengeance of the Convention, and the false promises of Marseilles, Bordeaux, Caen, and more especially of the emigrants, had hurried them into an abyss of faults and calamities.

While they were feeding themselves with hopes of the arrival of fifty thousand Sardinians, the Convention had ordered the representatives Couthon, Maignet, and Chateauneuf-Randon, to repair to Auvergne and the neighbouring departments, to raise a levy *en masse* there, and Kellermann was hastening to the valleys of the Alps to meet the Piedmontese.

A fair occasion here again offered itself to the Piedmontese for making a grand and bold attempt, which could not have failed to prove successful; this was, to concentrate their principal force on the Little St. Bernard, and to debouch on Lyons with fifty thousand men. It is well known that the three valleys of Sallenche, the Tarentaise, and the Maurienne, wind in a kind of spiral form, and that, commencing at the Little St. Bernard, they debouch upon Geneva, Chambery, Lyons, and Grenoble. Small French corps were scattered in these valleys. To descend rapidly by one of them and to take post at their outlets would have been a sure way, according to all the principles of the art, to cut off the detachments in the mountains, and to make them lay down their arms. There was little reason to fear any attachment of the Savoyards for the French, for the assignats and requisitions had as yet taught them to know nothing of

liberty but its extortions and its rigour. The Duke of Montferrat, placed at the head of the expedition, took with him but twenty or twenty-five thousand men, threw a corps on his right into the valley of the Sallenche, descended with his main body into the Tarentaise, and left General Gordon to pass through the Maurienne with his left wing. So dilatory was his movement, that, though commenced on the 14th of August, it lasted till September. The French, though far inferior in number, made an energetic resistance, and prolonged the retreat to eighteen days. On reaching Moustier, the Duke of Montferrat sought to place himself in connexion with Gordon, on the chain of the Grand-Loup, which parts the two valleys of the Tarentaise and the Maurienne, and never thought of marching rapidly upon Conflans, the point where the three valleys meet. This dilatoriness and his twenty-five thousand men prove sufficiently whether he had any intention of proceeding to Lyons.

Meanwhile Kellermann, hastening from Grenoble, had called out the national guard of the Isère and of the surrounding departments. He had encouraged the Savoyards, who began to fear the vengeance of the Piedmontese government, and had contrived to collect about twelve thousand men. He then reinforced the corps in the valley of Sallenche, and marched towards Conflans, at the outlet of the two valleys of the Tarentaise and the Maurienne. This was about the 10th of September. At this moment orders to advance had reached the Duke of Montferrat. But Kellermann, anticipating the Piedmontese, ventured to attack them in the position of Espierre, which they had taken up on the chain of the Grand-Loup, for the purpose of communicating between the two valleys. As he could not approach this position in front, he caused it to be turned by a detached corps. This corps, composed of half-naked soldiers, nevertheless made heroic efforts, and lifted the guns by main strength up almost inaccessible heights. All at once, the French artillery unexpectedly opened over the heads of the Piedmontese, who were dismayed by it. Gordon immediately retired in the valley of Maurienne on St. Michel, and the Duke of Montferrat moved back to the middle of the valley of the Tarentaise. Kellermann, having annoyed the latter on his flanks, soon obliged him to return to St. Maurice and St. Germain, and at length drove him, on the 4th of October, beyond the Alps. Thus the short and successful campaign which the Piedmontese might have made by debouching with twice the mass, and descending by a single valley upon Chambery and Lyons, failed here for the same reasons that had caused all the attempts of the allies to miscarry, and saved France.

While the Sardinians were thus driven back beyond the Alps, the three deputies sent into the Puys-de-Dôme, to effect a levy *en masse* there, raised the country people by preaching up a kind of crusade, and persuading them that Lyons, so far from de-

fending the republican cause, was the rendezvous of the factions, of the emigration, and of foreigners. The paralytic Couthon, full of an activity which his infirmities could not relax, excited a general movement. He despatched Maignet and Chateauneuf with a first column of twelve thousand men, and remained behind himself for the purpose of bringing another of twenty-five thousand, and collecting the necessary supplies of provisions. Dubois-Crancé placed the new levies on the west side, towards St. Foy, and thus completed the blockade. He received at the same time a detachment of the garrison of Valenciennes, which, like that of Mayence, could not serve any where but in the interior; he placed detachments of regular troops in advance of the new levies so as to form good heads of columns. His army was thus composed of about twenty-five thousand requisitionaries and eight or ten thousand men inured to war.

On the 24th, at midnight, he carried the redoubt of the bridge of Oullins, which led to the foot of the heights of St. Foy. Next day, General Doppet, a Savoyard,* who had distinguished himself under Carteaux, in the war against the Marseillais, arrived to supersede Kellermann. The latter had been removed on account of the lukewarmness of his zeal, and he had been suffered to retain his command for a few days, merely that he might bring his expedition against the Piedmontese to a conclusion. General Doppet then concerted with Dubois-Crancé for the assault of the heights of St. Foy. All the preparations were made for the night between the 28th and 29th of September. Simultaneous attacks were directed on the north near La Croix-Rousse, on the east facing the bridge of Morand, and on the south by the bridge of La Mulatière, which is situated below the city, at the conflux of the Saône and the Rhone. The serious attack was to be made by the bridge of Oullins on St. Foy. This was not begun till five in the morning of the 29th, an hour or two after the three others. Doppet, inflaming the soldiers, rushed with them upon a first redoubt, and hurried them on to a second, with the utmost vivacity. Great and little St. Foy were carried. Meanwhile the column sent to attack the bridge of La Mulatière made itself master of it, and penetrated to the isthmus at the point of which the two rivers join. It was about to enter Lyons, when Précy, hastening up with his cavalry, repulsed it and saved the place. Meanwhile Vaubois, commandant of artillery, who had made a very brisk attack upon the bridge of Morand, had penetrated into the horseshoe redoubt, but had been obliged to leave it again.

Of all these attacks one only had completely succeeded, but

* General Doppet was a Savoyard, a physician, and an unprincipled man. He was entirely governed by interested motives. He was a decided enemy to all who possessed talent, had no idea of war, and was any thing but brave."—*Bourrienne.* E.

this was the principal attack, that of St. Foy. The assailants had now to pass from the heights of St. Foy to those of Fourvières, which were much more regularly intrenched and much more difficult to carry. Dubois-Crancé, who acted systematically and like a skilful soldier, was of opinion that he ought not to expose himself to the risks of a new assault, for the following reasons: He knew that the Lyonnese, who were compelled to eat pea-flour, had provisions for only a few days longer, and that they would very soon be obliged to surrender. He had found them extremely brave in the defence of La Mulatière and the bridge of Morand; he was fearful that an attack on the heights of Fourvières might not succeed, and that a check might disorganize the army and compel him to raise the siege. "The greatest favour," said he, "that we could do to the brave and desperate besieged, is to furnish them with an opportunity to save themselves by fighting. Let us leave them to perish in a few days by famine."

At this moment, on the 2nd of October, Couthon arrived with a new levy of twenty-five thousand peasants of the Auvergne. "I am coming," he wrote, "with my rocks of the Auvergne, and I shall hurl them upon the suburb of Devaise." He found Dubois-Crancé amidst an army of which he was the absolute chief, in which he had established the rules of military subordination, and among which he more commonly wore the uniform of a superior officer than that of a representative of the people. Couthon was irritated to see a representative superseding equality by the military hierarchy, and, above all, would not listen to a word about regular warfare. "I know nothing of tactics," said he; "I bring with me the people, whose holy rage will conquer every thing. We must overwhelm Lyons with our masses and take it by main force. Besides, I have promised my peasants leave of absence next Monday, for they must go home and attend to their vintage." It was then Tuesday. Dubois-Crancé, who thoroughly understood his profession, and was accustomed to regular troops, expressed some contempt for this ill-armed mob of peasants. He proposed to pick out the youngest, to incorporate them into the battalions already organized, and to dismiss the others. Couthon would not listen to any of these prudent suggestions, and caused it to be immediately decided that Lyons should be attacked on all points, with the sixty thousand men of whom the army now consisted, in consequence of the junction of the new levy. He wrote at the same time to the committee of public welfare, urging it to recall Dubois-Crancé. It was resolved in the council of war that the attack should take place on the 8th of October.

The recall of Dubois-Crancé and of his colleague Gauthier arrived in the mean time. The Lyonnese had a great horror of Dubois-Crancé, whom they had seen for two months so invete-

rate against their city, and they declared that they would not surrender to him. On the 7th, Couthon sent them a last summons, and wrote to them that it was he, Couthon, and the representatives, Maignet and Laporte, who were charged by the Convention with the prosecution of the siege. The firing was suspended till four in the afternoon, and then renewed with extreme violence. Preparations were about to be made for the assault, when a deputation came to treat on behalf of the Lyonnese. It appears that the object of this negotiation was to give time to Précy and two thousand of the inhabitants, who were most deeply compromised, to escape in close column. They actually did avail themselves of this interval, and left the place by the suburb of Devaise, with the intention of retiring towards Switzerland.

Scarcely had the parley commenced, when a republican column penetrated to the suburb of St. Just. It was no longer time to make conditions, and besides, the Convention would grant none. On the 9th the army entered, headed by the representatives. The inhabitants had concealed themselves, but all the persecuted Mountaineers came forth in a body to meet the victorious army, and composed for it a sort of popular triumph. General Doppet made his troops observe the strictest discipline, and left to the representatives the exercise of the revolutionary vengeance upon that unfortunate city.

Meanwhile Précy, with his two thousand fugitives, was marching towards Switzerland. But Dubois-Crancé, foreseeing that this would be his only resource, had for a long time caused all the passes to be guarded. The unfortunate Lyonnese were therefore pursued, dispersed, and killed by the peasants. Not more than eighty of them, with Précy, reached the Helvetic territory.

No sooner had Couthon entered the city, than he re-established the old Mountaineer municipality, and commissioned it to seek and point out the rebels. He instituted a popular commission to try them according to martial law. He then wrote to Paris that there were three classes of inhabitants: 1. The guilty rich; 2. The selfish rich; 3. The ignorant artisans who were of no party whatever, and alike incapable of good and evil. The first should be guillotined and their houses destroyed; the second forced to contribute their whole fortune; and the third be displaced, and a republican colony planted in their stead.

The capture of Lyons produced the greatest rejoicing in Paris, and compensated for the bad news of the end of September. Still, notwithstanding the result, complaints were made of the dilatoriness of Dubois-Crancé, and to him was imputed the flight of the Lyonnese by the suburb of Devaise, a flight, however, which had only saved eighty of them. Couthon, in particular, accused him of having made himself absolute general in his army, of having more frequently appeared in the dress of a superior officer than in that of representative of the people, of

having affected the superciliousness of a tactician, lastly, of having preferred the system of regular sieges to that of attacks *en masse*. An outcry was immediately raised by the Jacobins against Dubois-Crancé, whose activity and vigour had, nevertheless, rendered such important services at Grenoble, in the South, and before Lyons. At the same time, the committee of public welfare prepared terrible decrees, with a view to make the authority of the Convention more formidable and more implicitly obeyed. The decree submitted by Barrère, and immediately adopted, was as follows:

Art. 1. There shall be appointed by the National Convention, on the presentation of the committee of public welfare, a commission of five representatives of the people, who shall proceed to Lyons without delay, and cause all the counter-revolutionists who have taken up arms in that city to be apprehended and tried according to martial law.

2. All the Lyonnese shall be disarmed: the arms shall be given to those who shall be acknowledged to have had no hand in the revolt and to the defenders of the country.

3. The city of Lyons shall be destroyed.

4. No part of it shall be preserved but the poor-house, the manufactories, the workshops of the arts, the hospitals, the public buildings, and those of instruction.

5. That city shall cease to be called Lyons. It shall be called *Commune-Affranchie.*

6. On the ruins of Lyons shall be erected a monument, on which shall be inscribed these words: LYONS MADE WAR UPON LIBERTY—LYONS IS NO MORE !*

The intelligence of the capture of Lyons was immediately communicated to the two armies of the North and of La Vendée, where the decisive blows were to be struck, and a proclamation invited them to imitate the army of Lyons. The army of the North was thus addressed: "The standard of liberty waves over the walls of Lyons, and purifies them. Behold there the omen of victory: victory belongs to courage. It is yours: strike, exterminate the satellites of the tyrants! The eyes of the country are fixed on you; the Convention seconds your generous devotedness; a few days longer, and the tyrants will be no more, and the republic will owe to you its happiness and its glory." To the soldiers of La Vendée it was said, "And you, too, brave soldiers, you, too, will gain a victory. Too long has

* "The practice of all governments being to establish their continuance as a right, those who attack them are enemies while they fight, and conspirators when they are conquered; consequently, they are killed both by means of war and of the law. All these motives influenced at the same time the policy of the revolutionary government—a policy of vengeance, of terror, and of self-preservation. These are the maxims according to which they acted with respect to the insurgent towns, more especially Lyons, which was denounced in a terrible spirit."—*Mignet.* E.

La Vendée annoyed the republic. March, strike, finish! All our enemies must fall at once. Every army must conquer. Would you be the last to gather laurels, to earn the glory of having exterminated the rebels, and saved the country?"

The committee, as we see, spared no pains to make the most of the reduction of Lyons. That event was, in fact, of the utmost importance. It delivered the east of France from the last remains of insurrection, and took all hope from the emigrants intriguing in Switzerland, and from the Piedmontese, who could not henceforth reckon upon any diversion. It quelled the Jura, secured the rear of the army of the Rhine, permitted the succours in men and stores, which had become indispensable, to be despatched to Toulon and the Pyrenees; and lastly, it intimidated all the towns which still felt disposed to insurrection, and ensured their definitive submission.

It was in the North that the committee was particularly desirous to display the greatest energy, and that it expected generals and soldiers to show that quality most conspicuously. Scarcely had Custine's head been struck off on the scaffold, when Houchard was sent to the revolutionary tribunal for not having done all that he might have done before Dunkirk. The recent complaints addressed to the committee in September had obliged it to renew all the staffs. It had just recomposed them entirely, and raised mere officers to the highest commands. Houchard, colonel at the beginning of the campaign, general-in-chief before it was finished, and now accused before the revolutionary tribunal; Hoche, a mere officer at the siege of Dunkirk, and now promoted to the command of the army of the Moselle; Jourdan, *chef de bataillon*, then commandant of the centre at the battle of Hondtschoote, and at length appointed general-in-chief of the army of the North; were striking examples of the vicissitudes of fortune in the republican armies. These sudden promotions did not allow soldiers, officers, or generals, time to become acquainted and to gain each other's confidence; but they conveyed a terrible idea of that will, which thus struck at every one, not only in case of a proved treason, but for a suspicion, for insufficient zeal, or for a half victory; and thence resulted an absolute devotion on the part of the armies, and unbounded hopes in spirits daring enough to defy the dangerous chances of the generalship.

To this period must be referred the first advances of the art of war. The principles of that art had, indeed, been known and practised in all ages by captains combining boldness of mind with boldness of character. In very recent times, Frederick had furnished an example of the most admirable strategical combinations. But, as soon as the man of genius disappears and gives place to ordinary men, the art of war falls back into circumspection and routine. Generals fight everlastingly for the defence or the attack of a line; they acquire skill in calculating

the advantages of ground, in adapting to it each kind of arm; but, with all these means, they dispute for whole years the possession of a province which a bold captain would be able to gain by one manœuvre; and this prudence of mediocrity sacrifices more blood than the temerity of genius, for it consumes men without producing adequate results.

Such had been the course pursued by the skilful tacticians of the coalition. To each battalion they opposed another; they guarded all the routes threatened by the enemy, and while with one bold march they might have destroyed the Revolution, they durst not take a step for fear of uncovering themselves. The art of war was yet to be regenerated. To form a compact mass, to fill it with confidence and daring, to carry it rapidly beyond a river or a chain of mountains, to strike an enemy unawares, by dividing his force, by separating him from his resources, by taking his capital, was a difficult and a grand art, which required the presence of genius, and which could develop itself only amidst the revolutionary agitation.

The Revolution, by setting the public mind in motion, prepared the epoch of great military combinations. At first it raised in its cause enormous masses of men, masses considerable in a very different way from all those that were ever raised for the cause of kings. It then excited an extraordinary impatience of success, and a disgust of slow and methodical combats, and suggested the idea of sudden and numerous irruptions on one and the same point. On all sides, it was said, We must fight *en masse*. This was the cry of the soldiers on the frontiers, and of the Jacobins in the clubs. Couthon, arriving at Lyons, had replied to all the arguments of Dubois-Crancé that the assault ought to be made *en masse*. Lastly, Barrère had presented an able and profound report, in which he showed that the cause of our reverses lay in combats of detail. Thus, in forming masses, in inspiring them with new courage, in abrogating the old system of military routine, the Revolution laid the foundation for the revival of warfare on a large scale. This change could not be effected without disorder. Peasants and artisans, taken directly to fields of battle, carried with them on the first day nothing but ignorance of discipline, and panic terror, the consequence of disorganization. Representatives, who were sent to fan the revolutionary passions in the camps, frequently required impossibilities, and were guilty of injustice to brave generals. Dumouriez, Custine, Houchard, Brunet, Canclaux, Jourdan, perished or retired before this torrent; but in a month those artisans became Jacobin declaimers, docile and intrepid soldiers; those representatives communicated an extraordinary energy to the armies; and, by dint of exigences and changes, they at length found out the bold spirits that were suitable to the circumstances.

Lastly, there came forward a man to give regularity to this great

movement—this was Carnot. Formerly an officer of engineers, afterwards member of the Convention and of the committee of public welfare, sharing in some measure its inviolability, he could with impunity introduce order into too disjointed operations, and above all, command a unity which no minister before him had been sufficiently powerful to impose upon them. One of the principal causes of our preceding reverses was the confusion which accompanies a great agitation. The committee once established and become irresistible, and Carnot being invested with all the power of that committee, obedience was paid to the intelligence of the skilful mind, which calculating from a general view of the whole, prescribed movements perfectly harmonizing together, and tending to one and the same end. A general could no longer, as Dumouriez and Custine had formerly done, act each in his own way, by drawing the whole war and all the means to himself. Representatives could no longer command some manœuvres, or thwart others, or modify the superior orders. Both were obliged to obey the supreme will of the committee, and to adhere to the uniform plan which it had prescribed. Placed thus at the centre, soaring over all the frontiers, the mind of Carnot became enlarged as it rose. He conceived widely extended plans, in which prudence was united with boldness.* The instructions sent to Houchard afford a proof of this. His plans, it is true, had sometimes the inconvenience of plans formed in offices. When his orders arrived, they were not always either adapted to the places, or practicable at the moment; but they redeemed by their harmony the inconvenience of the details, and secured for us in the following year universal triumphs.

Carnot had hastened to the northern frontier to Jourdan. It had been resolved to attack the enemy boldly, though he appeared formidable. Carnot asked the general for a plan, that he might judge of his views and reconcile them with those of the committee, that is, with his own. The allies, returning from Dunkirk, towards the middle of the line, had collected between the Scheld and the Meuse, and composed there a formidable

* "The royalists and their foreign allies have never been able to forgive Carnot's signal military exploits during the war of the French Revolution; and affected to confound him with Robespierre, as if he had been the accomplice of that monster in the Reign of Terror. Situated as Carnot then was, he had but one alternative—either to continue in the committee of public safety, co-operating with men whom he abhorred, and lending his name to their worst deeds, while he was fain to close his eyes upon their details; or to leave the tremendous war which France was then waging for her existence, in the hands of men so utterly unfit to conduct the machine an instant, that immediate conquest, in its worst shape, must have been the consequence of his desertion. There may be many an honest man who would have preferred death to any place in Robespierre's committee; but it is fair to state that in all probability Carnot saved his country by persevering in the management of the war."—*Edinburgh Review.* E.

mass capable of striking decisive blows. We have already described the theatre of the war. Several lines divide the space comprised between the Meuse and the sea, namely, the Lys, the Scarpe, the Scheldt, and the Sambre. The allies, in taking Condé and Valenciennes, had secured two important points on the Scheldt. Le Quesnoy, which they had just reduced, gave them a support between the Scheldt and the Sambre; but they had none upon the Sambre itself. They thought of Maubeuge, which, by its position on the Sambre, would have made them almost masters of the space comprised between that river and the Meuse. At the opening of the next campaign, Valenciennes and Maubeuge would furnish them with an excellent base of operations, and their campaign of 1793 would not have been entirely useless. Their last project consisted therefore in occupying Maubeuge.

On the part of the French, among whom the spirit of combination began to develop itself, it was the intention to act, by Lille and Maubeuge, on the two wings of the enemy, and, in thus attacking him on both flanks, it was hoped that they should make his centre fall. In this manner they would be under the liability of sustaining his whole effort on one or other of the wings, and they would leave him all the advantage of his mass; but there was certainly more originality in this conception than in those which had preceded it. Meanwhile the most urgent point was to succour Maubeuge. Jourdan, leaving nearly fifty thousand men in the camps of Gavarelle, Lille, and Cassel, to form his left wing, collected as many troops as possible at Guise. He had composed a mass of about forty-five thousand men, already organized, and he caused the new levies proceeding from the permanent requisition to be formed into regiments with the utmost despatch. These levies, however, were in such disorder, that he was obliged to leave detachments of troops of the line to guard them. Jourdan, therefore, fixed upon Guise as the rendezvous of all the recruits, and advanced in five columns to the relief of Maubeuge.

The enemy had already invested that place. Like Valenciennes and Lille, it was supported by an intrenched camp, situated on the right bank of the Sambre, on the very side upon which the French were advancing. Two divisions, those of Generals Desjardins and Mayer, guarded the course of the Sambre, one above, the other below, Maubeuge. The enemy, instead of advancing in two close masses, driving back Desjardins upon Maubeuge and Mayer beyond Charleroy, where he would have been lost, passed the Sambre in small masses, and allowed the two divisions of Desjardins and Mayer to unite in the intrenched camp of Maubeuge. It was judicious enough to separate Desjardins from Jourdan, and to have thus prevented him from strengthening the active army of the French; but in suffering Mayer to join Desjardins the allies had permitted those

two generals to form under Maubeuge a corps of twenty thousand men, which could play something more than the part of a mere garrison, especially on the approach of the main army under Jourdan. The difficulty, however, of subsisting this numerous assemblage was a most serious inconvenience to Maubeuge, and might, in some measure, excuse the enemy's generals for having permitted the junction.

The Prince of Coburg placed the Dutch, to the number of twelve thousand, on the left bank of the Sambre, and endeavoured to set fire to the magazines of Maubeuge, in order to increase the dearth. He sent General Colloredo upon the right bank, and charged him to invest the intrenched camp. In advance of Colloredo, Clairfayt, with three divisions, formed the corps of observation, and was directed to oppose the march of Jourdan. The allies numbered nearly sixty-five thousand men.

The Prince of Coburg, had he possessed boldness and genius, would have left fifteen or twenty thousand men at most to overawe Maubeuge; he would then have marched with forty-five or fifty thousand upon General Jourdan, and would have infallibly beaten him for, with the advantage of the offensive, and in equal number, his troops must have beaten ours which were still badly organized. Instead of this, however, the Prince of Coburg left about thirty-five thousand men around the place, and remained in observation with about thirty thousand, in the positions of Dourlers and Watignies.

In this state of things, it was not impossible for General Jourdan to break at one point through the line occupied by the corps of observation, to march upon Colloredo who was investing the intrenched camp, to place him between two fires, and, after overwhelming him, to unite the whole army of Maubeuge with himself, to form with it a mass of sixty thousand men, and to beat all the allies placed on the right bank of the Sambre. For this purpose he must have directed a single attack upon Watignies, the weakest point; but, by moving exclusively to that side, he would have left open the road of Avesnes, leading to Guise, where our base was, and the rendezvous of all our depots.

The French general preferred a more prudent though less brilliant plan, and attacked the corps of observation on four points, so as still to keep the road to Avesnes and Guise. On his left he detached Fromentin's division upon St. Wast, with orders to march between the Sambre and the enemy's right. General Ballaud, with several batteries, was to place himself in the centre, facing Dourlers, and to keep Clairfayt in check by a heavy cannonade. General Duquesnoy was to advance with the right upon Watignies, which formed the left of the enemy, somewhat behind the central position of Dourlers. This point was occupied by only a weak corps. A fourth division, that of

General Beauregard, placed beyond the right, was to second Duquesnoy in his attack on Watignies. These various movements were not very closely connected, nor did they bear upon the decisive points. They were executed on the morning of the 15th of October. General Fromentin made himself master of St. Wast; but, not having taken the precaution to keep close to the woods in order to shelter himself from the enemy's cavalry, he was attacked and thrown back into the ravine of St. Remi. At the centre, where Fromentin was supposed to be in possession of St. Wast, and where it was known that the right had succeeded in approaching Watignies, General Ballaud resolved to advance further, and instead of cannonading Dourlers he thought of taking it. It appears that this was the suggestion of Carnot, who decided the attack in spite of General Jourdan. Our infantry threw itself into the ravine which separated it from Dourlers, ascended the height under a destructive fire, and reached a *plateau* where it had formidable batteries in front, and in flank a numerous cavalry ready to charge. At the same moment, a fresh corps which had just contributed to put Fromentin to the rout, threatened to fall upon it on the left. General Jourdan exposed himself to the greatest danger in order to maintain it; but it gave way, threw itself in disorder into the ravine, and very fortunately resumed its positions without being pursued. We had lost nearly a thousand men in this attempt, and our left under Fromentin had lost its artillery. General Duquesnoy, on the right, had alone succeeded, and approached Watignies according to his instructions.

After this attempt, the French were better acquainted with the position. They had found that Dourlers was too strongly defended for the principal attack to be directed on that point; that Watignies, which was scarcely guarded by General Tercy, and situated behind Dourlers, might be easily carried, and that this place once occupied by our main force, the position of Dourlers must necessarily fall. Jourdan therefore detached six or seven thousand men towards his right, to reinforce General Duquesnoy; he ordered General Beauregard, too far off with his fourth column, to fall back from Eule upon Obrechies, so as to make a concentric effort upon Watignies conjointly with General Duquesnoy; but he persisted in continuing his demonstration on the centre, and making Fromentin march towards the left, in order still to embrace the whole front of the enemy.

Next day, the 16th, the attack commenced. Our infantry, debouching by the three villages of Dinant, Demichaux, and Choisy, attacked Watignies. The Austrian grenadiers, who connected Watignies with Dourlers, were driven into the woods. The enemy's cavalry was kept in check by the light artillery placed for the purpose, and Watignies was carried. General Beauregard, less fortunate, was surprised by a brigade which Austrians had detached against him. His troops, exaggerating

the force of the enemy, dispersed, and gave up part of the ground. At Dourlers and St. Wast, the two armies had kept each other in check; but Watignies was occupied, and that was an essential point. Jourdan, in order to ensure the possession of it, reinforced his right there with five or six thousand more men. Coburg, too ready to give way to danger, retired, notwithstanding the success obtained over Beauregard, and the arrival of the Duke of York, who came by a forced march from the other side of the Sambre. It is probable that the fear of seeing the French unite with the twenty thousand men in the intrenched camp, prevented him from persisting to occupy the left bank of the Sambre. It is certain that, if the army of Maubeuge, on hearing the cannon at Watignies, had attacked the weak investing corps, and endeavoured to march towards Jourdan, the allies might have been overwhelmed. The soldiers demanded this with loud cries, but General Ferrand opposed the measure; and General Chancel, to whom this refusal was erroneously attributed, was sent before the revolutionary tribunal. The successful attack of Watignies decided the raising of the siege of Maubeuge, as that of Hondtschoote had decided the raising of the siege of Dunkirk. It was called the victory of Watignies, and produced the strongest impression on the public mind.*

The allies were thus concentrated between the Scheldt and the Sambre. The committee of public welfare, anxious to profit without loss of time by the victory of Watignies, by the discouragement which it had produced in the enemy, and by the energy which it had infused into our army, resolved to try a last effort for driving the allies before winter out of the French territory, and leaving them with the disheartening conviction of a campaign entirely lost. The opinion of Jourdan and Carnot was against that of the committee. They thought that the rains, already very abundant, the bad state of the roads, and the fatigue of the troops, were sufficient reasons for entering into winter quarters, and they conceived that the unfavourable season should be employed in training the troops and organizing the army. The committee, nevertheless, insisted that the territory should be cleared, alleging that at this season a defeat could not have any great results. Agreeably to the idea recently suggested of acting upon the wings, the committee gave orders for marching by Maubeuge and Charleroy, on the one hand, and by

* "At daybreak, Jourdan assailed the village of Watignies with three columns, while a concentric fire of artillery scattered the troops who defended it. In the midst of the roar of cannon, which were discharged with uncommon vigour, the republican songs which rose from the French lines could be distinctly heard by the Austrians. The village was speedily carried, while, at the same time, the appearance of the reserve of Jourdan on the left flank of the allies, completed the discouragement of Coburg, and induced a general retreat, with a loss of six thousand men. This victory allayed a dangerous ferment which was commencing in the French capital."—*Alison.* E.

Cysaing, Maulde, and Tournay, on the other, and thus enveloping the enemy on the territory which he had invaded. The ordinance (*arrêté*) was signed on the 22nd of October. Orders were issued in consequence; the army of the Ardennes was to join Jourdan; the garrisons of the fortresses were to march out, and to be replaced by the new requisitions.

The war in La Vendée had just been resumed with new activity. We have seen that Canclaux had fallen back to Nantes, and that the columns of Upper Vendée had returned to Angers and Saumur. Before the decrees which united the two armies of La Rochelle and Brest into one, and conferred the command of it on General Léchelle, were known, Canclaux was preparing a new offensive movement. The garrison of Mayence was already reduced by war and disease to nine or ten thousand men. The division of Brest, beaten under Beysser, was almost disorganized. Canclaux, nevertheless, resolved upon a very bold march into the heart of La Vendée, and at the same time he solicited Rossignol to second him with his army. Rossignol immediately summoned a council of war at Saumur, on the 2nd of October, and prevailed on it to decide that the columns of Saumur, Thouars, and Châtaigneraye, should join on the 7th at Bressuire, and thence march to Chatillon to make their attack concurrently with that of Canclaux. At the same time he directed the two columns of Luçon and Les Sables to keep the defensive, on account of their late reverses and the dangers which threatened them from the side of Lower Vendée.

Meanwhile Canclaux had advanced on the 1st of October to Montaigu, pushing reconnoitring parties as far as St. Fulgent, with a view to connect himself by his right with the column of Luçon, if it were capable of resuming the offensive. Emboldened by the success of his march, he ordered the advanced guard, still commanded by Kleber, to proceed to Tiffauges. Four thousand Mayençais fell in with the army of D'Elbée and Bonchamps at St. Symphorien, put it to the rout after a sanguinary action, and drove it back to a great distance. The same evening the decree arrived which dismissed Canclaux, Aubert-Dubayet, and Grouchy. It produced very great discontent in the column of Mayence; and Philippeaux, Gillet, Merlin, and Rewbel, who saw the army deprived of an excellent general at the moment when it was exposed in the heart of La Vendée, were indignant at it. It was no doubt an excellent measure to confer the general command of the West upon a single person, but some other individual ought to have been selected to bear the burden. Lechelle was ignorant and cowardly, says Kleber, in his memoirs, and never once showed himself in the fire. A mere officer in the army of La Rochelle, he was suddenly advanced, like Rossignol, on account of his reputation for patriotism; but it was not known that, possessing neither the natural talent of Rossignol, nor his bravery, he was as bad a soldier as he was a general. Till he

should arrive, Kleber assumed the command. The army remained in the same positions between Montaigu and Tiffauges.

At length, on the 8th of October, Lechelle arrived, and a council was held in his presence. Intelligence had just been received of the march of the columns of Saumur, Thouars, and Chataigneraye, upon Bressuire; it was then agreed that the army should continue its march upon Cholet, where it should form a junction with the three columns united at Bressuire; and at the same time orders were given to the rest of the Luçon division to advance towards the general rendezvous. Lechelle comprehended none of the reasoning of the generals, and approved every thing, saying: *We must march majestically and en masse.* Kleber folded up his map contemptuously. Merlin declared that the most ignorant of men had been selected to command the most critically-situated army. From that moment Kleber was authorized by the representatives to direct the operations alone, merely, for form's sake, reporting them to Lechelle. The latter profited by this arrangement to keep at a great distance from the field of battle. Aloof from danger, he hated the brave men who were fighting for him, but at least he allowed them to fight when and as much as they pleased.

At this moment Charette, perceiving the dangers which threatened the chiefs of Upper Vendée, separated himself from them, assigning false reasons of dissatisfaction, and repaired to the coast with the intention of seizing the island of Noirmoutiers. He actually made himself master of it on the 12th by a surprise and by the treachery of the officer who had the command there. He was thus sure of saving his division and being able to enter into communication with the English; but he left the party in Upper Vendée exposed to almost inevitable destruction. He might have acted in a manner much more beneficial to the common cause. He might have attacked the column of Mayence in the rear, and perhaps have destroyed it. The chiefs of the grand army sent him letters upon letters soliciting him to do so, but they never received any answer.

Those unfortunate chiefs of Upper Vendée were pressed on all sides. The republican columns which were to meet at Bressuire were there by the specified time, and marched on the 9th from Bressuire for Chatillon. By the way they fell in with the army of M. de Lescure, and threw it into disorder. Westermann, reinstated in his command, was always with the advanced guard, at the head of a few hundred men. He was the first to enter Chatillon, on the evening of the 9th. The whole army arrived there on the 10th. Meanwhile, Lescure and Laroche-Jacquelein had called to their aid the grand army which was not far from them; for, being already cooped up in the centre of the country, they were fighting at no great distance from one another. All the generals resolved to proceed to Chatillon. They marched on the 11th. Westermann was already advancing

from Chatillon upon Mortagne, with five hundred men of the advanced guard. At first, not supposing that he had to do with a whole army, he did not apply for any great succours to his general, but, being suddenly enveloped, he was obliged to make a hasty retreat, and returned to Chatillon with his troops. The town was in an uproar, and the republican army precipitately quitted it. Westermann joined Chalbos, the general-in-chief, and collecting around him a few brave men, put a stop to the flight, and even advanced again very nearly to Chatillon. At nightfall he said to some of the soldiers who had fled, "You lost your honour to-day; you must try to recover it." He then took a hundred horse, made a hundred grenadiers mount behind them, and at night, while the Vendeans, crowded together in Chatillon, were asleep or intoxicated, he had the hardihood to enter the town and to throw himself amidst a whole army. The utmost confusion and a frightful carnage ensued. The Vendeans, in mistake, fought onea nother, and, amidst horrible disorder, women, children, and old men were slaughtered. Westermann retired at daybreak with the thirty or forty men whom he had left, and rejoined the main body of the army, a league from the city. On the 12th, a tremendous sight struck the Vendeans; they themselves quitted Chatillon, drenched with blood and a prey to flames,* and proceeded towards Cholet, whither the Mayençais were marching. Chalbos, after he had restored order in his division, returned the day after the next, the 14th, to Chatillon, and prepared to march forward again, to form a junction with the army of Nantes.

All the Vendean chiefs, d'Elbée, Bonchamps, Lescure, Laroche-

* "Our victory at Chatillon was complete, and the enemy was pursued in all directions. General Westermann had fled; but, seeing himself pursued by only a small detachment, he stopped, repulsed vigorously our dragoons, and conceived the bold project of returning to Chatillon. He ordered a hundred hussars to take each of them a grenadier behind and follow him, reaching thus in the night the gates of the town, where there were neither guards nor sentinels. The peasants, having found brandy, were for the most part drunk. The dragoons who had at first pursued Westermann, endeavoured to stop him, and fought courageously. But Westermann had already entered Chatillon, and was fighting in the streets where a horrible slaughter began. The hussars were almost all as drunk as our people, and the darkness of the night added to the horror and confusion. The republicans massacred women and children in the houses, and set fire to every thing. The Vendean officers despatched numbers of them who were so intent on killing as not to think of their own defence. The Prince of Talmont, coming out of a house, was thrown down by some hussars, who did him no other injury, but went in and slaughtered his landlady and her daughter, who were in reality democrats. Many wives of the republican soldiers were involved in the promiscuous massacre. In four or five hours, Westermann withdrew, but darkness prevented his being pursued. The chiefs who were without the town waited for day to re-enter it. Then it was that the horrors of the night were displayed. Houses on fire—streets strewn with dead bodies—wounded men, women, and children—in short, with wrecks of every thing!"—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

Jacquelein, were assembled with their forces in the environs of Cholet. The Mayençais, who had marched on the 14th, approached them; the column of Chatillon was now not far distant; and the Luçon division, which had been sent for, was also advancing, and was to place itself between the columns of Mayence and Chatillon. The moment of the general junction was, therefore, near at hand. On the 15th, the army of Mayence marched in two masses towards Mortagne, which had just been evacuated. Kleber, with the main body formed the left, and Beaupuy the right. At the same moment, the Luçon column drew near Mortagne, hoping to find a battalion of direction, which Lechelle was to have placed upon its route. But that general, who did nothing, had not even acquitted himself of this accessory duty. The column was immediately surprised by Lescure, and was attacked on all sides. Luckily, Beaupuy, who was very near it from his position towards Mortagne, hastened to its succour, disposed his troops with judgment, and succeeded in extricating it. The Vendeans were repulsed. The unfortunate Lescure received a ball above the eyebrow, and fell into the arms of his men who bore him away, and betook themselves to flight.* The Luçon column then joined that of Beaupuy. Young Marceau had just assumed the command of it. On the left, at the same moment, Kleber had sustained a combat towards St. Christophe, and had repulsed the enemy. On the evening of the 15th, all the republican troops bivouacked in the fields before Cholet, whither the Vendeans had retreated. The Luçon division consisted of about three thousand men, and formed with the Mayence column a force of nearly twelve or thirteen thousand men.

Next morning, the 15th, the Vendeans, after a few cannon-shot, evacuated Cholet and fell back upon Beaupréau. Kleber entered the place immediately, and, prohibiting pillage upon pain of death, enforced the strictest order. The Luçon column had done the same at Mortagne; so that all the historians who have asserted that Cholet and Mortagne were burned have committed an error or advanced a falsehood.

Kleber immediately made all the necessary dispositions, for

* "Lescure was some way before the troops, when, on reaching the top of a rising ground, he discovered at twenty paces from him a republican post. "Forward!" he called out to his troops; but at that moment a ball struck him above the left eye, and came out behind his ear. He instantly dropped lifeless. The peasants having rushed forward, passed over the body of their general without seeing him, and repulsed the republicans. Young Beauvolliers, however, throwing away his sword, called out weeping, 'He is dead—he is dead!' This alarm diffusing itself among the Vendeans, a reserve of Mayençais returned upon them, and put them to flight. Meantime, Lescure's servant had found his master bathed in blood, but still breathing. He placed him on a horse, supported by two soldiers, and in this manner he was conveyed to Beaupreau."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

Lechelle was two leagues behind. The river Moine runs before Cholet; beyond it is an unequal, hilly ground, forming a semicircle of heights. On the left of this semicircle is the wood of Cholet, in the centre Cholet itself, and on the right an elevated *château*. Kleber placed Beaupuy, with the advanced guard before the wood, Haxo with the reserve of the Mayençais behind the advanced guard and in such a manner as to support it; he posted the Luçon column, commanded by Marceau, in the centre, and Vimeux with the rest of the Mayençais on the right, upon the heights. The column of Chatillon arrived in the night between the 16th and 17th. It consisted of about nine or ten thousand men, which made the total force of the republicans amount to about twenty-two thousand. On the morning of the 17th, a council was held. Kleber did not like his position in advance of Cholet, because it had only one retreat, namely the bridge over the river Moine, which led to the town. He proposed, therefore, to march forward, in order to turn Beaupréau and to separate the Vendeans from the Loire. The representatives opposed his opinion, because the column which had come from Chatillon needed a day's rest.

Meanwhile the Vendean chiefs were deliberating at Beaupréau, amidst a horrible confusion. The peasants, taking with them their wives, their children, and their cattle, formed an emigration of more than one hundred thousand souls. Laroche-Jacquelein and d'Elbée proposed that they should fight to the last extremity on the left bank; but Talmont and d'Autichamp, who had great influence in Bretagne, impatiently desired that the insurgent force should be transferred to the right bank. Bonchamps, who saw in an excursion to the north coast an opportunity for a great enterprise, and who, it is said, entertained some scheme connected with England, was for crossing the Loire. He was nevertheless willing enough to attempt a last effort, and to try the issue of a general engagement before Cholet. Before commencing the action he sent off a detachment of four thousand men to Varades, to secure a passage over the Loire in case of defeat.

The battle was resolved upon. The Vendeans advanced to the number of forty thousand men upon Cholet, at one in the afternoon of the 15th of October. The republican general, not expecting to be attacked, had granted a day of rest. The Vendeans formed in three columns: one directed upon the left, under Beaupuy and Haxo; the second on the centre, commanded by Marceau; the third on the right, entrusted to Vimeux. The Vendeans marched in line, and in ranks like regular troops. All the wounded chiefs who could sit their horses were amidst their peasants, and encouraged them on that day, which was to decide their existence and the possession of their homes. Between Beaupréau and the Loire, in every commune that was yet left them, mass was celebrated, and prayers were offered up

to Heaven for that cause, so hapless and so imminently endangered.

The Vendeans advanced and came up with Beaupuy's advanced guard, which, as we have said, was placed in a plain in advance of the wood of Cholet. One portion of them moved forward in a close mass, and charged in the same manner as troops of the line; another was scattered as riflemen, to turn the advanced guard and even the left wing, by penetrating into the wood of Cholet. The republicans, overwhelmed, were forced to fall back. Beaupuy had two horses killed under him. He fell, entangled by his spur, and had very nearly been taken, when he threw himself behind a baggage-waggon, seized a third horse, and rejoined his column. At this moment Kleber hastened towards the threatened wing. He ordered the centre and the right not to stir, and sent to desire Chalbos to despatch one of his columns from Cholet to the assistance of the left. Placing himself near Haxo, he infused new confidence into his battalions, and led back into the fire those which had given way to overpowering numbers. The Vendeans, repulsed in their turn, again charged with fury, and were again repulsed. Meanwhile the centre and the right were attacked with the same impetuosity. On the right, Vimeux was so advantageously posted, that all the efforts of the enemy against him proved unavailing.

At the centre, however, the Vendeans advanced more prosperously than on the two wings, and penetrated to the hollow where young Marceau was placed. Kleber flew thither to support the column of Luçon. Just at this moment, one of the divisions of Chalbos, for which Kleber had applied, left Cholet to the number of four thousand men. This reinforcement would have been of great importance at a moment when the fight was most obstinate; but, at sight of the plain enveloped in fire, that division, ill-organized, like all those of the army of La Rochelle, dispersed, and returned in disorder to Cholet. Kleber and Marceau remained in the centre with the Luçon column alone. Young Marceau, who commanded it, was not daunted. He suffered the enemy to approach within musket-shot, then, suddenly unmasking his artillery, he stopped and overwhelmed the Vendeans by his unexpected fire. They resisted for a time, rallied, and closed their ranks under a shower of grape-shot; but they soon gave way, and fled in disorder. At this moment, their rout became general in the centre, on the right, and on the left. Beaupuy, moreover, having rallied his advanced guard, closely pursued them.

The columns of Mayence and Luçon alone had taken any share in the battle. Thus thirteen thousand men had beaten forty thousand. On both sides the greatest valour had been displayed; but regularity and discipline had decided the advantage in favour of the republicans. Marceau, Beaupuy, Merlin who pointed the pieces himself, had displayed the

greatest heroism. Kleber had shown his usual skill and energy on the field of battle. On the part of the Vendeans, d'Elbée and Bonchamps, after performing prodigies of valour, were mortally wounded; Laroche-Jacquelein alone was left out of all their chiefs, and he had omitted nothing to be a partaker of their glorious wounds. The battle lasted from two o'clock till six.*

It was by this time dark. The Vendeans fled in the utmost haste, throwing away their wooden shoes upon the roads. Beaupuy followed close at their heels. He had been joined by Westermann, who, unwilling to share the inaction of the troops under Chalbos, had taken a corps of cavalry, and followed the fugitives at full gallop. After pursuing the enemy for a very long time, Beaupuy and Westermann halted, and thought of allowing their troops some rest. But, said they, we are more likely to find bread at Beaupréau than at Cholet; and they had the boldness to march upon Beaupréau, whither it was supposed that the Vendeans must have retired *en masse*. So rapid, however, had been their flight, that one part of them was already at St. Florent, on the banks of the Loire. The rest, on the approach of the republicans, evacuated Beaupréau in disorder, and gave up to them a post where they might have defended themselves.

Next morning, the 18th, the whole army marched from Cholet to Beaupréau. The advanced guards of Beaupuy, placed on the road to St. Florent, perceived a great number of people approaching, with shouts of *The Republic for ever! Bonchamps for ever!* On being questioned, they replied by proclaiming Bonchamps their deliverer. That young hero, extended on a mattress, and ready to expire from the effect of a musket-shot in the abdomen, had demanded the lives of four thousand prisoners, whom the Vendeans had hitherto dragged along with them, and whom they threatened to shoot. He had obtained their release, and they were going to rejoin the republican army.

At this moment, eighty thousand persons, women and children, aged men and armed men, were on the banks of the Loire,

* "On the morning of the 17th, all the Vendean chiefs marched upon Cholet, at the head of forty thousand men. The republicans had formed a junction with the divisions of Bressuire, and were forty-five thousand strong. It was upon the ground before Cholet, that the armies met. De Larochejaquelein and Stofflet led on a furious attack. For the first time, the Vendeans marched in close columns, like troops of the line. They broke in furiously upon the centre of the enemy; General Beaupuy, who commanded the republicans, was twice thrown from his horse in endeavouring to rally his soldiers, and nearly taken. Disorder was spreading among the Blues, when a reserve of Mayençais arrived. The Vendeans supported the first shock, and repulsed them; but, by repeated attacks, they were at last thrown into disorder. All our chiefs performed prodigies of valour; but Messrs. D'Elbée and Bonchamp were mortally wounded, and the rout became general. The republicans returned to Cholet, set fire to the town, and abandoned themselves during the night to all their accustomed atrocities."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

with the wrecks of their property, disputing the possession of about a score of vessels to cross to the other side. The superior council, composed of the chiefs who were still capable of giving an opinion, deliberated whether they ought to separate, or to carry the war into Bretagne. Some of them proposed that they should disperse in La Vendée, and there conceal themselves and wait for better times. Laroche-Jacquelein was of this number, and he would have preferred dying on the left bank to crossing over to the right. The contrary opinion, however, prevailed, and it was decided to keep together and to pass the river. But Bonchamps had just expired, and there was no one capable of executing the plans which he had formed relative to Bretagne. D'Elbée was sent, dying, to Noirmoutiers. Lescure, mortally wounded, was carried on a hand-barrow.* Eighty thousand persons quitted their homes, and went to ravage the neighbour-

* "By the last great battle fought near Cholet, the Vendean insurgents were driven down into the low country on the banks of the Loire. Not only the whole wreck of the army, but a great proportion of the men, women, and children of the country, flying in consternation from the burnings and butchery of the government forces, flocked down in agony and despair to the banks of this great river. On gaining the heights of St. Florent, one of the most mournful, and, at the same time, most magnificent spectacles, burst upon the eye. These heights form a vast semicircle, at the bottom of which a broad, bare plain, extends to the water's edge. Near a hundred thousand unhappy souls now blackened over that dreary expanse! Old men, infants, and women, were mingled with the half-armed soldiery, caravans, crowded baggage-waggons, and teams of oxen—all full of despair, impatience, anxiety, and terror. Behind, were the smoke of the burning villages, and the thunder of the hostile artillery. Before, was the broad stream of the Loire, divided by a long, low island, also covered with the fugitives. Twenty frail barks were plying in the stream; and on the far banks were seen the disorderly movements of those who had effected their passage, and were waiting to be rejoined by their companions. Such was the tumult and terror of the scene, and so awful were the recollections it inspired, that many of its awe-struck spectators have concurred in stating that it brought forcibly to their imaginations the unspeakable terrors of the great Day of Judgment! Through this bewildered multitude Lescure's family made their way silently to the shore; the general himself, stretched almost insensible on a litter; his wife, three months gone with child, walking by his side; and, behind her, the nurse, with an infant in her arms. When they arrived on the beach they with difficulty got a crazy boat to carry them to the island: but the aged monk who steered it would not venture to cross the larger branch of the stream; and the poor wounded man was obliged to submit to the agony of another removal. At length they were landed on the opposite bank, where wretchedness and desolation appeared still more conspicuous. Thousands of helpless creatures were lying on the grassy shore, or roaming about in search of the friends from whom they had been divided. There was a general complaint of cold and hunger, yet no one was in a condition to give directions, or administer relief. Lescure suffered excruciating pain from the piercing air which blew upon his feverish frame; the poor infant screamed for food, and the helpless mother was left to minister to both; while the nurse went among the burnt and ruined villages to seek a drop of milk for the baby! At length they got again in motion for the adjoining village of Varades, and with great difficulty procured a little room in a cottage swarming with soldiers."—*Edinburgh Review.* E.

ing country, and to seek extermination there—and, gracious God! for what object?—for an absurd cause, a cause deserted on all sides, or hypocritically defended! While these unfortunate people were thus generously exposing themselves to so many calamities, the coalition bestowed scarcely a thought upon them, the emigrants were intriguing in courts, some only were fighting bravely on the Rhine, but in foreign armies; and nobody had yet thought of sending either a soldier or a livre to that hapless La Vendée, already distinguished by twenty heroic battles, and now vanquished, fugitive, and laid waste.

The republican generals collected their forces at Beaupréau, and there they resolved to separate, and to proceed partly to Nantes and partly to Angers, to prevent a *coup de main* on those two towns. The notion of the representatives, not that of Kleber, immediately was, that La Vendée was destroyed. *La Vendée is no more*, wrote they to the Convention. The army had been allowed time till the 20th to finish the business, and they had brought it to a close on the 18th. That of the North had, on the same day, won the battle of Watignies, and closed the campaign by raising the blockade of Maubeuge. Thus the Convention seemed to have nothing to do but to decree victory, in order to ensure it in all quarters. Enthusiasm was at its height in Paris and in all France, and people began to believe that, before the end of the season, the republic would be victorious over all the thrones that were leagued against it.

There was but one event that tended to disturb this joy, namely, the loss of the lines of Weissenburg on the Rhine, which had been forced on the 13th and 14th of October. After the check at Pirmasens, we left the Prussians and the Austrians in presence of the lines of the Sarre and the Lauter, and threatening them every moment with an attack.

The Prussians, having annoyed the French on the banks of the Sarre, obliged them to fall back. The corps of the Vosges, driven beyond Hornbach, retired to a great distance behind Bitche, in the heart of the mountains; the army of the Moselle, thrown back to Sarreguemines, was separated from the corps of the Vosges and the army of the Rhine. In this position, it became easy for the Prussians, who had on the western slope passed beyond the general line of the Sarre and the Lauter, to turn the lines of Weissenburg by their extreme left. These lines must then necessarily fall. This was what actually happened on the 13th of October. Prussia and Austria, which we have seen disagreeing, had at length come to a better understanding. The King of Prussia had set out for Poland, and left the command to Brunswick, with orders to concert operations with Wurmser. From the 13th to the 14th of October, while the Prussians marched along the line of the Vosges to Bitche, considerably beyond the height of Weissenburg, Wurmser was to attack the lines of the Lauter in seven columns. The first,

under the Prince of Waldeck, encountered insurmountable obstacles in the nature of the ground, and the courage of a demi-battalion of the Pyrenees; the second, after passing the lines below Lauterburg, was repulsed; the others, after gaining, above and around Weissenburg, advantages balanced by the vigorous resistance of the French, nevertheless made themselves masters of Weissenburg. Our troops fell back on the post of the Geisberg, situated a little in rear of Weissenburg, and much more difficult to carry. Still the lines of Weissenburg could not be considered as lost; but the tidings of the march of the Prussians on the western slope obliged the French general to fall back upon Haguenau and the lines of the Lauter, and thus to yield a portion of the territory to the allies. On this point, then, the frontier was invaded, but the successes in the North and in La Vendée counteracted the effect of this unpleasant intelligence. St. Just and Lebas were sent to Alsace, to repress the movements which the Alsatian nobility and the emigrants were exciting at Strasburg. Numerous levies were directed towards that quarter, and the government consoled itself with the resolution to conquer on that point as on every other.

The fearful apprehensions which had been conceived in the month of August, before the battles of Hondtschoote and Watignies, before the reduction of Lyons and the retreat of the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, and before the successes in La Vendée, were now dispelled. At this moment, the country saw the northern frontier, the most important and the most threatened, delivered from the enemy; Lyons restored to the republic; La Vendée subdued; all rebellion stifled in the interior, excepting on the Italian frontier, where Toulon still resisted, it is true, but resisted singly. One more success at the Pyrenees, at Toulon, on the Rhine, and the republic would be completely victorious, and this triple success would not be more difficult than those which had just been gained. The task, to be sure, was not yet finished, but it might be by a continuance of the same efforts and of the same means. The government had not yet wholly recovered its assurance, but it no longer considered itself in danger of speedy death.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LAWS—PROSCRIPTION AT LYONS, MARSEILLES, AND BORDEAUX—INTERIOR OF THE PRISONS OF PARIS—TRIAL AND DEATH OF MARIE ANTOINETTE AND THE GIRONDINS—GENERAL TERROR—SECOND LAW OF THE MAXIMUM—IMPRISONMENT OF FOUR DEPUTIES FOR FORGING A DECREE—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW METRICAL SYSTEM AND OF THE REPUBLICAN CALENDAR—ABOLITION OF THE FORMER RELIGIOUS WORSHIP—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW WORSHIP OF REASON.

THE revolutionary measures decreed for the welfare of France were executed throughout its whole extent with the utmost rigour. Conceived by the most enthusiastic minds, they were violent in their principle; executed at a distance from the chiefs who had devised them, in a lower region where the passions, less enlightened, were more brutal, they became still more violent in the application. The government obliged one part of the citizens to leave their homes, imprisoned another part of them as suspected persons, caused provisions and commodities to be seized for the supply of the armies, imposed services for their accelerated transport, and gave, in exchange for the articles or services required, nothing but assignats, or a credit upon the state which inspired no confidence. The assessment of the forced loan was rapidly prosecuted, and the assessors of the commune said to one, "You have an income of ten thousand livres;" to another, "you have twenty thousand;" and all, without being permitted to reply, were obliged to furnish the sum required. Great vexations were the result of this most arbitrary system: but the armies were filled with men, provisions were conveyed in abundance towards the depots, and the thousand millions in assignats which were to be withdrawn from circulation, began to come in. It is not without great oppression that such rapid operations can be executed and that a state which is threatened can be saved.

In all those places where more imminent danger had required the presence of the commissioners of the Convention, the revolutionary measures had become more severe. Near the frontiers, and in all the departments suspected of royalism or federalism, those commissioners had levied the population *en masse*. They had put every thing in requisition; they had raised revolutionary taxes on the rich, besides the general tax resulting from the forced loan; they had accelerated the imprisonment of suspected persons; and lastly, they had sometimes caused them to be

tried by revolutionary commissioners instituted by themselves. Laplanche, sent into the department of the Cher, said on the 29th of Vendemiaire to the Jacobins, "I have every where made terror the order of the day; I have every where imposed contributions on the wealthy and on the aristocrats. Orleans furnished me with fifty thousand livres; and at Bourges, it took me but two days to raise two millions. As I could not be every where, my deputies supplied my place: a person named Mamin, worth seven millions, and taxed by one of the two at forty thousand livres, complained to the Convention, which applauded my conduct; and, had the tax been imposed by myself, he should have paid two millions. At Orleans, I made my deputies render a public account. It was in the bosom of the popular society that they rendered it, and this account was sanctioned by the people. I have every where caused the bells to be melted, and have united several parishes. I have removed all federalists from office, imprisoned suspected persons, put the *sans-culottes* in power. Priests had all sorts of conveniences in the houses of detention; the *sans-culottes* were lying upon straw in the prisons; the former furnished me with mattresses for the latter. I have every where caused the priests to be married. I have every where electrified the hearts and minds of men. I have organized manufactories of arms, visited the workshops, the hospitals, and the prisons. I have sent off several battalions of the levy *en masse*. I have reviewed a great number of the national guards, in order to republicanize them; and I have caused several royalists to be guillotined. In short, I have fulfilled my imperative commission. I have every where acted like a warm Mountaineer, like a revolutionary representative."

It was in the three principal federalist cities, Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, that the representatives struck especial terror. The formidable decree issued against Lyons enacted that the rebels and their accomplices should be tried by a military commission; that the *sans-culottes* should be maintained at the expense of the aristocrats; that the houses of the wealthy should be destroyed, and that the name of the city should be changed. The execution of this decree was intrusted to Collot-d'Herbois, Maribon-Montaut, and Fouché of Nantes.* They

* "Joseph Fouché, born at Nantes in 1763, was intended for his father's profession—a sea-captain; but, not being strong enough, was sent to prosecute his studies at Paris. He then taught mathematics and metaphysics at Arras and elsewhere; and, at twenty-five years of age, was placed at the head of the college of Nantes. In 1792 he was chosen member of the Convention, where he voted for the King's death; and was soon after sent with Collot-d'Herbois on a mission to Lyons. On the fall of Robespierre, Fouché, having been denounced as a Terrorist, withdrew into obscurity until 1798, when the Directory appointed him French minister to the Cisalpine republic. In the following year he was made minister of police, and joined Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, who continued him in his post, in order that he might detect Royalist and Jacobin conspiracies. In 1809, Fouché was intrusted

had repaired to Commune-Affranchie, taking with them forty Jacobins, to organize a new club, and to propagate the principles of the mother society. Ronsin had followed them with two thousand men of the revolutionary army, and they had immediately let loose their fury. The representatives had struck the first stroke of a pickaxe upon one of the houses destined to be demolished, and eight hundred labourers had instantly fallen to work to destroy the finest streets. The proscriptions had begun at the same time. The Lyonnese suspected of having borne arms were guillotined or shot, to the number of fifty or sixty a day. Terror reigned in that unfortunate city. The commissioners sent to punish it, intoxicated with the blood which they spilt, fancying, at every shriek of anguish, that they beheld rebellion springing again into life, wrote to the Convention that the aristocrats were not yet reduced, that they were only awaiting an opportunity to rebel again, and that, to remove all further ground for apprehension, it was necessary to displace one part of the population and to destroy the other. As the means employed did not appear to be sufficiently expeditious, Collot-d'Herbois conceived the idea of resorting to mining for the purpose of destroying the buildings, and to grape-shot for sacrificing the proscribed; and he wrote

with the portfolio of the Interior, as well as of the police, and created Duke of Otranto. In the ensuing year, having given umbrage to Napoleon by entering into negotiations for peace with the Marquis Wellesley, he was sent into honourable exile as governor of Rome. He was soon recalled to France, and banished to Aix, where he lived a whole year retired. In 1813, he was again employed by Napoleon, was sent on a mission to Murat, and returned to Paris a few days after the declaration of the senate that the Emperor had lost his throne. During the first restoration Fouché lived partly retired; but, on Napoleon's return from Elba, the King sent for him; he preferred, however, to join the Emperor, who a third time made him minister of police. After the battle of Waterloo, the French chamber placed Fouché at the head of a provisionary government, and he was afterwards reinstated in the police by the King. He was soon however displaced, and, having been comprised in the law against regicides in 1816, retired to Trieste, where he died in 1820. Fouché's countenance was expressive of penetration and decision. He was of the middle size, rather thin, of firm health and strong nerves. The tones of his voice were somewhat hollow and harsh; in speech he was vehement and lively; in his appearance plain and simple."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

" 'Fouché is a miscreant of all colours, a priest, a terrorist, and one who took an active part in many bloody scenes of the Revolution. He is a man,' continued Bonaparte, 'who can worm all your secrets out of you with an air of calmness and unconcern. He is very rich, but his riches have been badly acquired. He never was my confidant. Never did he approach me without bending to the ground; but I never had esteem for him. I employed him merely as an instrument.' "—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

" Fouché never regarded a benefit in any other light than as a means of injuring his benefactor. He had opinions, but he belonged to no party, and his political success is explained by the readiness with which he always served the party he knew must triumph, and which he himself overthrew in its turn. It might be said that his ruling passion was the desire of continual change. No man was ever characterized by greater levity or inconstancy of mind."—*Bourrienne.* E.

to the Convention that he should soon adopt more speedy and more efficacious means for punishing the rebel city.*

At Marseilles, several victims had already fallen. But the

* " Attended by a crowd of satellites, Couthon traversed the finest quarters of Lyons with a silver hammer, and, striking at the door of the devoted houses, exclaimed, ' Rebellious house, I strike you in the name of the law.' Instantly the agents of destruction, of whom twenty thousand were in the pay of the Convention, levelled the dwelling to the ground. But this was only a prelude to a more bloody vengeance. Collot-d'Herbois was animated with a secret hatred towards the Lyonnese; for, ten years before, when an obscure actor, he had been hissed off their stage. He now resolved at leisure to gratify his revenge. Fouché, his worthy associate, published, before his arrival, a proclamation in which he declared that the French people could acknowledge no other worship than that of universal morality; that all religious emblems should be destroyed; and that over the gates of the churchyards should be written—*Death is an eternal sleep!* Proceeding on these atheistical principles, the first step of Collot-d'Herbois and Fouché was to institute a fête in honour of Chalier, the republican governor of Lyons, who had been put to death on the first insurrection. His bust was carried through the streets, followed by an immense crowd of assassins and prostitutes. After them came an ass bearing the Gospel, the Cross, and the communion vases, which were soon committed to the flames, while the ass was compelled to drink out of the communion-cup the consecrated wine! The executions meantime continued without the slightest relaxation. Many women watched for the hour when their husbands were to pass to the scaffold, precipitated themselves upon the chariot, and voluntarily suffered death by their side. Daughters surrendered their honour to save their parents' lives; but the monsters who violated them, adding treachery to crime, led them out to behold the execution of their relatives! Deeming the daily execution of fifteen or twenty persons too tardy a display of republican vengeance, Collot-d'Herbois prepared a new and simultaneous mode of punishment. Sixty captives of both sexes were led out together, tightly bound in a file, to the Place du Brotteaux; they were arranged in two files with a deep ditch on each side, which was to be their place of sepulture, while gendarmes with uplifted sabres threatened with instant death whoever moved from their position. At the extremity of the file, two cannon, loaded with grape, were so placed as to enfilade the whole. The signal was then given, and the guns were fired. Broken limbs, torn off by the shot, were scattered in every direction; while the blood flowed in torrents into the ditches on either side the line. A second and third discharge were insufficient to complete the work of destruction, till, at length, the gendarmes, unable to witness such protracted sufferings, rushed in, and despatched the survivors with their sabres. On the following day, this bloody scene was renewed on a still greater scale. Two hundred and nine captives were brought before the revolutionary judges, and, with scarcely a hearing, condemned to be executed together. With such precipitance was the affair conducted, that two commissaries of the prison were led out along with their captives; their cries, their protestations, were alike disregarded. In passing the bridge Morand, the error was discovered on the captives being counted; and it was intimated to Collot-d'Herbois that there were too many. ' What signifies it,' said he, ' that there are too many? If they die to-day, they cannot die to-morrow.' The whole were brought to the place of execution, where they were attached to one cord made fast to trees at stated intervals, with their hands tied behind their backs, and numerous pickets of soldiers disposed so as at one discharge to destroy them all. At a given signal the fusillade commenced; but few were killed; the greater part had only a jaw or a limb broken; and, uttering the most piercing cries, they broke loose in their agony from the rope, and were cut down by the gendarmes. The great numbers who survived the discharge, rendered the

utmost wrath of the representatives was directed against Toulon, the siege of which they were carrying on.

In the Gironde, vengeance was exercised with the greatest fury. Isabeau and Tallien had stationed themselves at La Reole; there they were engaged in forming the nucleus of a revolutionary army, for the purpose of penetrating into Bordeaux; meanwhile they endeavoured to disorganize the sections of that city. To this end they made use of one section, which was wholly Mountaineer, and which, contriving to frighten the others, had successively caused the federalist club to be shut up, and the departmental authorities to be displaced. They had then entered Bordeaux in triumph, and re-established the municipality and the Mountaineer authorities. Immediately afterwards, they had passed an ordinance purporting that the government of Bordeaux should be military, that all the inhabitants should be disarmed, that a commission should be established to try the aristocrats and the federalists, and that an extraordinary tax should be immediately levied upon the rich, to defray the expenses of the revolutionary army. This ordinance was forthwith put in execution; the citizens were disarmed; and a great number perished on the scaffold.*

It was precisely at this time that the fugitive deputies who had embarked in Bretagne for the Gironde arrived at Bordeaux. They all went and sought an asylum with a female relative of Guadet in the caverns of St. Emilion. There was a vague rumour that they were concealed in that quarter, and Tallien

work of destruction a most laborious operation, and several were still breathing on the following day, when their bodies were mingled with quicklime, and cast into a common grave. Collot-d'Herbois and Fouché were witnesses of this butchery from a distance, by means of telescopes which they directed to the spot. All the other fusillades were conducted in the same manner. One of them was executed under the windows of an hotel on the Quay, where Fouché, with thirty Jacobins and twenty courtezans, was engaged at dinner. They rose from table to enjoy the bloody spectacle. The bodies of the slain were floated in such numbers down the Rhone, that the waters were poisoned. During the course of five months, upwards of six thousand persons suffered death, and more than double that number were driven into exile."—*Alison.* E.

" One day, during the bloody executions which took place at Lyons, a young girl rushed into the hall where the revolutionary tribunal was held, and throwing herself at the feet of the judges, said, ' There remain to me of all my family, only my brothers! Mother—father—sisters—uncles—you have butchered all; and now you are going to condemn my brothers. Ah, in mercy, ordain that I may ascend the scaffold with them!' Her prayer, accompanied as it was with all the marks of frantic despair, was refused. She then threw herself into the Rhone, where she perished."—*Du Broca.* E.

* " The greatest atrocities were committed at Bordeaux.—A woman was charged with the heinous crime of having cried at the execution of her husband; she was condemned in consequence to sit several hours under the suspended blade, which shed upon her, drop by drop, the blood of the deceased, whose corpse was above her on the scaffold, before she was released by death from her agony."—*Louvet's Memoirs.* E.

made all possible efforts to discover them.* He had not yet succeeded, but he had unfortunately seized Biroteau, who had come from Lyons to embark at Bordeaux. This latter had been outlawed. Tallien immediately caused his identity to be verified and his execution to be consummated. Duchâtel was also discovered. As he had not been outlawed, he was sent to Paris to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal. He was accompanied by the three young friends, Riouffe, Giray-Dupré, and Marchenna, who were, as we have seen, attached to the fortune of the Girondins.

Thus all the great cities of France experienced the vengeance of the Mountain. But Paris, full of illustrious victims, was soon to become the theatre of much greater cruelties.

While preparations were making for the trial of Marie Antoinette, of the Girondins, of the Duke of Orleans, of Bailly, and of a great number of generals and ministers, the prisons were being filled with suspected persons. The commune of Paris had arrogated to itself, as we have said, a sort of legislative authority over all matters of police, provisions, commerce, and religion; and with every decree it issued an explanatory ordinance to extend or limit the enactments of the Convention. On the requisition of Chaumette, it had singularly extended the definition of suspected persons given by the law of the 17th of September. Chaumette had, in a municipal instruction, enumerated the cha-

* "Guadet found a place of safety for some of his Girondin friends in the house of one of his female relations, whose name was Bouquet. The news of this unexpected relief being carried to three companions of those proscribed deputies, they determined to beg this courageous woman to permit them to share the retreat of their friends. She consented, and they reached her house at midnight, where they found their companions lodged thirty feet under ground, in a large, well-concealed vault. A few days after, Buzot and Petion informed Guadet, by letter, that, having within fifteen days changed their place of retreat seven times, they were now reduced to the greatest distress. 'Let them come too,' said Madame Bouquet, and they came accordingly. The difficulty to provide for them all was now great, for provisions were extremely scarce in the department. Madame Bouquet's house was allowed by the municipality only one pound of bread daily; but, fortunately, she had a stock of potatoes and dried kidney-beans. To save breakfast, it was agreed that her guests should not rise till noon. Vegetable soup was their sole dinner. Sometimes a morsel of beef, procured with great difficulty, an egg or two, some vegetables, and a little *milk*, formed their supper, of which the generous hostess ate but little, the better to support her guests. One of the circumstances which adds infinite value to this extraordinary event was, that Madame Bouquet concealed as long as she could from her guests the uneasiness which consumed her, occasioned by one of her relations, formerly the friend of Guadet. This man, having learned what passed in Madame Bouquet's house, put in action every means his mind could suggest to induce her to banish the fugitives. Every day he came to her with stories more terrible one than the other. At length, fearing that he would take some desperate measure, she was compelled to lay her situation before her guests, who, resolved not to be outdone in generosity, instantly quitted her house. Shortly after, Madame Bouquet and the whole family of Guadet were arrested, and perished on the scaffold."—*Anecdotes of the Revolution.* E.

racters by which they were to be recognised. This instruction, addressed to the sections of Paris, and soon afterwards to all those of the republic was couched in these terms:

"The following are to be considered as suspected persons—1. Those who, in the assemblies of the people, check their energy by crafty addresses, turbulent cries, and threats; 2. those who, more prudent, talk mysteriously of the disasters of the republic, deplore the lot of the people, and are always ready to propagate bad news with affected grief; 3. those who have changed their conduct and language according to events; who, silent respecting the crimes of the royalists and the federalists, declaim with emphasis against the slight faults of the patriots, and, in order to appear republicans, affect a studied austerity and severity, and who are all indulgence in whatever concerns a moderate or an aristocrat; 4. those who pity the farmers and the greedy shopkeepers, against whom the law is obliged to take measures; 5. those who, though they have the words *liberty*, *republic*, and *country*, continually in their mouths, associate with *ci-devant* nobles, priests, counter-revolutionists, aristocrats, Feuillans, and moderates, and take an interest in their fate; 6. those who have not taken an active part in any thing connected with the Revolution, and who, to excuse themselves from doing so, plead the payment of their contributions, their patriotic donations, their services in the national guard by substitute or otherwise; 7. those who have received the republican constitution with indifference, and have expressed false fears concerning its establishment and its duration; 8. those who, though they have done nothing against liberty, have done nothing for it; 9. those who do not attend their sections, and allege in excuse that they are no speakers, or that they are prevented by business; 10. those who speak contemptuously of the constituted authorities, of the signs of the law, of the popular societies, of the defenders of liberty; 11. those who have signed counter-revolutionary petitions or frequented anti-civic societies and clubs; 12. those who are known to have been insincere, partisans of Lafayette, and of those who marched to the charge in the Champ de Mars."

With such a definition, the number of the suspected could not fail to be unlimited, and it soon rose in the prisons of Paris from a few hundred to three thousand. They had at first been confined in the Mairie, in La Force, in the Conciergerie, in the Abbaye, at St. Pelagie, at the Madelonettes, in all the ordinary prisons of the state; but, these vast depots proving insufficient, it became necessary to provide new places of confinement, specially appropriated to political prisoners. As these prisoners were required to pay all the expenses of their maintenance, houses were hired at their cost. One was selected in the Rue d'Enfer, which was known by the name of Maison de Port-Libre, and another in the Rue de Sèvres, called Maison Lazare. The college of

Duplessis was converted into a place of confinement; lastly, the palace of the Luxembourg, at first destined to receive the twenty-two Girondins, was filled with a great number of prisoners,* and there were huddled together pell-mell all that were left of the brilliant society of the fauxbourg St. Germain. These sudden arrests having caused the prisons to be exceedingly crowded, the prisoners were at first badly lodged. Mingled with malefactors, and having to lie upon straw, they suffered most cruelly during the first moments of their detention.† Time soon brought better order and more indulgence. They were allowed to have communication with persons outside the prisons; they had the consolation to embrace their relatives, and liberty to procure money for themselves. They then hired or had beds brought to them; they no longer slept upon straw, and they were separated from the criminals. All the accommodations which could render their condition more endurable were granted to them, for the decree permitted them to have any thing they wanted brought into the houses of confinement. Those who inhabited the houses recently established were treated still better. At Port-Libre, in the Maison Lazare, and at the Luxembourg, where wealthy prisoners were confined, cleanliness and abundance prevailed. The tables were supplied with delicacies, upon payment of certain fees demanded by the gaolers. As, however, the concourse of visiters became too considerable, and the intercourse with

* "At this period the gardens of the Luxembourg every day offered a scene as interesting as it is possible to imagine. A multitude of married women from the various quarters of Paris crowded together, in the hope of seeing their husbands for a moment at the windows of the prison, to offer, or receive from them, a look, a gesture, or some other testimony of their affection. No weather banished these women from the gardens—neither the excess of heat or cold, nor tempests of wind or rain. Some almost appeared to be changed into statues; others, worn out with fatigue, have been seen, when their husbands at length appeared, to fall senseless to the ground. One would present herself with an infant in her arms, bathing it with tears in her husband's sight; another would disguise herself in the dress of a beggar, and sit the whole day at the foot of a tree, where she could be seen by her husband. The miseries of these wretched women were greatly enhanced when a high fence was thrown round the prison, and they were forbidden to remain stationary in any spot. Then were they seen wandering like shades through the dark and melancholy avenues of the garden, and casting the most anxious looks at the impenetrable walls of the palace."—*Du Broca.* E.

† "Hardly ever does daylight penetrate into some of these gloomy prisons. The straw which composes the litter of the captives soon becomes rotten, from want of air and the ordure with which it is covered. The dungeons in the worst of the prisons are seldom opened but for inspection, or to give food to the tenants. The superior class of chambers, called the straw apartments, differ little from the dungeons, except that their inhabitants are permitted to go out at eight in the morning, and to remain out till an hour before sunset. During the intervening period they are allowed to walk in the court, or huddle together in the galleries which surround it, where they are suffocated by infectious odours. The cells for the women are as horrid as those for the men, equally dark—damp—filthy—crowded—and it was there that all the rank and beauty of Paris was assembled."—*History of the Convention.* E.

persons outside appeared to be too great a favour, this consolation was prohibited, the prisoners could only communicate by writing, and they were obliged to have recourse to the same method for procuring such things as they needed. From that moment the unfortunate persons doomed to associate exclusively together seemed to be bound to each other by much closer ties than before. Each sought intimates of corresponding character and tastes, and little societies were formed. Regulations were established; the domestic duties were divided among them, and each performed them in his turn. A subscription was opened for the expenses of lodging and board, and thus the rich contributed for the poor.

After attending to their household affairs, the inmates of the different rooms assembled in the common halls. Groups were formed around a table, a stove, or a fireplace. Some employed themselves in writing, others in reading or conversation. Poets, thrown into prison with all those who excited distrust by any superiority whatever, recited verses. Musicians gave concerts, and admirable music was daily heard in these places of proscription. Luxury soon became the companion of pleasure. The females indulged in dress; ties of friendship and of love were formed,* and all the scenes of ordinary life were reproduced here till the very day that the scaffold was to put an end to them—singular example of the French character, of its thoughtlessness, its gaiety, its aptitude to pleasure, in all the situations of life!

Delightful poems, romantic adventures, acts of beneficence, a singular confusion of ranks, fortune, and opinion, marked these first three months of the detention of the suspected. A sort of voluntary equality realized in these places that chimerical equality which its heated votaries wished to introduce every where, and which they succeeded in establishing nowhere but in the prisons. It is true that the pride of certain prisoners withstood this equality of misfortune. While men very unequal in regard to fortune and education were seen living on the best terms together, and rejoicing with admirable disinterestedness in the victories of that republic which persecuted them, some *ci-devant* nobles and their wives, found by chance in the deserted mansions of the fauxbourg St. Germain, lived apart, still called themselves by the proscribed titles of count and marquis, and manifested their mortification when the Austrians had fled at Watignies, or when the Prussians had not crossed the Vosges. Affliction, however, brings back all hearts to nature and to humanity; and soon, when Fouquier-Tinville, knocking daily at

* "The affections continually called forth flowed with uncommon warmth; their mutual fate excited among the prisoners the strongest feelings of commiseration; and nothing astonished the few who escaped from confinement so much as the want of sympathy for the sufferings of mankind which generally prevailed in the world."—*Alison.* E.

these abodes of anguish, continually demanded more lives,* when friends, relatives, were every day parted by death, those who were left mourned and took comfort together, and learned to entertain one and the same feeling amidst the same misfortunes.

All the prisons, however, did not exhibit the same scenes. The Conciergerie, adjoining the Palace of Justice, and for this reason containing the prisoners destined for the revolutionary tribunal, presented the painful spectacle of some hundreds of unfortunate beings who never had more than three or four days to live.† They were removed thither the day before their trial, and they remained there only during the interval between their trial and execution. There were confined the Girondins, who had been taken from their first prison, the Luxembourg; Madame Roland, who, after assisting her husband to escape, had suffered herself to be apprehended without thinking of flight; the young Riouffe, Girey-Dupré, and Bois-Guion, attached to the cause of the proscribed deputies, and transferred from Bordeaux to Paris, to be tried conjointly with them; Bailly, who had been arrested at Melun; Clavières, ex-minister of the finances, who had not succeeded in escaping, like Lebrun; the Duke of Orleans, transferred from the prisons of Marseilles to those of Paris; the Generals Houchard and Brunet, all reserved for the same fate; and, lastly, the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, who was destined to precede all these illustrious victims to the scaffold. There the inmates never thought of procuring for themselves those conveniences which soothed the lot of the persons confined in the other prisons. They dwelt in dull, dreary cells, to which neither light, nor consolation, nor pleasure, ever penetrated. Scarcely were the prisoners allowed the privilege of sleeping on beds instead of straw. Unable to avoid the sight of death, like the merely suspected, who imagined that they should only be detained till the peace, they strove to amuse themselves, and produced the most extraordinary parodies of the revolutionary tribunal and of the guillotine. The Girondins, in their prison, made extempore, and performed,

* "On one occasion the committee of public safety ordered me to increase the executions to one hundred and fifty a day; but the proposal filled my mind with such horror, that, as I returned from the Seine, the river appeared to run red with blood."—*Fouquier-Tinville's Speech on his Trial.* E.

† "In the prison of the Conciergerie, among a multitude that hourly expected their trial, was a young man who was accompanied by his wife, a young and beautiful woman. One day, while they were walking in the court with the other prisoners, the wife heard her husband called to the outer gate of the prison. Comprehending that it was the signal of his death, she ran after him, resolved to share his fate. The gaoler refused to let her pass. With unusual strength, derived from despair, she made her way, threw herself into her husband's arms, and besought them to suffer her to die with him. She was torn away by the guards, and at the same moment dashed her head violently against the prison gate, and in a few minutes expired."—*Du Broca.* E.

singular and terrible dramas, of which their destiny and the Revolution were the subject. It was at midnight, when all the gaolers had retired to rest, that they commenced these doleful amusements. One of those which they devised was as follows: Seated each upon a bed, they personated the judges and the jury of the revolutionary tribunal, and Fouquier-Tinville himself. Two of them, placed face to face, represented the accused and his defender. According to the custom of that sanguinary tribunal, the accused was always condemned. Extended immediately on a bedstead turned upside down, he underwent the semblance of the punishment even to its minutest details. After many executions, the accuser became the accused, and fell in his turn. Returning then covered with a sheet, he described the torments which he was enduring in hell, foretold their destiny to all these unjust judges, and, seizing them with frightful cries, dragged them with him to the infernal regions. "It was thus," said Riouffe,* "that we sported with death, and told the truth in our prophetic diversions amidst spies and executioners."

Since the death of Custine, the public began to be accustomed to those political trials, in which mere errors in judgment were crimes worthy of death. People began to be accustomed by a sanguinary practice to dismiss all scruples, and to consider it as natural to send every member of an adverse party to the scaffold. The Cordeliers and the Jacobins had obtained a decree for bringing to trial the Queen, the Girondins, several generals and the Duke of Orleans. They peremptorily insisted that the promise should be fulfilled, and it was with the Queen that they were particularly anxious to commence this long series of immolations. One would think that a woman ought to have disarmed political fury, but Marie Antoinette was hated more cordially than Louis XVI. himself. To her were attributed the treasons of the court, the waste of the public money, and, above all, the inveterate hostility of Austria. Louis XVI., it was said, had suffered every thing to be done; but it was Marie Antoinette who had done every thing, and it was upon her that punishment for it ought to fall.

We have already seen what reforms had been made in the Temple. Marie Antoinette had been separated from her sister, her daughter, and her son,† by virtue of a decree which ordered

* "H. Riouffe, a man of letters, escaped from Paris in 1793, and went to Bordeaux. Tallien had him arrested in that town, and sent him to the prisons in the capital, where he remained till after the fall of Robespierre. In 1799 he was appointed a member of the tribunate, and in 1806 obtained the prefecture of the Côte-d'Or. Riouffe published an account of the prisons of Paris during the Reign of Terror, which was read with great eagerness."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "The Queen's separation from her son, for whose sake alone she had consented to endure the burden of existence, was so touching, so heart-rending, that the very gaolers who witnessed the scene confessed, when giving an account of it to the authorities, that they could not refrain from tears."—*Weber's Memoirs of Marie Antoinette.* E.

the trial or exile of the last members of the family of the Bourbons. She had been removed to the Conciergerie; and there, alone, in a narrow prison, she was reduced to what was strictly necessary, like the other prisoners. The imprudence of a devoted friend had rendered her situation still more irksome. Michonnis, a member of the municipality, in whom she had excited a warm interest, was desirous of introducing to her a person who, he said, wished to see her out of curiosity. This man, a courageous emigrant, threw to her a carnation, in which was enclosed a slip of very fine paper, with these words: *Your friends are ready*—false hope, and equally dangerous for her who received, and for him who gave it! Michonnis and the emigrant were detected, and forthwith apprehended; and the vigilance exercised in regard to the unfortunate prisoner became from that day more rigorous than ever.* Gendarmes were to mount guard incessantly at the door of her prison, and they were expressly forbidden to answer any thing that she might say to them.

That wretch Hebert, the deputy of Chaumette, and editor of the disgusting paper of *Père Duchêne*, a writer of the party of which Vincent, Ronsin, Varlet, and Leclerc, were the leaders—Hebert had made it his particular business to torment the unfortunate remnant of the dethroned family. He asserted that the family of the tyrant ought not to be better treated than any *sans-culotte* family; and he had caused a resolution to be passed, by which the sort of luxury in which the prisoners in the Temple were maintained was to be suppressed. They were no longer to be allowed either poultry or pastry; they were reduced to one sort of aliment for breakfast, and to soup, or broth, and a single dish, for dinner, to two dishes for supper, and half-a-bottle of wine apiece. Tallow candles were to be furnished instead of wax, pewter instead of silver plate, and delft ware instead of porcelain. The wood and water carriers alone were permitted to enter their room, and that only accompanied by two commissioners. Their food was to be introduced to them by means of a turning box. The numerous establishment was reduced to a cook and an assistant, two men-servants, and a woman-servant to attend to the linen.

As soon as this resolution was passed, Hebert had repaired to

* "The Queen was lodged in a room called the council-chamber, which was considered as the most unwholesome apartment in the Conciergerie, on account of its dampness, and the bad smells by which it was continually affected. Under pretence of giving her a person to wait upon her, they placed near her a spy—a man of a horrible countenance, and hollow, sepulchral voice. This wretch, whose name was Barassin, was a robber, and murderer by profession. Such was the chosen attendant on the Queen of France! A few days before her trial, this wretch was removed, and a gendarme placed in her chamber who watched over her night and day, and from whom she was not separated, even when in bed, but by a ragged curtain. In this melancholy abode Marie Antoinette had no other dress than an old black gown, stockings with holes, which she was forced to mend every day; and she was entirely destitute of shoes."—*Du Broca.* E.

the Temple, and inhumanly taken away from the unfortunate prisoners even the most trifling articles to which they attached a high value. Eighty louis which Madame Elisabeth had in reserve, and which she had received from Madame de Lamballe were also taken away. No one is more dangerous, more cruel, than the man without acquirements, without education, clothed with a recent authority. If, above all, he possess a base nature, if like Hebert, who was check-taker at the door of a theatre and embezzled money out of the receipts, he be destitute of natural morality, and if he leap all at once from the mud of his condition into power, he is as mean as he is atrocious. Such was Hebert in his conduct at the Temple. He did not confine himself to the annoyances which we have mentioned. He and some others conceived the idea of separating the young prince from his aunt and sister. A shoemaker, named Simon, and his wife, were the instructors to whom it was deemed right to consign him, for the purpose of giving him a *sans-culotte* education. Simon and his wife were shut up in the Temple, and, becoming prisoners with the unfortunate child, were directed to bring him up in their own way.* Their food was better than that of the princesses, and they shared the table of the municipal commissioners who were on duty. Simon was permitted to go down, accompanied by two commissioners, to the court of the Temple, for the purpose of giving him a little exercise.

Hebert conceived the infamous idea of wringing from this boy revelations to criminate his unhappy mother. Whether this wretch imputed to the child false revelations, or abused his tender age and his condition to extort from him what admissions soever he pleased, he obtained a revolting deposition; and, as the youth of the prince did not admit of his being brought before the tribunal, Hebert appeared and detailed the infamous particulars which he had himself either dictated or invented.

It was on the 14th of October that Marie Antoinette appeared before her judges. Dragged before the sanguinary tribunal by

* "Simon, who was intrusted with the bringing up of the dauphin, had had the cruelty to leave the poor child absolutely alone. Unexampled barbarity, to leave an unhappy and sickly infant eight years old, in a great room, locked and bolted in, with no other resource than a broken bell which he never rang, so greatly did he dread the people whom its sound would have brought to him! He preferred wanting every thing to the sight of his persecutors. His bed had not been touched for six months, and he had not strength to make it himself; it was alive with bugs, and vermin still more disgusting. His linen and his person were covered with them. For more than a year he had had no change of shirt or stockings; every kind of filth was allowed to accumulate in his room. His window was never opened, and the infectious smell of this horrid apartment was so dreadful that no one could bear it. He passed his days wholly without occupation. They did not even allow him light in the evening. This situation affected his mind as well as his body; and he fell into a frightful atrophy."—*Duchess d'Angouleme.* E.

inexorable revolutionary vengeance, she appeared there without any chance of acquittal, for it was not to obtain her acquittal that the Jacobins had brought her before it. It was necessary, however, to make some charges. Fouquier therefore collected the rumours current among the populace ever since the arrival of the princess in France, and, in the act of accusation, he charged her with having plundered the exchequer, first for her pleasures, and afterwards in order to transmit money to her brother the emperor. He insisted on the scenes of the 5th and 6th of October, and on the dinners of the life-guards, alleging that she had at that period framed a plot, which obliged the people to go to Versailles to frustrate it. He afterwards accused her of having governed her husband, interfered in the choice of ministers, conducted the intrigues with the deputies gained by the court, prepared the journey to Varennes, provoked the war, and transmitted to the enemy's generals all our plans of campaign. He further accused her of having prepared a new conspiracy on the 10th of August, of having on that day caused the people to be fired upon, of having induced her husband to defend himself by taxing him with cowardice; lastly, of having never ceased to plot and correspond with foreigners since her captivity in the Temple, and of having there treated her young son as king. We here observe how, on the terrible day of long deferred vengeance, when subjects at length break forth and strike such of their princes as have not deserved the blow, every thing is distorted and converted into crime. We see how the profusion and fondness for pleasure, so natural to a young princess, how her attachment to her native country, her influence over her husband, her regrets, always more indiscreet in a woman than in a man, nay even her bolder courage, appeared to their inflamed or malignant imaginations.

It was necessary to produce witnesses. Lecointre, deputy of Versailles, who had seen what had passed on the 5th and 6th of October, Hebert, who had frequently visited the Temple, various clerks in the ministerial offices, and several domestic servants of the old court, were summoned. Admiral d'Estaing, formerly commandant of the guard of Versailles; Manuel, the ex-procureur of the commune; Latour-du-Pin, minister at war in 1789; the venerable Bailly, who, it was said, had been, with Lafayette, an accomplice in the journey to Varennes; lastly, Valazé, one of the Girondins destined to the scaffold; were taken from their prisons and compelled to give evidence.

No precise fact was elicited. Some had seen the Queen in high spirits when the life-guards testified their affection; others had seen her vexed and dejected while being conducted to Paris, or brought back from Varennes; these had been present at splendid festivities which must have cost enormous sums; those had heard it said in the ministerial offices that the Queen was adverse to the sanction of the decrees. An ancient

waiting-woman of the Queen had heard the Duke de Coigny say, in 1788, that the emperor had already received two hundred millions from France to make war upon the Turks.

The cynical Hebert, being brought before the unfortunate Queen, dared at length to prefer the charges wrung from the young prince. He said that Charles Capet had given Simon an account of the journey to Varennes, and mentioned Lafayette and Bailly as having co-operated in it. He then added that this boy was addicted to odious and very premature vices for his age; that he had been surprised by Simon, who, on questioning him, learned that he derived from his mother the vices in which he indulged. Hebert said that it was no doubt the intention of Marie Antoinette, by weakening thus early the physical constitution of her son, to secure to herself the means of ruling him, in case he should ever ascend the throne.

The rumours which had been whispered for twenty years by a malicious court, had given the people a most unfavourable opinion of the morals of the Queen. That audience, however, though wholly Jacobin, was disgusted at the accusations of Hebert.* He nevertheless persisted in supporting them. The unhappy mother made no reply. Urged anew to explain herself, she said with extraordinary emotion, "I thought that human nature would excuse me from answering such an imputation, but I appeal from it to the heart of every mother here present." This noble and simple reply affected all who heard it. In the depositions of the witnesses, however, all was not so bitter for Marie Antoinette. The brave d'Estaing, whose enemy she had been, would not say any thing to inculpate her, and spoke only of the courage which she had shown on the 5th and 6th of October, and of the noble resolution which she had expressed, to die beside her husband rather than fly. Manuel, in spite of his enmity to the court during the time of the Legislative Assembly, declared that he could not say any thing against the accused. When the venerable Bailly was brought forward, who formerly had so often predicted to the court the calamities which its imprudence must produce, he appeared painfully affected; and when he was asked if he knew the wife of Capet, "Yes," said he, bowing respectfully, "I have known *Madame.*" He declared that he knew nothing, and maintained that the declarations extorted from the young prince relative to the journey to Varennes were false. In recompence for his deposition, he was assailed with outrageous reproaches, from which he might judge what fate would soon be awarded to himself.

* "Can there be a more infernal invention than that made against the Queen by Hebert—namely, that she had had an improper intimacy with her own son? He made use of this sublime idea of which he boasted, in order to prejudice the women against the Queen, and to prevent her execution from exciting pity. It had, however, no other effect than that of disgusting all parties."—*Prudhomme.* E.

In the whole of the evidence there appeared but two serious facts, attested by Latour-du-Pin and Valazé, who deposed to them because they could not help it. Latour-du-Pin declared that Marie Antoinette had applied to him for an accurate statement of the armies while he was minister at war. Valazé, always cold, but respectful towards misfortune, would not say any thing to criminate the accused; yet he could not help declaring that, as a member of the commission of twenty-four, being charged with his colleagues to examine the papers found at the house of Septeuil, treasurer of the civil list, he had seen bonds for various sums signed Antoinette, which was very natural; but he added that he had also seen a letter in which the minister requested the King to transmit to the Queen the copy of the plan of campaign which he had in his hands. The most unfavourable construction was immediately put upon these two facts, the application for a statement of the armies, and the communication of the plan of campaign; and it was concluded that they could not be wanted for any other purpose than to be sent to the enemy; for it was not supposed that a young princess should turn her attention, merely for her own satisfaction, to matters of administration and military plans. After these depositions, several others were received respecting the expenses of the court, the influence of the Queen in public affairs, the scene of the 10th of August, and what had passed in the Temple; and the most vague rumours, and most trivial circumstances, were eagerly caught at as proofs.

Marie Antoinette frequently repeated with presence of mind and firmness that there was no precise fact against her;* that, besides, though the wife of Louis XVI., she was not answerable for any of the acts of his reign. Fouquier, nevertheless, declared her to be sufficiently convicted; Chaveau-Lagarde made unavailing efforts to defend her; and the unfortunate Queen was condemned to suffer the same fate as her husband.

Conveyed back to the Conciergerie, she there passed in tolerable composure the night preceding her execution, and, on the morning of the following day, the 16th of October,† she was con-

* "At first the Queen consulting only her own sense of dignity had resolved, on her trial, to make no other reply to the questions of her judges than, 'Assassinate me, as you have already assassinated my husband!' Afterwards, however, she determined to follow the example of the King, exert herself in her defence, and leave her judges without any excuse or pretext for putting her to death."—*Weber's Memoirs of Marie Antoinette.* E.

† "At four o'clock in the morning of the day of her execution, the Queen wrote a letter to the Princess Elisabeth. 'To you, my sister, who have loved me in all things, I address myself for the last time. I have been condemned, not to an ignominious death—it is so only to the guilty—but to rejoin your brother. I weep only for my children; I hope that one day, when they have regained their rank, they may be reunited to you, and feel the blessing of your tender care. May my son never forget the last words of his father, which I now repeat from myself—Never attempt to revenge our death. I die true to the Catholic religion. Depived of all spiritual consolation, I can only seek for

CONDEMNATION OF MARIE ANTOINETTE.

Oct. 16th 1793.

ducted, amidst a great concourse of the populace, to the fatal spot where, ten months before, Louis XVI. had perished. She listened with calmness to the exhortations of the ecclesiastic who accompanied her, and cast an indifferent look at the people who had so often applauded her beauty and her grace, and who now as warmly applauded her execution. On reaching the foot of the scaffold, she perceived the Tuileries, and appeared to be moved: but she hastened to ascend the fatal ladder, and gave herself up with courage to the executioner.* The infamous wretch exhibited her head to the people, as he was accustomed to do when he had sacrificed an illustrious victim.

The Jacobins were overjoyed. "Let these tidings be carried to Austria," said they; "the Romans sold the ground occupied by Annibal; we strike off the heads that are dearest to the sovereigns who have invaded our territory."

But this was only the commencement of vengeance. Immediately after the trial of Marie Antoinette, the tribunal was to proceed to that of the Girondins confined in the Conciergerie.

Before the revolt of the South, nothing could be laid to their charge but opinions. It was said, to be sure, that they were accomplices of Dumouriez, of La Vendée, of Orleans; but this connexion, which it was easy to impute in the tribune, it was impossible to prove, even before the revolutionary tribunal. On the contrary, ever since the day that they raised the standard of civil war, and when positive facts could be adduced against them, it was easy to condemn them. The imprisoned deputies, it is true, were not those who had excited the insurrection of Calvados and of the South, but they were members of the same party, supporters of the same cause. People were thoroughly convinced that they had corresponded with one another, and, though the letters which had been intercepted did not sufficiently prove intrigues, they proved enough for a tribunal instituted for the purpose of contenting itself with probability. All the moderation of the Girondins was, therefore, transformed into a vast conspiracy, of which civil war had been the upshot. Their tardiness in the time of the Legislative Assembly to rise against the throne, their opposition to the project of the 10th of August, their struggle with the commune from the 10th of August to the 20th of September, their energetic protestations against the massacres,

pardon from Heaven. I ask forgiveness of all who know me. I pray for forgiveness to all my enemies.' "—*Alison.* E.

* "Sorrow had blanched the Queen's once beautiful hair; but her features and air still commanded the admiration of all who beheld her. Her cheeks, pale and emaciated, were occasionally tinged with a vivid colour at the mention of those she had lost. When led out to execution, she was dressed in white; she had cut off her hair with her own hands. Placed in a tumbrel, with her arms tied behind her, she was taken by a circuitous route to the Place de la Révolution; and she ascended the scaffold with a firm and dignified step, as if she had been about to take her place on a throne by the side of her husband."—*Lacretelle.* E.

their pity for Louis XVI., their resistance to the inquisitorial system which disgusted the generals, their opposition to the extraordinary tribunal, to the *maximum*, to the forced loan, in short, to all the revolutionary measures; lastly, their efforts to create a repressive authority by instituting the commission of twelve, their despair after their defeat in Paris—a despair which caused them to have recourse to the provinces—all this was construed into a conspiracy, in which every fact was inseparable. The opinions which had been uttered in the tribune were merely the symptoms, the preparations for the civil war which had ensued; and whoever had expressed, in the Legislative and the Convention, the same sentiments as the deputies who had assembled at Caen, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles, was as guilty as they. Though there was no proof of concert, yet it was found in their community of opinion, in the friendship which had united most of them together, and in their habitual meetings at Roland's and at Valazé's.

The Girondins, on the contrary, conceived that, if people would but discuss the point with them, it would be impossible to condemn them. Their opinions, they said, had been free. They might have differed from the Mountaineers respecting the choice of revolutionary means, without being culpable. Their opinions proved neither personal ambition nor premeditated plot. They attested, on the contrary, that on a great number of points they had differed from one another. Lastly, their connexion with the revolted deputies was but supposed; and their letters, their friendship, their habit of sitting on the same benches, were by no means sufficient to demonstrate that. "If we are only suffered to speak," said the Girondins, "we shall be saved." Fatal idea,-which, without ensuring their salvation, caused them to lose a portion of that dignity which is the only compensation for an unjust death!

If parties had more frankness, they would at least be much more noble. The victorious party might have said to the vanquished party, "You have carried attachment to your system of moderate means so far as to make war upon us, as to bring the republic to the brink of destruction by a disastrous diversion; you are conquered—you must die." The Girondins, on their part, would have had a fine speech to make to their conquerors. They might have said to them, "We look upon you as villains who convulse the republic, who dishonour while pretending to defend it, and we were determined to fight and to destroy you. Yes, we are all equally guilty. We are all accomplices of Buzot, Barbaroux, Petion, and Guadet. They are great and virtuous citizens, whose virtues we proclaim to your face. While they went to avenge the republic, we have remained here to proclaim it in presence of the executioners. You are conquerors—put us to death."

But the mind of man is not so constituted as to seek to simplify

every thing by frankness. The conquering party wishes to convince, and it uses deception. A shadow of hope induces the vanquished party to defend itself, and by the same means; and in civil dissensions we see those shameful trials, at which the stronger party listens predetermined not to believe, at which the weaker speaks without the chance of persuading. It is not till sentence is pronounced, not till all hope is lost, that human dignity recovers itself, and it is at the sight of the fatal axe that we see it burst forth again in all its force.

The Girondins were resolved therefore to defend themselves, and they were then obliged to have recourse to concessions, to concealments. Their adversaries determined to prove their crimes, and, in order to convict them, sent to the revolutionary tribunal all their enemies—Pache, Hebert, Chaumette, Chabot, and many others, either equally false or equally base. The concourse was considerable, for it was still a new sight to see so many republicans condemned on account of the republic. The accused were twenty-one, in the flower of their age, in the prime of their talents, some in all the brilliancy of youth and manly beauty. The mere recapitulation of their names and ages had something touching.

Brissot, Gardien, and Lasource were thirty-nine; Vergniaud, Gensonné, and Lehardy, thirty-five; Mainvielle and Ducos, twenty-eight; Boyer-Fonfrède and Duchastel, twenty-seven; Duperret, forty-six; Carra, fifty; Valazé and Lacase, forty-two; Duprat, thirty-three; Sillery, fifty-seven; Fauchet, forty-nine; Lesterpt-Beauvais, forty-three; Boileau, forty-one; Attiboul, forty; Vigée, thirty-six. Gensonné was calm and cold; Valazé indignant and contemptuous; Vergniaud more agitated than usual. Young Ducos was merry, and Fonfrède, who had been spared on the 2nd of June, because he had not voted for the arrests ordered by the commission of twelve, but who, by his reiterated remonstrances in favour of his friends, had since deserved to share their fate—Fonfrède seemed, for so noble a cause, to relinquish cheerfully both his young wife, his large fortune, and his life.

Amar* had drawn up the act of accusation in the name of the committee of general safety. Pache was the first witness heard in support of it. Cautious and prudent as he always was, he said that he had long perceived a faction adverse to the revolution, but he adduced no fact proving a premeditated plot. He

* "Amar was a barrister in the court of Grenoble. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was connected with the most violent chiefs of the Mountain, and in 1793, drew up the act of accusation against the Girondins. In 1795 he was appointed president of the Convention, and soon afterwards retired into obscurity. Amar was a man of a gloomy and melancholy temperament."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

merely said that, when the Convention was threatened by Dumouriez, he went to the committee of finance to obtain funds and to provision Paris, and that the committee refused them. He added that he had been maltreated in the committee of general safety, and that Guadet had threatened him to demand the arrest of the municipal authorities. Chaumette recounted all the struggles of the commune with the right side, just as they had been related in the newspapers. He added only one particular fact, namely, that Brissot had obtained the appointment of Santonax as commissioner of the colonies, and that Brissot was consequently the author of all the calamities of the New World. The wretch, Hebert, detailed the circumstances of his apprehension by the commission of twelve, and said that Roland bribed all the public writers, for Madame Roland had wished to buy his paper of Père Duchesne. Destournelles, minister of justice, and formerly clerk to the commune, gave his deposition in an extremely vague manner, and repeated what every body knew, namely, that the accused had opposed the commune, inveighed against the massacres, proposed the institution of a departmental guard, &c. The witness whose deposition was the longest, as well as the most hostile, for it lasted several hours, was Chabot, the ex-Capuchin, a hot-headed, weak, and base-minded man. Chabot had always been treated by the Girondins as an extravagant person, and he never forgave their disdain. He was proud of having contributed to the 10th of August, contrary to their advice; he declared that, if they had consented to send him to the prisons, he would have saved the prisoners, as he had saved the Swiss: he was desirous therefore of revenging himself on the Girondins, and above all to recover, by calumniating them, his popularity which was on the wane at the Jacobins, because he was accused of having a hand in stockjobbing transactions. He invented a long and malicious accusation, in which he represented the Girondins seeking first to make a tool of Narbonne, the minister, then, after ejecting Narbonne, occupying three ministerial departments at once, bringing about the 20th of June to encourage their creatures, opposing the 10th of August, because they were hostile to the republic; lastly, pursuing invariably a preconcerted plan of ambition, and, what was more atrocious than all the rest, suffering the massacres of September, and the robbery of the Garde Meuble, for the purpose of ruining the reputation of the patriots. "If they had consented," said Chabot, "I would have saved the prisoners. Petion gave the murderers money for drink, and Brissot would not suffer them to be stopped, because in one of the prisons there was an enemy of his, Morande."

Such are the vile wretches who calumniate good men, as soon as power has given them the signal to do so. The moment the leaders have cast the first stone, all the reptiles that crawl in the

mud, rise and overwhelm the victim. Fabre d'Eglantine, who, like Chabot, had become suspected of stockjobbing,* and was anxious to regain his popularity, made a more cautious but likewise a more perfidious deposition, in which he insinuated that the intention of suffering the massacres and the robbery of the Garde Meuble to be perpetrated had most probably entered into the policy of the Girondins. Vergniaud, ceasing to defend himself, exclaimed with indignation, "I am not bound to justify myself against the charge of being the accomplice of robbers and murderers."

No precise fact, however, was alleged against the accused. They were charged with nothing but opinions publicly maintained, and they replied that these opinions might have been erroneous, but that they had a right to think as they pleased. It was objected to them that their doctrines were not the result of an involuntary, and therefore an excusable, error, but of a plot hatched at Roland's and at Valazé's. Again they replied, that so far were these doctrines from being the effect of any concert among them, that they were not even agreed upon every point. One said, I did not vote for the appeal to the people; another, I did not vote for the departmental guard; a third, I was against the course pursued by the commission of twelve; I disapproved the arrest of Hebert and Chaumette. All this was true enough; but then the defence was no longer common. The accused seemed almost to abandon one another, and to condemn those measures in which they had taken no part. Boileau carried his anxiety to clear himself to extreme weakness. He even covered himself with disgrace. He admitted that there had existed a conspiracy against the unity and the indivisibility of the republic; that he was now convinced of this, and declared it to justice; that he could not point out the guilty persons, but that he wished for their punishment; and he proclaimed himself a stanch Mountaineer. Gardien had also the weakness to disavow completely the commission of twelve. However, Gensonné, Brissot, Vergniaud, and more especially Valazé, corrected the bad effect of the conduct of their two colleagues. They admitted indeed that they had not always thought alike, and that consequently their opinions were not preconcerted; but they disavowed neither their friendship nor their doctrines. Valazé frankly confessed that meetings had been held at his house; and maintained that they had a right to meet and to enlighten

* "Fabre d'Eglantine was an ardent promoter and panegyrist of the revolutionary system, and the friend, the companion, the adviser of the proconsuls, who carried throughout France, fire and sword, devastation and death, I do not know whether his hands were stained by the lavishing of money not his own, but I know that he was a promoter of assassinations. Poor before the 2nd of September, 1792, he had afterwards an hotel and carriages and servants and women; his friend Lacroix assisted him to procure this continue."—*Mercier*. E.

each other with their ideas, like any other citizens. When, lastly, their connivance with the fugitives was objected to them, they denied it. "What!" exclaimed Hebert; "the accused deny the conspiracy! When the senate of Rome had to pronounce upon the conspiracy of Catiline, if it had questioned each conspirator and been content with a denial, they would all have escaped the punishment which awaited them; but the meetings at Catiline's, the flight of the latter, and the arms found at Lecca's, were material proofs, and they were sufficient to determine the judgment of the senate."—"Very well," replied Brissot, "I accept the comparison made between us and Catiline. Cicero said to him, 'Arms have been found at thy house; the ambassadors of the Allobroges accuse thee; the signatures of Lentulus, of Cethegus, and of Statilius, thy accomplices, prove thy infamous projects.' Here the senate accuses us, it is true, but have arms been found upon us? Are there signatures to produce against us?".

Unfortunately there had been discovered letters sent to Bordeaux by Vergniaud, which expressed the strongest indignation. A letter from a cousin of Lacase had also been found, in which the preparations for the insurrection were mentioned; and, lastly, a letter from Duperret to Madame Roland had been intercepted, in which he stated that he had heard from Buzot and Barbaroux, and that they were preparing to punish the outrages committed in Paris. Vergniaud, on being questioned, replied, "Were I to acquaint you with the motives which induced me to write, perhaps I should appear to you more to be pitied than censured. Judging from the plots of the 10th of March, I could not help thinking that a design to murder us was connected with the plan for dissolving the national representation. Marat wrote to this effect on the 11th of March. The petitions since drawn up against us with such acrimony have confirmed me in this opinion. It was under these circumstances that my soul was wrung with anguish, and that I wrote to my fellow-citizens that I was under the knife. I exclaimed against the tyranny of Marat. He was the only person whom I mentioned. I respect the opinion of the people concerning Marat, but to me Marat was a tyrant." At these words one of the jury rose and said, "Vergniaud complains of having been persecuted by Marat. I shall observe that Marat has been assassinated, and that Vergniaud is still here." This silly observation was applauded by part of the auditory, and all the frankness, all the sound reasoning of Vergniaud, were thrown away upon the blind multitude.

Vergniaud, however, had succeeded in gaining attention, and recovered all his eloquence in expatiating on the conduct of his friends, on their devotedness, and on their sacrifices to the republic. The whole audience had been moved; and this condemnation, though commanded, no longer seemed to be irrevocable. The trial had lasted several days. The Jacobins, en-

raged at the tardiness of the tribunal, addressed to the Convention a fresh petition praying it to accelerate the proceedings. Robespierre caused a decree to be passed, authorizing the jury, after three days' discussion, to declare themselves sufficiently enlightened, and to proceed to judgment without hearing any thing further. And to render the title more conformable with the thing, it was moreover decided on his motion, that the name of extraordinary tribunal should be changed to that of REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL.

Though this decree was passed, the jury durst not avail themselves of it immediately, and declared that they were not satisfied. But on the following day they made use of their new power to cut short the discussions, and insisted that they should be closed. The accused had already lost all hope, and were resolved to die nobly. They repaired with serene aspect to the last sitting of the tribunal. While they were being searched at the door of the Conciergerie, to ascertain that they had about them no implements of destruction with which they might put an end to their lives, Valazé, giving a pair of scissors to Riouffe, in the presence of the gendarmes, said, "Here, my friend, is a prohibited weapon. We must not make any attempts on our lives."

On the 30th of October, at midnight, the jury entered to pronounce their verdict. The countenance of Antonelle, their foreman, bespoke the violence of his feelings. Camille-Desmoulins, on hearing the verdict pronounced, cried out, "Ah! 'tis I who am the death of them; 'tis my *Brissot dévoilé!** Let me begone!" he added, and rushed out in despair. The accused were brought in. On hearing the fatal word pronounced, Brissot dropped his arms, and his head suddenly drooped upon his breast. Gensonné would have said a few words on the application of the law, but could not obtain a hearing. Sillery, letting fall his crutches, exclaimed, "This is the most glorious day of my life!" Some hopes had been conceived for the two young brothers, Ducos and Fonfrède, who had appeared to be less compromised, and who had attached themselves to the Girondins, not so much from conformity of opinion, as from admiration of their character and their talents. They were nevertheless condemned like the others. Fonfrède embraced Ducos, saying, "Brother, it is I who am the cause of your death."—"Be of good cheer," replied Ducos, "we shall die together." The Abbé Fauchet, with downcast look, seemed to pray; Carra retained his unfeeling air; Vergniaud's whole figure wore an expression of pride and disdain; Lasource repeated the saying of one of the ancients: "I die on the day when the people have lost their reason. You will die on that when they shall have recovered it." The weak Boileau and the weak Gardien were not spared. The former, throwing his hat

* The title of a pamphlet which he wrote against the Girondins.

into the air, exclaimed, "I am innocent."—"We are innocent," repeated all the accused; "people, they are deceiving you!" Some of them had the imprudence to throw some assignats about, as if to induce the multitude to take their part, but it remained unmoved. The gendarmes then surrounded them for the purpose of conducting them back to their prison. One of the condemned suddenly fell at their feet. They lifted him up streaming with blood. It was Valazé, who, when giving his scissors to Riouffe, had kept a dagger, with which he had stabbed himself. The tribunal immediately decided that his body should be carried in a cart after the condemned.* As they left the court, they struck up all together, by a spontaneous movement, the hymn of the Marseillais,

Contre nous de la tyrannie
Le couteau sanglant est levé.

Their last night was sublime. Vergniaud was provided with poison. He threw it away, that he might die with his friends. They took a last meal together, at which they were by turns merry, serious, and eloquent. Brissot and Gensonné were grave and pensive; Vergniaud spoke of expiring liberty in the noblest terms of regret, and of the destination of man with persuasive eloquence. Ducos repeated verses which he had composed in prison, and they all joined in singing hymns to France and liberty.

Next day, the 31st of October, an immense crowd collected to see them pass. On their way to the scaffold, they repeated that hymn of the Marseillais which our soldiers sung when marching against the enemy. On reaching the Place de la Révolution, having alighted from their carts, they embraced one another, shouting *Vive la République!* Sillery first mounted the scaffold, and, after gravely bowing to the people, in whom he still respected frail and misguided humanity, he received the fatal stroke. All of them followed Sillery's example, and died with the same dignity. In thirty-one minutes the executioner had despatched these illustrious victims, and thus destroyed in a few moments youth, beauty, virtue, talents!

Such was the end of those noble and courageous citizens, who fell a sacrifice to their generous Utopia. Comprehending neither human nature, nor its vices, nor the means of guiding it in a revolution, they were indignant because it would not be better, and, in persisting to thwart it, they caused it to devour themselves. Respect to their memory! Never were such virtues, such talents, displayed in the civil wars; and, to their glory be it said, if they did not comprehend the necessity of violent means for saving the cause of France,

* "The court ordered that the bloody corpse of the suicide Valazé should be borne on a tumbrel to the place of execution, and beheaded with the other prisoners."—*Lacretelle*. E.

most of their adversaries who preferred those means, decided from passion rather than from genius. Above them could be placed only such of the Mountaineers as had decided in favour of revolutionary means out of policy alone, and not from the impulse of hatred.

No sooner had the Girondins expired, than fresh victims were sacrificed. The sword rested not for a moment. On the 2nd of November the unfortunate Olympe de Gouges was executed for writings called counter-revolutionary, and Adam Luxe, deputy of Mayence, accused of the same crime. On the 6th, the hapless Duke of Orleans, transferred from Marseilles to Paris, was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and condemned on account of the suspicions which he had excited in all the parties. Odious to the emigrants, suspected by the Girondins and the Jacobins, he inspired none of those regrets which afford some consolation for an unjust death. More hostile to the court than enthusiastic in favour of the republic, he felt not that conviction which gives support at the critical moment; and of all the victims he was the one least compensated and most to be pitied. A universal disgust, an absolute scepticism, were his last sentiments, and he went to the scaffold with extraordinary composure and indifference. As he was drawn along the Rue St. Honoré, he beheld his palace with a dry eye, and never belied for a moment his disgust of men and of life.* Coustard, his aide-de-camp, a deputy like himself, shared his fate.

Two days afterwards, Roland's interesting and courageous wife followed them to the scaffold. Combining the heroism of a Roman matron with the graces of a Frenchwoman, this female had to endure all sorts of afflictions. She loved and reverenced her husband as a father. She felt for one of the proscribed Girondins a vehement passion, which she had always repressed. She left a young and orphan daughter to the care of friends. Trembling for so many and such dear objects, she considered the cause of liberty to which she was enthusiastically attached, and for which she had made such great sacrifices, as for ever ruined.

* "The Duke of Orleans demanded only one favour, which was granted; namely, that his execution should be postponed for twenty-four hours. In the interval he had a repast prepared with care, on which he feasted with more than usual avidity. When led out to execution, he gazed for a time with a smile on his countenance, on the Palais Royal, the scene of his former orgies; he was detained above a quarter of an hour in front of that palace, by order of Robespierre, who had in vain asked his daughter's hand in marriage; and had promised, if he would relent in that extremity to excite a tumult which should save his life. Depraved as he was, he had too much honourable feeling left to consent to such a sacrifice; and remained in expectation of death, without giving the expected signal of acquiescence, for twenty minutes, when he was permitted to continue his journey to the scaffold. He met his death with stoical fortitude. The multitude applauded his execution." —*Alison.* E.

Thus she suffered in all her affections at once. Condemned as an accomplice of the Girondins, she heard her sentence with a sort of enthusiasm, seemed to be inspired from the moment of her condemnation to that of her execution, and excited a kind of religious admiration in all who saw her.* She went to the scaffold dressed in white. She exerted herself the whole way to cheer the spirits of a companion in misfortune who was to perish with her, and who had not the same courage; and she even succeeded so far as twice to draw from him a smile. On reaching the place of execution, she bowed to the statue of liberty, exclaiming, "O Liberty, what crimes are they committing in thy name!" She then underwent her fate with indomitable courage.† Thus perished that charming and spirited woman, who deserved to share the destiny of her friends, but who, more modest and more resigned to the passive part allotted to her sex, wished not to avoid the death due to her talents and her virtues, but to spare her husband and herself ridicule and calumnies.

* "When Madame Roland arrived at the Conciergerie, the blood of the twenty-two deputies still flowed on the spot. Though she well knew the fate which awaited her, her firmness did not forsake her. Although past the prime of life, she was a fine woman, tall, and of an elegant form; an expression infinitely superior to what is usually found in women was seen in her large black eyes, at once forcible and mild. She frequently spoke from her window to those without, with the magnanimity of a man of the first order of talent. Sometimes, however, the susceptibility of her sex gained the ascendant, and it was seen that she had been weeping, no doubt at the remembrance of her daughter and husband. As she passed to her examination, we saw her with that firmness of deportment which usually marked her character; as she returned, her eyes were moistened with tears, but they were tears of indignation. She had been treated with the grossest rudeness, and questions had been put insulting to her honour. The day on which she was condemned, she had dressed herself in white, and with peculiar care; her long black hair hung down loose to her waist. After her condemnation, she returned to her prison with an alacrity which was little short of pleasure, By a sign, that was not mistaken, she gave us all to understand she was to die."—*Memoirs of a Prisoner.* E.

† "Madame Roland's defence, composed by herself the night before her trial, is one of the most eloquent and touching monuments of the Revolution! Her answers to the interrogatories of her judges, the dignity of her manner, and the beauty of her figure, melted even the revolutionary audience. She was conveyed to the scaffold in the same car with a man whose firmness was not equal to her own. While passing along the streets, her whole anxiety appeared to be to support his courage. She did this with so much simplicity and effect, that she frequently brought a smile on the lips that were about to perish. When they arrived at the foot of the scaffold, she had the generosity to renounce, in favour of her companion, the privilege of being first executed. 'Ascend first,' said she, 'let me at least spare you the pain of seeing my blood flow.' Turning to the executioner, she asked if he would consent to that arrangement. He replied that his orders were, that she should die the first. 'You cannot,' said she with a smile, 'you cannot I am sure, refuse a woman her last request.' Undismayed by the spectacle which immediately ensued, she calmly bent her head under the guillotine, and perished with the serenity she had evinced ever since her imprisonment."—*Alison.* E.

Her husband had fled towards Rouen. On receiving intelligence of her tragic end, he resolved not to survive her. He quitted the hospitable house which had afforded him an asylum, and, to avoid compromising any friend, put an end to his life on the high road. He was found pierced to the heart by a sword, and lying against the foot of the tree against which he had placed the hilt of the destructive weapon. In his pocket was a paper relative to his life and to his conduct as a minister.

Thus, in that frightful delirium which had rendered genius and virtue and courage suspected, all that was most noble and most generous in France was perishing either by suicide or by the blade of the executioner.*

Among so many illustrious and courageous deaths, there was one still more lamentable and more sublime than any of the others; it was that of Bailly. From the manner in which he had been treated during the Queen's trial, it might easily be inferred how he was likely to be received before the revolutionary tribunal. The scene in the Champ de Mars, the proclamation of martial law, and the fusillade which followed, were the events with which the constituent party was most frequently and most bitterly reproached. Bailly, the friend of Lafayette, and the magistrate who had ordered the red flag to be unfurled, was the victim selected to atone for all the alleged offences of the Constituent Assembly. He was condemned, and was to be executed in the Champ de Mars, the theatre of what was termed his crime. His execution took place on the 11th of November. The weather was cold and rainy. Conducted on foot, he manifested the utmost composure and serenity, amidst the insults of a barbarous populace, which he had fed while he was mayor. During the long walk from the Conciergerie to the Champ de Mars, the red flag, which had been found at the *mairie*, enclosed in a mahogany box, was shaken in his face. On reaching the foot of the scaffold, it might be supposed that his sufferings were nearly over: but one of the wretches who had persecuted him so assiduously, cried out that the field of the federation ought not to be polluted by his blood. The people instantly rushed upon the guillotine, took it down, bore it off with the same enthusiasm as they had formerly shown in labouring in that same field of the federation, and erected it again upon a dunghill on the bank of

* "The whole country seemed one vast conflagration of revolt and vengeance. The shrieks of death were blended with the yell of the assassin, and the laughter of buffoons. Never were the finest affections more warmly excited, or pierced with more cruel wounds. Whole families were led to the scaffold for no other crime than their relationship; sisters for shedding tears over the death of their brothers in the emigrant armies; wives for lamenting the fate of their husbands; innocent peasant-girls for dancing with the Prussian soldiers; and a woman giving suck, and whose milk spouted in the face of her executioner at the fatal stroke, for merely saying, as a group were being conducted to slaughter, 'Here is much blood shed for a trifling cause!'" —*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

the Seine, and opposite to the quarter of Chailiot, where Bailly had passed his life, and composed his works. This operation lasted some hours. Meanwhile he was obliged to walk several times round the Champ de Mars. Bareheaded and with his hands pinioned behind him, he could scarcely drag himself along. Some pelted him with mud, others kicked and struck him with sticks. He fell exhausted. They lifted him up again. Rain and cold had communicated to his limbs an involuntary shivering. "Thou tremblest!" said a soldier to him. "My friend," replied the old man, "it is cold." After he had been thus tormented for several hours, the red flag was burned under his nose; at length he was delivered over to the executioner, and another illustrious scholar, and one of the most virtuous men who ever honoured our country, was then taken from it.*

Since the time that Tacitus saw the vile populace applaud the crimes of emperors, it has not changed. Always sudden in its movements, at one time it erects an altar to the country, at another scaffolds, and it exhibits a beautiful and a noble spectacle only when, incorporated with the armies, it rushes upon the hostile battalions. Let not despotism impute its crimes to liberty, for under despotism it was always as guilty as under the republic; but let us continually invoke enlightenment and instruction† for those barbarians swarming in the lowest classes of society, and always ready to stain it with any crime, to obey the call of any power, and to disgrace any cause.

On the 25th of November, the unfortunate Manuel was also put to death. From being *procureur* of the commune, he had become deputy to the Convention, and had resigned his seat at the time of the trial of Louis XVI., because he had been accused of having purloined the list of votes. He was charged before the tribunal with having favoured the massacres of September, for the purpose of raising the departments against Paris. It was Fouquier-Tinville who was commissioned to devise these atrocious calumnies, more atrocious even than the condemnation. On the same day was condemned the unfortunate General Bru-

* "Among the virtuous members of the first Assembly, there was no one who stood higher than Bailly. As a scholar and a man of science, he had long been in the very first rank of celebrity; his private morals were not only irreproachable, but exemplary; and his character and disposition had always been remarkable for gentleness, moderation, and philanthropy. His popularity was at one time equal to that of any of the idols of the day; and if it was gained by some degree of culpable indulgence and unjustifiable zeal, it was forfeited at least by a resolute opposition to disorder, and a meritorious perseverance in the discharge of his duty. There is not perhaps a name in the whole annals of the Revolution, with which the praise of unaffected philanthropy may be more safely associated."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

† "To inform a people of their rights, before instructing them and making them familiar with their duties, leads naturally to the abuse of liberty and the usurpation of individuals. It is like opening a passage for the torrent, before a channel has been prepared to receive, or banks to direct it."—*Bailly's Memoirs*. E.

BAILLY.

MAYOR OF PARIS.

London, Richard Bentley, 1837

net, because he had not sent off part of his army from Nice to Toulon; and, on the following day, the 26th, sentence of death was pronounced upon the victorious Houchard, because he had not understood the plan laid down for him, and had not moved rapidly upon the causeway of Furnes so as to take the whole English army. His was an egregious fault, but not deserving of death.

These executions began to spread general terror, and to render the supreme authority formidable. Dismay pervaded not only the prisons, the hall of the revolutionary tribunal, and the Place de la Révolution; it prevailed every where, in the markets, in the shops, where the *maximum* and the laws against forestalling had recently been enforced. We have already seen how the discredit of the assignats and the increased price of commodities had led to the decree of the *maximum* for the purpose of restoring the balance between merchandise and money. The first effects of this *maximum* had been most disastrous, and had occasioned the shutting up of a great number of shops. By establishing a tariff for articles of primary necessity, the government had reached only those goods which had been delivered to the retail dealer, and were ready to pass from the hands of the latter into those of the consumer. But the retailer, who had bought them of the wholesale trader before the *maximum*, and at a higher price than that of the new tariff, suffered enormous losses and complained bitterly. Even when he had bought after the *maximum*, the loss sustained by him was not the less. In fact, in the tariff of commodities, called goods of primary necessity, they were not specified till wrought and ready to be consumed, and it was not till they had arrived at this latter state that their price was fixed. But it was not said what price they should bear in their raw form, what price should be paid to the workman who wrought them, to the carrier, or the navigator, who transported them; consequently the retailer, who was obliged to sell to the consumer according to the tariff, and who could not treat with the workman, the manufacturer, the wholesale dealer, according to that same tariff, could not possibly continue so disadvantageous a trade. Most of the tradesmen shut up their shops or evaded the law by fraud. They sold only goods of the worst quality at the *maximum*, and reserved the best for those who came secretly to pay for them at their proper value.

The populace, perceiving these frauds, and seeing a great number of shops shut up, was seized with fury, and assailed the commune with complaints. It insisted that all the dealers should be obliged to keep their shops open and to continue their trade, whether they wished to do so or not. The butchers and porkmen, who bought diseased animals, or such as had died accidentally, were denounced, and so were those who, in order that the meat might weigh heavier, did not bleed the carcasses sufficiently. The

bakers, who reserved the best flour for the rich, sold the worst to the poor, and did not bake their bread enough that it might weigh the more; the wine-merchants, who mixed the most deleterious drugs with their wines; the dealers in salt, who, to increase the weight of that commodity, deteriorated the quality; the grocers, and in short all the retail dealers who adulterated commodities in a thousand ways were also unsparingly accused.

Of these abuses, some were perpetual, others peculiar to the actual crisis: but when the impatience of wrong seizes the minds of the people, they complain of every thing, they endeavour to reform every thing, to punish every thing.

On this subject Chaumette, the *procureur-general*, made a flaming speech against the traders. "It will be recollected," said he, "that in 89 all these men carried on a great trade, but with whom? with foreigners. It is well known that it was they who caused the fall of the assignats, and that it was by jobbing in paper-money that they enriched themselves. What have they done since they made their fortune? They have retired from business; they have threatened the people with a dearth of commodities; but if they have gold and assignats, the republic has something still more valuable—it has arms. Arms, not gold, are wanted to move our fabrics and manufactures. If then these individuals relinquish fabrics and manufactures, the republic will take them in hand, and put in requisition all the raw materials. Let them remember that it depends on the republic to reduce, whenever it pleases, to dust and ashes, the gold and the assignats which are in their hands. That giant, the people, must crush the mercantile speculators.

"We feel the hardships of the people, because we belong ourselves to the people. The entire council is composed of *sans-culottes*. This is the legislating people. It is of little consequence if our heads fall, provided posterity takes the trouble to pick up our skulls. I shall quote, not the Gospel, but Plato. 'He who shall strike with the sword,' says that philosopher, 'shall perish by the sword; he who shall destroy by poison, shall perish by poison; famine shall put an end to him who would famish the people.' If commodities and provisions run short, whom shall the people call to account for it? The constituted authorities? No. The Convention? No. It will call to account the merchants and the contractors. Rousseau, who was also one of the people, said, *When the people shall have nothing more to eat, they will eat the rich.*"*

Forced means lead to forced means, as we have elsewhere observed. In the first laws attention had been paid only to wrought goods. It was now necessary to consider the subject of the raw material; nay, the idea of seizing the raw material and the workman for the account of the government began to float in

* Speech at the commune on the 14th of October.

some minds. It is a formidable obligation, that of doing violence to nature, and attempting to regulate all her movements. The commune and the Convention were obliged to take new measures, each according to its respective competence.

The commune of Paris obliged every dealer to declare the quantity of goods in hand, the orders which he had given to procure more, and the expectations which he had of their arrival. Every shopkeeper who had been in business for a year, and either relinquished it or suffered it to languish, was declared suspected, and imprisoned as such. To prevent the confusion and the accumulation arising from an anxiety to lay in a stock, the commune also decided that the consumer should apply only to the retailer, and the retailer only to the wholesale dealer: and it fixed the quantities which each should be allowed to order. Thus the retail grocer could not order more than twenty-five pounds of sugar at a time of the wholesale dealer, and the tavern-keeper not more than twelve. It was the revolutionary committees that delivered the tickets for purchasing, and fixed the quantities.* The commune did not confine itself to these regulations. As the throng about the doors of the bakers still continued the same, as there was still the same tumult there, and many people were waiting part of the night to be served, it was decided at the suggestion of Chaumette, that those who had come last should be first served, but this regulation diminished neither the tumult nor eagerness of the customers. As the people complained that the worst flour was reserved for them, it was resolved that, in the city of Paris, there should be made in future but one sort of bread, composed of three-fourths wheaten flour and one-fourth rye. Lastly, a commission of inspection for provisions was instituted, to ascertain the state of commodities, to take cognizance of frauds, and to punish them. These measures, imitated by the other communes, and frequently even converted into decrees, immediately became general laws; and thus, as we have already observed, the commune exercised an immense influence in every thing connected with the internal administration and the police.

The Convention, urged to reform the law of the *maximum*, devised a new one, which went back to the raw material. It required that a statement should be made out of the cost price of goods in 1790, on the spot where they were produced. To this

* "The state of France is perfectly simple. It consists of two classes—the oppressors and the oppressed. The first have the whole authority of state in their hands, the direction of trade, the revenues of the public, the confiscations of individuals and corporations. The other description—the oppressed—are people of some property; they are the small relics of the persecuted landed interest; the burghers, the farmers, the small tradesmen. The revolutionary committees exercise over these a most severe and scrutinizing inquisition. At Paris, and in most other towns, the bread the people buy, is a daily dole, which they cannot obtain without a daily ticket delivered to them by their masters."—*Burke on the Policy of the Allies.* E.

price were to be added, in the first place, one-third on account of circumstances; secondly, a fixed sum for carriage from the place of production to the place of consumption; thirdly, and lastly, five per cent. for the profit of the wholesale dealer, and ten for the retailer. Out of all these elements was to be composed, for the future, the price of articles of the first necessity. The local administrations were directed to take this task upon themselves, each directing that which was produced and consumed within it. An indemnity was granted to every retail dealer, who, possessing a capital of less than ten thousand francs, could prove that he had lost that capital by the *maximum*. The communes were to judge of the case by *actual inspection* a method always adopted in times of dictatorship. Thus this law, without yet going back to the production, to the raw material, to workmanship, fixed the price of merchandise on leaving the manufactory, the price of carriage, and the profit of the wholesale and retail dealer, and by absolute rules, made compensation for the fickleness of nature in at least half of the social operations. But all this, we repeat, proceeded inevitably from the first *maximum*, the first *maximum* from the assignats, and the assignats from the imperative wants of the Revolution.

To superintend this system of government introduced into commerce, a commission of provisions and articles of subsistence, was appointed, whose authority extended over the whole republic. This was composed of three members appointed by the Convention, enjoying nearly the importance of the ministers themselves, and having voices in the council. The commission thus formed was charged to carry the tariffs into execution, to superintend the conduct of the communes on this point, to cause the statement of the articles of provision and subsistence throughout all France to be forthwith completed, to order their transfer from one department to another, and to fix the requisitions for the armies, agreeably to the celebrated decree which instituted the revolutionary government.

The financial situation of the country was not less extraordinary than all the rest. The two loans, the one forced, the other voluntary, filled with rapidity. People were particularly eager to contribute to the second, because the advantages which it held out rendered it far preferable, and thus the moment approached when one thousand millions of assignats would be withdrawn from circulation. There were in the exchequer for current expenses nearly four hundred millions remaining from the former creations, and five hundred millions of royal assignats, called in by the decree which divested them of the character of money, and converted into a like sum in republican assignats. These made, therefore, a sum of about nine hundred millions for the public service.

It will appear extraordinary that the assignat, which had

fallen three-fourths, and even four-fifths, had risen to a par with specie. In this rise there was something real and something fictitious. The gradual suppression of a floating thousand millions, the success of the first levy, which had produced six hundred thousand men in the space of a month, and the recent victories of the republic, which almost ensured its existence, had accelerated the sale of the national possessions, and restored some confidence to the assignats, but still not sufficient to place them on an equality with money. The causes which put them apparently on a par with specie were the following. It will be recollected that a law forbade, under very heavy penalties, the traffic in specie, that is, the exchange at a loss of the assignat against money; that another law decreed very severe penalties against those who, in purchases, should bargain for different prices according as payment was to be made in paper or in cash. In this manner specie could not maintain its real value either against the assignat or against merchandise, and people had no other resource but to hoard it. But, by a last law, it was enacted that hidden gold, silver, or jewels, should belong partly to the state, partly to the informer. Thenceforth people could neither employ specie in trade nor conceal it; it became troublesome; it exposed the holders to the risk of being considered as suspected persons; they began to be afraid of it, and to find the assignat preferable for daily use. This it was that had re-established the par, which had never really existed for paper, even on the first day of its creation. Many communes, adding their laws to those of the Convention, had even prohibited the circulation of specie, and ordered that it should be brought in chests to be exchanged for assignats. The Convention, it is true, had abolished all these particular decisions of the communes; but the general laws which it had passed had nevertheless rendered specie useless and dangerous. Many people paid it away in taxes, or to the loan, or to foreigners, who carried on a great traffic in it, and came to the frontier-towns to receive it in exchange for merchandise. The Italians and the Genoese, in particular, who brought us great quantities of corn, frequented the southern ports, and bought up gold and silver at low prices. Specie, had, therefore, made its appearance again, owing to the effect of these terrible laws; and the party of ardent revolutionists, fearing lest its appearance should again prove prejudicial to the paper-money, were desirous that specie, which hitherto had not been excluded from circulation, and had only been condemned to pass for the same as the assignat, should be absolutely prohibited; they proposed that its circulation should be forbidden, and that all who possessed it should be ordered to bring it to the public coffers to be exchanged for assignats.

Terror had almost put a stop to stockjobbing. Speculations upon specie had, as we have just seen, become impossible.

Foreign paper, branded with reprobation, no longer circulated as it did two months before: and the bankers accused on all sides of being agents of the emigrants and addicting themselves to stockjobbing, were in the utmost consternation. For a moment, seals had been put upon their effects; but government had soon become aware of the danger of interrupting banking operations and thus checking the circulation of all capitals, and the seals were removed. The alarm was nevertheless so great that nobody thought of engaging in any kind of speculation.

The India Company was at length abolished. We have seen what an intrigue had been formed by certain deputies to speculate in the shares of that company. The Baron de Batz, in concert with Julien of Toulouse, Delaunay of Angers, and Chabot, proposed by alarming motions to make shares fall, then to buy them up, and afterwards by milder motions to produce a rise, when they would sell again, and thus make a profit by this frandulent fluctuation. The Abbé d'Espagnac, whom Julien favoured with the committee of contracts, was to furnish the funds for these speculations. These wretches actually succeeded in sinking the shares from four thousand five hundred to six hundred and fifty livres, and made considerable profits. The suppression of the company, however, could not be prevented. They then began to treat with it for a mitigation of the decree of suppression. Delaunay and Julien discussed the matter with the directors. "If," said they, "you will give us such a sum, we will move for such a decree; if not, we will bring forward such a one." It was agreed that they should be paid the sum of five hundred thousand francs, for which they were, when proposing the suppression of the company, which was inevitable, to cause the business of its liquidation to be assigned to itself, which might prolong its duration for a considerable time. This sum was to be divided among Delaunay, Julien, Chabot, and Bazire, whom his friend Chabot had acquainted with the intrigue, but who refused to take any part in it.

Delaunay presented the decree of suppression on the 17th of Vendemiaire. He proposed to suppress the company, to oblige it to refund the sums which it owed to the state, and, above all, to make it pay the duty on transfers, which it had evaded by changing its shares into inscriptions in its books. Finally, he proposed to leave the business of winding up its affairs to itself. Fabre d'Eglantine, who was not yet in the secret, and who speculated, as it appeared, in a contrary sense, immediately opposed this motion, saying that, to permit the company to wind up its affairs itself was perpetuating it, and that upon this pretext it might continue to exist for an indefinite period. He proposed, therefore, to transfer to the government the business of this liquidation. Cambon moved, as a sub-amendment, that the

state, in undertaking the liquidation, should not be charged with the debts of the company if they exceeded its assets. The decree and the two amendments were adopted, and referred to the commission to be definitively drawn up. The members in the plot immediately agreed that they ought to gain Fabre, in order to obtain, in the drawing up, some modifications to the decree. Chabot was despatched to Fabre with one hundred thousand francs, and secured his assistance. They then proceeded in this manner. The decree was drawn up as it had been adopted by the Convention, and submitted for signature to Cambon and the members of the commission who were not accomplices in the scheme. To this authentic copy were then added certain words, which totally altered the sense. On the subject of the transfers which had evaded the duty, but which were to pay it, were added these words, *excepting those fraudulently made*, which tended to revive all the pretensions of the company in regard to the exemption from the duty. On the subject of the liquidation these words were added: *Agreeably to the statutes and regulations of the company*, which gave to the latter an intervention in the liquidation. These interpolations materially changed the nature of the decree. Chabot, Fabre, Delaunay, and Julien of Toulouse, afterwards signed it, and delivered the falsified copy to the commission for the circulation of the laws, which caused it to be printed and promulgated as an authentic decree. They hoped that the members who had signed before these slight alterations were made would either not recollect or not perceive them, and they divided among themselves the sum of five hundred thousand francs. Bazire alone refused his share, saying that he would have no hand in such disgraceful transactions.

Meanwhile Chabot, whose luxurious style of living began to be denounced, was sorely afraid lest he should find himself compromised. He had suspended the hundred thousand francs, which he had received as his share, in private expenses; and as his accomplices saw that he was ready to betray them, they threatened to be beforehand with him, and to denounce the whole affair if he abandoned them. Such had been the issue of this scandalous intrigue between the Baron de Batz and three or four deputies.* The general terror, which threatened every life, however innocent, had seized them, and they were apprehensive of being detected and punished. For the moment, therefore, all speculations were suspended, and nobody now thought of engaging in stockjobbing.

It was precisely at this time, when the government was not afraid to do violence to all received ideas, to all established

* "Some writings found among Robespierre's papers after his death, fully justify these charges against Chabot and his colleagues, for which they were afterwards arrested and brought to the scaffold."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

customs, that the plan for introducing a new system of weights and measures, and changing the calendar, was carried into execution. A fondness for regularity, and a contempt for obstacles, could scarcely fail to mark a revolution which was at once philosophical and political. It had divided the country into eighty-three equal portions; it had given uniformity to the civil, religious, and military administration; it had equalized all the parts of the public debt; it could not avoid regulating weights, measures, and the division of time. It is true that this fondness for uniformity, degenerating into a spirit of system, nay, even into a mania, caused the necessary and attractive varieties of nature to be too often forgotten; but it is only in paroxysms of this kind that the human mind effects great and difficult regenerations. The new system of weights and measures, one of the most admirable creations of the age, was the result of this audacious spirit of innovation. The idea was conceived of taking for the unit of weights, and for the unit of measures, natural and invariable quantities in every country. Thus, distilled water was taken for the unit of weight, and a part of the meridian for the unit of measure. These units, multiplied or divided by ten, *ad infinitum*, formed that beautiful system, known by the name of the decimal system.

The same regularity was to be applied to the division of time; and the difficulty of changing the habits of a people in those points where they are most invincible was not capable of deterring men so determined as those who then presided over the destinies of France. They had already changed the Gregorian era into a republican era, and dated the latter from the first year of liberty. They made the year and the new era begin with the 22nd of September, 1792, a day which, by a fortunate coincidence, was that of the institution of the republic and of the autumnal equinox. The year would have been divided into ten parts, conformably with the decimal system, but, in taking for the division of the months the twelve revolutions of the moon round the earth, it became absolutely necessary to admit twelve months. Nature here commanded the infraction of the decimal system. The month consisted of thirty days; it was divided into three portions of ten days each, called decades, instead of the four weeks. The tenth day of each decade was dedicated to rest, and superseded the former Sunday. Thus there was one day of rest less in the month. The Catholic religion had multiplied holidays to infinity. The Revolution, preaching up industry, deemed it right to reduce them as much as possible. The months were named after the seasons to which they belonged. As the year commenced with autumn, the first three belonged to that season, and were called Vendemiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire; the three following were those of winter, and were called Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose; the next three, answering to spring, were named Germinal, Floreal, Prairial; and the last three, comprising summer,

were denominated Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor. These twelve months, of thirty days each, formed a total of only three hundred and sixty days. There remained five days for completing the year. These were called complementary days, and, by a happy idea, they were to be set apart for national festivals by the name of *Sans-culottides*—a name which must be granted to the time, and which is not more absurd than many others adopted by nations. The first was to be that of *genius;* the second that of *labour;* the third that of *noble actions;* the fourth that of *rewards;* the fifth and last, that of *opinion.* This last festival, absolutely original, and perfectly adapted to the French character, was to be a sort of political carnival of twenty-four hours, during which people should be allowed to say or to write, with impunity, whatever they pleased concerning every public man. It was for opinion to do justice upon opinion itself; and it behoved all magistrates to defend themselves by their virtues against the truths and the calumnies of that day. Nothing could be more grand or more moral than this idea. If a more mighty destiny has swept away the thoughts and the institutions of that period, its vast and bold conceptions ought not to be made the butt of ridicule. The Romans have not been held ridiculous, because, on the day of triumph, the soldier, placed behind the car of the triumpher, was at liberty to utter whatever his hatred or his mirth suggested. As in every four years, the leap-year bought six complementary days instead of five: this sixth *Sans-culottide* was to be called the festival of the *Revolution,* and to be dedicated to a grand solemnity, in which the French should celebrate the period of their enfranchisement, and the institution of the republic.

The day was divided, according to the decimal system into ten parts or hours, these into ten others, and so on. New dials were ordered for the purpose of putting in practice this new method of calculating time; but, not to attempt too much at once, this latter reform was postponed for one year.

The last revolution, the most difficult, the most accused of tyranny, was that attempted in regard to religion. The revolutionary laws relative to religion had been left just as they were framed by the Constituent Assembly. It will be recollected that this first assembly, desirous of introducing into the ecclesiastical administration a uniformity with the civil administration, determined that the extent of every diocese should be the same as that of the departments, that the bishop should be elective like all the other functionaries, and that, in short, without touching the doctrines of the church, its discipline should be regulated, as all the parts of the political organization had just been. Such was the civil constitution of the clergy, to which the ecclesiastics were obliged to bind themselves by oath. From that day, it will be recollected, a schism had

taken place. Those who adhered to the new institution were called constitutional or sworn priests, and those who refused to do so, refractory priests. The latter were merely deprived of their functions, and had a pension allowed them. The Legislative Assembly, seeing that they were taking great pains to excite opinion against the new system, placed them under the *surveillance* of the authorities of the departments, and even decreed that, upon the decision of those authorities, they might be banished from the territory of France. Lastly, the Convention, more severe in proportion as their conduct became more seditious, condemned all the refractory priests to exile.

As minds became daily more and more excited, people began to ask, why, when all the old monarchical superstitions were abolished, there should yet be retained a phantom of religion, in which scarcely any one continued to believe, and which formed a most striking contrast with the new institutions and the new manners of republican France. Laws had already been demanded for favouring married priests, and for protecting them against certain local administrations, which wanted to deprive them of their functions. The Convention, extremely reserved on this point, would not make any new enactments relative to them, and by this course it had authorized them to retain their functions and their salaries. It had been solicited, moreover, in certain petitions, to cease to allot salaries to any religion, to leave each sect to pay its own ministers, to forbid outward ceremonies, and to oblige all the religions to confine themselves to their own places of worship. All that the Convention did was to reduce the bishops to the *maximum* of six thousand francs, since there were some of them whose income amounted to seventy thousand. On every other point it refused to interfere, and kept silence, leaving France to take the initiative in the abolition of religious worship. It was fearful lest, by meddling itself with creeds, it should alienate part of the population, still attached to the Catholic religion. The commune of Paris, less reserved, seized this important occasion for a great reform, and was anxious to set the first example of the abjuration of Catholicism.

While the patriots of the Convention and of the Jacobins, while Robespierre, St. Just, and the other revolutionary leaders, stopped short at deism, Chaumette, Hebert, all the notables of the commune and of the Cordeliers, placed lower by their functions and their knowledge, could not fail, agreeably to the ordinary law, to overstep that limit, and to proceed to atheism. They did not openly profess that doctrine, but there were grounds for imputing it to them. In their speeches and in their writings the name of God was never mentioned, and they were incessantly repeating that a nation ought to be governed by reason alone, and to allow no other worship but that of reason. Chaumette was neither vulgar, nor malignant, nor ambitious,

like Hebert. He did not seek, by exaggerating the prevailing opinions, to supplant the actual leaders of the Revolution, but, destitute of political views, full of a commonplace philosophy, possessed with an extraordinary propensity for declamation, he preached up, with the zeal and the devout pride of a missionary, good morals, industry, the patriotic virtues, and lastly, reason, always abstaining from the mention of the name of God. He had inveighed with vehemence against the plunder of the shops; he had severely reprimanded the women who neglected their household concerns to take a part in political commotions, and he had had the courage to order their club to be shut up; he had provoked the abolition of mendicity and the establishment of public workshops for the purpose of giving employment to the poor; he had thundered against prostitution, and prevailed on the commune to prohibit the profession of women of the town, usually tolerated as inevitable. These unfortunate creatures were forbidden to appear in public, or even to carry on their deplorable trade in the interior of houses. Chaumette said that they belonged to monarchical and Catholic countries, where there were idle citizens and unmarried priests, and that industry and marriage ought to expel them from republics.

Chaumette, taking therefore the initiative in the name of that system of reason, launched out at the commune against the publicity of the Catholic worship.* He insisted that this was a privilege which that communion ought no more to enjoy than any other, and that, if each sect had that faculty, the streets and public places would soon become the theatre of the most ridiculous farces. As the commune was invested with the local police, he obtained a resolution, on the 23rd of Vendemiaire (October the 14th) that the ministers of no religion should be allowed to exercise their worship out of the temples appropriated to it. He caused new funeral ceremonies for the purpose of paying the last duties to the dead to be instituted. The friends and relatives alone were to accompany the coffin. All the religious signs were suppressed in cemeteries, and to be replaced by a statue of Sleep, after the example of what Fouché had done in the department of the Allier. Instead of cypress and doleful shrubs, the burial-grounds were to be planted with such as were more cheerful and more fragrant. "Let the beauty and the perfume of the flowers," said Chaumette, "excite more soothing ideas. I would fain, if it were possible, be able to inhale in the scent of the rose the spirit of my father!" All the outward signs of religion were entirely abolished. It was also decided in the same resolution, and likewise at the instigation of Chaumette,

* "Pache, Hebert, and Chaumette, the leaders of the municipality, publicly expressed their determination to dethrone the King of heaven, as well as the kings of the earth."—*Lacretelle.* E.

that there should not be sold in the streets "any kinds of jugglery, such as holy napkins, St. Veronica's handkerchiefs, Ecce Homos, crosses, Agnus Deis, Virgins, bodies and rings of St. Hubert, or any powders, medicinal waters, or other adulterated drugs." The image of the Virgin was every where suppressed, and all the Madonnas in niches at the corners of streets were taken down to make room for busts of Marat and Lepelletier.

Anacharsis Clootz,* the same Prussian baron, who, possessing an income of one hundred thousand livres, had left his own country to come to Paris, as the representative, he said, of the human race; who had figured at the first federation in 1790, at the head of the self-styled envoys of all nations; and who had afterwards been elected deputy to the National Convention—Anacharsis Clootz incessantly preached up a universal republic and the worship of reason. Full of these two ideas, he was continually developing them in his writings, and holding them forth to all nations, sometimes in manifestoes, at others in addresses. To him deism appeared as culpable as Catholicism itself. He never ceased to propose the destruction of tyrants and of all sorts of gods, and insisted that, among mankind enfranchised and enlightened, nothing ought to be left but pure reason, and its beneficent and immortal worship. To the Convention he said, "I had no other way of escaping from all the tyrants, sacred and profane, but continual travel; I was in Rome when they would have imprisoned me in Paris, and in London when they would have burned me in Lisbon. It was by thus running hither and thither, from one extremity of Europe to the other, that I escaped the alguazils and the spies, all the masters and all the servants. My emigrations ceased, when the emigration of villains commenced. The metropolis of the globe, Paris, was the proper post for the orator of the human race. I have not quitted it since 1789. It was then that I redoubled my zeal against the pretended sovereigns of earth and heaven. I boldly preached that there is no other God but Nature, no other sovereign but the human race, the people-god. The people is sufficient for itself. It will subsist for ever. Nature kneels not before herself. Judge of the majesty of the free human race by that of the French people, which is but a fraction of it. Judge of the infallibility of the whole, by the sagacity of a portion, which singly makes the enslaved world tremble. The committee of *surveillance* of the universal republic will have less to do than the committee of the smallest section of Paris. A general con-

* "This personage, whose brain was none of the soundest by nature, disgusted with his baptismal name, had adopted that of the Scythian philosopher, and, uniting it with his own Teutonic family appellation, entitled himself—Anacharsis Clootz, Orator of the human race! He was, in point of absurdity, one of the most inimitable characters in the Revolution."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

fidence will succeed a universal distrust. In my commonwealth there will be few public offices, few taxes, and no executioner. Reason will unite all men into a single representative bundle, without any other tie than epistolary correspondence. Citizens, religion is the only obstacle to this Utopia. It is high time to destroy it. The human race has burned its swaddling-clothes. 'The people have no vigour,' said one of the ancients, 'but on the day that follows a bad reign.' Let us profit by this first day, which we will prolong till the morrow for the deliverance of the world."

The requisitions of Chaumette revived all the hopes of Clootz. He called upon Gobel,* an intriguer of Porentruy, who had become constitutional bishop of the department of Paris, by that rapid movement which had elevated Chaumette, Hebert, and so many others to the highest municipal functions. He persuaded him that the moment had arrived for abjuring, in the face of France, the Catholic religion, of which he was the chief pontiff; that his example would be followed by all the ministers of that communion; that it would enlighten the nation, produce a general abjuration, and thus oblige the Convention to decree the abolition of all religions. Gobel would not precisely abjure his creed, and thereby declare that he had been deceiving men all his life; but he consented to go and abdicate the episcopacy. Gobel then prevailed upon the majority of his vicars to follow his example. It was agreed with Chaumette and the members of the department that all the constituted authorities of Paris should accompany Gobel, and form part of the deputation, to give it the more solemnity.

On the 17th of Brumaire (November 7, 1793) Momoro, Pache, L'Huillier, Chaumette, Gobel, and all the vicars, repaired to the Convention. Chaumette and L'Huillier, both *procureurs*, one of the commune, the other of the department, informed it that the clergy of Paris had come to pay a signal and sincere

* "J. B. Gobel, Bishop of Lydda, suffragan of the Bishop of Bâle, and deputy to the States-general, embraced the popular party, and became odious and often ridiculous during the Revolution. Though born with some abilities, his age and his weak character made him the mere tool of conspirators. In 1791 he was appointed constitutional Bishop of Paris, and was the consecrater of the new bishops. Being admitted into the Jacobin club, he distinguished himself by his violent motions, and was one of the first to assume the dress of a *sans-culotte*. He did not even fear, at the age of seventy, to declare at the bar of the Convention, that the religion which he had professed from his youth, was founded on error and falsehood. He was one of the first who sacrificed to the goddess of Reason, and lent his church for this absurd festival. This farce soon became the pretext for his ruin. He was arrested as an accomplice of the faction of the Atheists, and condemned to death in 1794. Gobel was born at Hanne, in the department of the Upper Rhine. During his confinement, he devoted himself again to his former religious exercises; and, on his road to the scaffold, earnestly recited the prayers of the dying."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

homage to reason. They then introduced Gobel. With a red cap on his head, and holding in his hand his mitre, his crosier, his cross, and his ring, he thus addressed the assembly. "Born a plebeian, *curé* of Porentruy, sent by my clergy to the first assembly, then raised to the archbishopric of Paris, I have never ceased to obey the people. I accepted the functions which that people formerly bestowed on me, and now, in obedience to it, I am come to resign them. I suffered myself to be made a bishop when the people wanted bishops. I cease to be so now, when the people no longer desire to have any." Gobel added that all his clergy, actuated by the same sentiments, charged him to make the like declaration for them. As he finished speaking, he laid down his mitre, his crosier, and his ring. His clergy ratified his declaration.* The president replied, with great tact, that the Convention had decreed freedom of religion, that it had left it unshackled to each sect, that it had never interfered in their creeds, but that it applauded those who, enlightened by reason, came to renounce their superstitions and their errors.

Gobel had not abjured either the priesthood or Catholicism. He had not dared to declare himself an impostor who had come to confess his lies, but others stretched this declaration for him. "Renouncing," said the *curé* of Vaugirard, "the prejudices which fanaticism had infused into my heart and my mind, I lay down my letters of ordination." Several bishops and *curés*, members of the Convention, followed this example, and laid down their letters of ordination, or abjured Catholicism. Julien of Toulouse abdicated also his quality of Protestant minister. These abdications were hailed with tumultuous applause by the Assembly and the tribunes. At this moment, Gregoire,† Bishop of Blois, entered the hall. He was informed of what had passed,

* "Terrified by a night-scene, which David, Clootz, and Peraud, ex-member for the department and a professed atheist, had played off in his apartment, Gobel went to the Assembly at the head of his staff—that is to say, of his grand vicars—to abjure the Catholic worship. Gobel at heart was certainly nothing less than a freethinker."—*Prudhomme*. E.

† "H. Gregoire, was born in 1750, and was one of the first of his order who went to the hall of the *tiers-état*. He was also the first ecclesiastic who took the constitutional oath, and was elected Bishop of Blois. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, and was soon afterwards chosen president. He voted for the King's death. When Gobel, the constitutional Bishop of Paris, came to the bar to abjure the Catholic religion and the episcopal functions, Gregoire withstood the example, and even ventured to blame his conduct. In 1794 he made several reports on the irreparable injury which Terrorism had done to the arts and to letters. In 1799 he entered into the newly-created legislative body, and, in the following year, was appointed president of it. Gregoire deserved well of the sciences by the energy with which he pleaded the cause of men of letters and of artists, during the revolutionary regime. He published several works, and in 1803 travelled into England, and afterwards into Germany."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

and was exhorted to follow the example of his colleagues. "Is it," said he, "the income attached to the episcopal functions that you wish me to resign? I resign it without regret. Is it my quality of priest and bishop? I cannot strip myself of that; my religion forbids me. I appeal to the freedom of religion." The words of Gregoire finished amidst tumult, but they did not check the explosion of joy which this scene had excited. The deputation quitted the Assembly attended by an immense concourse, and proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, to receive the congratulations of the commune.

This example once given, it was no difficult matter to excite all the sections of Paris and all the communes of the republic to follow it. The sections soon met, and came one after another to declare that they renounced the errors of superstition, and that they acknowledged no other worship than that of reason. The section of L'Homme-Armé declared that it acknowledged no other worship than that of truth and reason, no other fanaticism than that of liberty and equality, no other doctrine than that of fraternity and of the republican laws decreed since the 31st of May, 1793. The section of La Réunion intimated that it would make a bonfire of all the confessionals and of all the books used by the Catholics, and that it would shut up the church of St. Mery. That of William Tell renounced for ever the worship of error and imposture. That of Mutius Scævola abjured the Catholic religion, and declared that next Décade it should celebrate at the high altar of St. Sulpice the inauguration of the busts of Marat, Lepelletier, and Mutius Scævola; that of Les Piques that it would adore no other God than the God of liberty and equality; and that of the Arsenal also renounced the Catholic religion.

Thus the sections, taking the initiative, abjured the Catholic faith as the established religion, and seized its edifices and its treasures, as pertaining to the communal domains. The deputies on mission in the departments had already incited a great number of communes to seize the moveable property of the churches, which, they said, was not necessary for religion, and which, moreover, like all public property, belonged to the state, and might therefore be applied to its wants. Fouché had sent several chests of plate from the department of the Allier. A great quantity had arrived from other departments. This example, followed in Paris and the environs, soon brought piles of wealth to the bar of the Convention. All the churches were stripped, and the communes sent deputations with the gold and silver accumulated in the shrines of saints, or in places consecrated by ancient devotion. They went in procession to the Convention, and the rabble indulging their fondness for the burlesque, caricatured in the most ludicrous manner the ceremonies of religion, and took as much delight in

profaning, as they had formerly done in celebrating, them. Men, wearing surplices and copes, came singing Hallelujahs, and dancing the Carmagnole, to the bar of the Convention; there they deposited the host, the boxes in which it was kept, and the statues of gold and silver; they made burlesque speeches, and sometimes addressed the most singular apostrophes to the saints themselves. "O you!" exclaimed a deputation from St. Denis, "O you, instruments of fanaticism, blessed saints of all kinds, be at length patriots, rise *en masse*, serve the country by going to the Mint to be melted, and give us in this world that felicity which you wanted to obtain for us in the other!" These scenes of merriment were followed all at once by scenes of reverence and devotion. The same persons who trampled under foot the saints of Christianity bore an awning; the curtains were thrown back, and, pointing to the busts of Marat and Lepelletier, "These," said they, "are not gods made by men, but the images of worthy citizens assassinated by the slaves of kings." They then filed off before the Convention, again singing Hallelujahs and dancing the Carmagnole; carried the rich spoils of the altars to the Mint, and placed the revered busts of Marat and Lepelletier in the churches, which thenceforth became the temples of a new worship.

At the requisition of Chaumette, it was resolved that the metropolitan church of Notre-Dame should be converted into a republican edifice, called the *Temple of Reason*. A festival was instituted for all the Décadis, to supersede the Catholic ceremonies of Sunday. The mayor, the municipal officers, the public functionaries, repaired to the Temple of Reason, where they read the declaration of the rights of man and the constitutional act, analyzed the news from the armies, and related the brilliant actions which had been performed during the décade. A *mouth of truth*, resembling the mouths of denunciation which formerly existed at Venice, was placed in the Temple of Reason, to receive *opinions, censures, advice*, that might be useful to the public. These letters were examined and read every Décadi; a moral discourse was delivered, after which pieces of music were performed, and the ceremonies concluded with the singing of republican hymns. There were in the temple two tribunes, one for aged men, the other for pregnant women, with these inscriptions: *Respect for old age—Respect and attention for pregnant women.*

The first festival of Reason was held with pomp on the 20th of Brumaire (the 10th of November). It was attended by all the sections, together with the constituted authorities. A young woman represented the goddess of Reason. She was the wife of Momoro, the printer, one of the friends of Vincent, Ronsin, Chaumette, Hebert, and the like. She was dressed in a white drapery; a mantle of azure blue hung from her shoulders; her

flowing hair was covered with the cap of liberty. She sat upon an antique seat, intwined with ivy and borne by four citizens. Young girls dressed in white, and crowned with roses, preceded and followed the goddess. Then came the busts of Lepelletier and Marat, musicians, troops, and all the armed sections. Speeches were delivered, and hymns sung in the Temple of Reason;* they then proceeded to the Convention, and Chaumette spoke in these terms:

"Legislators! Fanaticism has given way to reason. Its bleared eyes could not endure the brilliancy of the light. This day an immense concourse has assembled beneath those Gothic vaults, which, for the first time, re-echoed the truth. There the French have celebrated the only true worship, that of liberty, that of reason. There we have formed wishes for the prosperity of the arms of the republic. There we have abandoned inanimate idols for reason, for that animated image, the masterpiece of Nature." As he uttered these words, Chaumette pointed to the living goddess of Reason. The young and beautiful woman descended from her seat and went up to the president, who gave her the fraternal kiss amidst universal bravoes and shouts of *The Republic for ever! Reason for ever! Down with fanaticism!* The Convention, which had not yet taken any part in these representations, was hurried away, and obliged to follow the procession, which returned to the Temple of Reason, and there sang a patriotic hymn. An important piece of intelligence, that of the retaking of Noirmoutier from Charette,† increased the general joy, and furnished a more real motive for it than the abolition of fanaticism.

It is impossible to view with any other feeling than disgust these scenes without devotion, without sincerity, exhibited by a nation which changed its worship, without comprehending either the old system, or that which they substituted for it. When is the populace sincere? When is it capable of comprehending the dogmas which are given to it to believe? What does it in general

* "Beauty without modesty was seen usurping the place of the Holy of Holies."—*Beauregard.* E.

† "When the republicans retook Noirmoutier, they found M. d'Elbée at death's door from his wounds. His wife might have got away, but she would not leave him. When the republicans entered his chamber, they said, 'So, this is d'Elbée!'—'Yes,' replied he, 'you see your greatest enemy, and, had I strength to fight, you should not have taken Noirmoutier; or at least you should have purchased it dearly.' They kept him five days, and loaded him with insults. At length, exhausted by suffering, he said, 'Gentlemen, it is time to conclude your examination—let me die.' As he was unable to stand, they placed him in an arm-chair, where he was shot. His wife, on seeing him carried to execution, fainted away. A republican officer showing some pity, supported her, but he also was threatened to be shot if he did not leave her. She was put to death the next day. The republicans then filled a street with fugitives and suspected inhabitants, and massacred the whole."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

want? Large assemblages, which gratify its fondness for public meetings, symbolic spectacles, which incessantly remind it of a power superior to its own; lastly, festivals in which homage is paid to those who have made the nearest approach to the good, the fair, the great—in short, temples, ceremonies, and saints. Here were temples, Reason, Marat, and Lepelletier!* It was assembled, it adored a mysterious power, it celebrated those two men. All its wants were satisfied, and it gave way to them on this occasion no otherwise than it always gives way.

If then we survey the state of France at this period, we shall see that never were more restraints imposed at once on that inert and patient part of the population on which political experiments are made. People dared no longer express any opinion. They were afraid to visit their friends, lest they might be compromised with them, and lose liberty and even life. A hundred thousand arrests and some hundreds of condemnations, rendered imprisonment and the scaffold ever present to the minds of twenty-five millions of French. They had to bear heavy taxes. If, by a perfectly arbitrary classification, they were placed on the list of the rich, they lost for that year a portion of their income. Sometimes, at the requisition of a representative or of some agent or other, they were obliged to give up their crops, or their most valuable effects in gold and silver. They durst no longer display any luxury, or indulge in noisy pleasures. They were no longer permitted to use metallic money, but obliged to take and give a depreciated paper, with which it was difficult to procure such things as they needed. They were forced, if shopkeepers, to sell at a fictitious price, if buyers, to put up with the worst commodities, because the best shunned the *maximum* and the assignats; sometimes, indeed, they had to do without either, because good and bad were alike concealed. They had but one sort of black bread, common to the rich as to the poor, for which they were obliged to contend at the doors of the bakers, after waiting for several hours. Lastly, the names of the weights and measures, the names of the months and days, were changed; there were but three Sundays instead of four; and the women and the aged men were deprived of those religious ceremonies which they had been accustomed to attend all their lives.†

* "Every tenth day a revolutionary leader ascended the pulpit, and preached atheism to the bewildered audience. Marat was universally deified, and even the instrument of death was sanctified by the name of the Holy Guillotine! On all the public cemeteries this inscription was placed—Death is an eternal sleep. The comedian Monert, in the church of St. Roche, carried impiety to its height. 'God, if you exist,' said he, 'avenge your injured name! I bid you defiance. You remain silent. You dare not launch your thunders. Who after this will believe in your existence?'"—*Alison.* E.

† "The services of religion were now universally abandoned. The pulpits

Never had power overthrown with greater violence the habits of a people. To threaten all lives, to decimate all fortunes, to fix compulsorily the standard of the exchanges, to give new names to all things, to abolish the ceremonies of religion, is indisputably the most atrocious of tyrannies, if we do not take into account the danger of the state, the inevitable crisis of commerce, and the spirit of system inseparable from the spirit of innovation.

were deserted throughout the revolutionary districts; baptisms ceased; the burial service was no longer heard; the sick received no communion, the dying no consolation. The village bells were silent. Sunday was obliterated. Infancy entered the world without a blessing; age quitted it without a hope."—*Alison*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

RETURN OF DANTON — PART OF THE MOUNTAINEERS TAKE PITY ON THE PROSCRIBED, AND DECLARE AGAINST THE NEW WORSHIP — DANTONISTS AND HEBERTISTS—POLICY OF THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE — ROBESPIERRE DEFENDS DANTON, AND CARRIES A MOTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE NEW WORSHIP—LAST IMPROVEMENTS MADE IN THE DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENT—ENERGY OF THE COMMITTEE AGAINST ALL THE PARTIES — ARREST OF RONSIN, HEBERT, THE FOUR DEPUTIES WHO FABRICATED THE SPURIOUS DECREE, AND THE ALLEGED AGENTS OF THE FOREIGN POWERS.

SINCE the fall of the Girondins, the Mountaineer party, left alone and victorious, had begun to be disunited. The daily increasing excesses of the Revolution tended to complete this division, and an absolute rupture was near at hand. Many deputies had been moved by the fate of the Girondins, of Bailly, of Brunet, and of Houchard. Others censured the violence committed in regard to religion, and deemed it impolitic and dangerous. They said that new superstitions would start up in the place of those which people were anxious to destroy; that the pretended worship of reason was no better than atheism; that atheism could not be adapted to a nation; and that these extravagances must be instigated and rewarded by the foreign enemy. On the contrary, the party which held sway at the Cordeliers and at the commune, which had Hebert for its writer, Ronsin and Vincent for its leaders, Chaumette and Clootz for its apostles, insisted that its adversaries meant to resuscitate a moderate faction, and to produce fresh dissensions in the republic.

Danton had returned from his retirement. He did not express his sentiments, but the leader of a party would in vain attempt to conceal them. They pass from mouth to mouth, and soon become manifest to all minds. It was well known that he would fain have prevented the execution of the Girondins, and that he had been deeply moved by their tragic end. It was well known that, though a partisan and an inventor of revolutionary means, he began to condemn the blind and ferocious employment of them; that he was of opinion that violence ought not to be prolonged beyond the existence of danger; and that, at the close of the current campaign, and after the entire expulsion of the enemy, it was his intention to endeavour to re-establish the reign of mild and equitable laws. None dared yet attack him in

the tribunes of the clubs. Hebert dared not insult him in his paper of Père Duchesne; but the most insidious rumours were orally circulated; insinuations were thrown out against his integrity; the peculations in Belgium were referred to with more boldness than ever; and some had even gone so far as to assert, during his seclusion at Arcis-sur-Aube, that he had emigrated and carried his wealth along with him. With him were associated, as no better than himself, his friend Camille-Desmoulins, who had participated in his pity for the Girondins, and defended Dillon and Philippeaux, who had just returned from La Vendée, enraged against the disorganizers, and quite ready to denounce Ronsin and Rossignol. In his party were likewise classed all those who had in any way displeased the ardent revolutionists, and their number began to be very considerable.

Julien of Toulouse, who was already strongly suspected on account of his connexion with d'Espagnac and the contractors, had completely committed himself by a report on the federalist administrations, in which he strove to palliate the faults of most of them. No sooner was it delivered, than the indignant Cordeliers and Jacobins obliged him to retract it. They made inquiries concerning his private life; they discovered that he lived with stockjobbers, and cohabited with a *ci-devant* countess, and they declared him to be at once dissolute and a moderate. Fabre d'Eglantine had all at once changed his situation, and lived in a higher style than he had ever before been known to do. The capuchin Chabot, who, on espousing the cause of the Revolution, had nothing but his ecclesiastical pension, had also lately begun to display expensive furniture, and married the young sister of the two Freys, with a dower of two hundred thousand livres. This sudden change of fortune excited suspicions against these recently enriched deputies, and it was not long before a proposition which they made to the Convention completed their ruin. Osselin, a deputy, had just been arrested, on a charge of having concealed a female emigrant. Fabre, Chabot, Julien, and Delaunay, who were not easy on their own account; Bazire and Thuriot, who had nothing wherewith to reproach themselves, but who perceived with alarm that even members of the Convention were not spared, proposed a decree purporting that no deputy could be arrested till he had been first heard at the bar. This decree was adopted; but all the clubs and the Jacobins inveighed against it, and alleged that it was an attempt to renew the *inviolability*. They caused a report to be made upon it, and commenced the strictest inquiry concerning those who had proposed it, their conduct, and the origin of their sudden wealth. Julien, Fabre, Chabot, Delaunay, Bazire, Thuriot, stripped of their popularity in a few days, were classed among the party of equivocal and moderate men. Hebert loaded them with the

grossest abuse in his paper, and delivered them up to the lowest of the populace.

Four or five other persons shared the same fate, though hitherto acknowledged to be excellent patriots. They were Proly, Pereyra, Gusman, Dubuisson, and Desfieux. Natives almost all of them of foreign countries, they had come, like the two Freys and Clootz, and thrown themselves into the French Revolution, out of enthusiasm, and probably, also, from a desire to make their fortune. Nobody cared who or what they were, so long as they appeared to be zealous votaries of the Revolution. Proly, who was a native of Brussels, had been sent with Pereyra and Desfieux to Dumouriez, to discover his intentions. They drew from him an explanation of them, and then went, as we have related, and denounced him to the Convention and to the Jacobins. So far all was right; but they had also been employed by Lebrun, because, being foreigners and well-informed men, they were capable of rendering good service in the foreign department. In their intercourse with Lebrun they had learned to esteem him, and they had defended him. Proly had been well acquainted with Dumouriez, and, notwithstanding the defection of that general, he had persisted in extolling his talents, and asserting that he might have been retained for the republic. Lastly, almost all of them, possessing a better knowledge of the neighbouring countries, had censured the application of the Jacobin system to Belgium and to the provinces united with France. Their expressions were noted, and when a general distrust led to the notion of the secret interference of a foreign faction, people began to suspect them, and to call to mind the language which they had held. It was known that Proly was a natural son of Kaunitz; he was supposed to be the principal leader, and they were all metamorphosed into spies of Pitt and Coburg. Rage soon knew no bounds, and the very exaggeration of their patriotism, which they deemed likely to justify them, only served to compromise them still more. They were confounded with the party of the equivocal men, the moderates. Whenever Danton or his friends had any remark to make on the faults of the ministerial agents, or on the violence exercised against religion, the party of Hebert, Vincent, and Ronsin, replied by crying out against moderation, corruption, and the foreign faction.

As usual, the moderates flung back this accusation to their adversaries, saying, "It is you who are the accomplices of these foreigners; your connexion with them is proved, as well by the common violence of your language, as by the determination to overturn every thing, and to carry matters to extremities. Look," added they, "at that commune, which arrogates to itself a legislative authority, and passes laws under the modest title of resolutions; which regulates every thing, the police, the markets,

and public worship; which, at its own good pleasure, substitutes one religion for another, supersedes ancient superstitions by new superstitions, preaches up atheism, and causes its example to be followed by all the municipalities of the republic; look at those offices of the war department, whence issue a multitude of agents, who spread themselves over the provinces, to vie with the representatives, to practise the greatest oppressions, and to decry the Revolution by their conduct; look at that commune, at those offices—what do they mean but to usurp the legislative and executive authority, to dispossess the Convention and the committees, and to dissolve the government? Who can urge them on to this goal but the foreign enemy?

Amidst these agitations and these quarrels, it behoved authority to pursue a vigorous course. Robespierre thought, with the whole committee, that these reciprocal accusations were extremely dangerous. His policy, as we have already seen, had consisted, ever since the 31st of May, in preventing a new revolutionary outbreak, in rallying opinion around the Convention, and the Convention around the committee, in order to create an energetic power; and, to this end, he had made use of the Jacobins, who were all-powerful upon public opinion. These new charges against accredited patriots, such as Danton and Camille-Desmoulins, appeared to him very dangerous. He was afraid that no reputation would be able to stand against men's imaginations when once let loose; he was apprehensive lest the violence done to religion might alienate part of France, and cause the Revolution to be regarded as atheistical; lastly, he fancied that he beheld the hand of the foreign foe in this vast confusion. He therefore took good care to seize the opportunity which Hebert soon afforded him, to explain his sentiments on this subject to the Jacobins.

The intentions of Robespierre had transpired. It was whispered about that he was going to attack Pache,* Hebert, Chaumette, and Clootz, the author of the movement against religion. Proly, Desfieux, and Pereyra, already compromised and threatened, resolved to unite their cause with that of Pache, Chaumette, and Hebert. They called upon them, and told them that there was a conspiracy against the best patriots; that they were all equally in danger, that they ought to support and reciprocally defend each other. Hebert then went to the Jacobins, on the 1st of Frimaire (November 21, 1793), and complained of a plan of disunion tending to divide the patriots. "Wherever I go," said he, "I meet with people who congratulate me on not being yet arrested. It is reported that Robespierre intends to denounce me, Chaumette, and Pache. As for me, who put myself forward every day for the interest of the country, and

* "Pache was a man who was more fatal to France, than even a hostile army."—*Mercier.* E.

say every thing that comes into my head, the rumour may have some foundation; but Pache! .... I know the high esteem which Robespierre has for him, and I fling far from me such an idea. It has been said, too, that Danton has emigrated, that he has gone to Switzerland, laden with the spoils of the people. .... I met him this morning in the Tuileries, and, since he is in Paris, he ought to come to the Jacobins, and explain himself in a brotherly manner. It is a duty which all the patriots owe to themselves to contradict the injurious reports which are circulated respecting them." Hebert then stated that he learned part of these reports from Dubuisson, who insisted on revealing to him a conspiracy against the patriots; and, according to the usual custom of throwing all blame upon the vanquished, he added that the cause of the troubles was in the accomplices of Brissot, who were still living, and in the Bourbons, who were still in the Temple. Robespierre immediately mounted the tribune. "Is it true," said he, "that our most dangerous enemies are the impure remnants of the race of our tyrants? I vote in my heart that the race of tyrants disappear from the earth; but can I shut my eyes to the state of my country so completely as to believe that this event would suffice to extinguish the flames of those conspiracies which are consuming us? Whom shall we persuade that the punishment of the despicable sister of Capet would awe our enemies, more than that of Capet himself and of his guilty partner?

"Is it true that another cause of our calamities is fanaticism? Fanaticism!—it is dying; nay, I may say, it is dead. In directing, for some days past, all our energy against it, are not we diverting our attention from real dangers? You are afraid of the priests, and they are eagerly abdicating their titles, and exchanging them for those of municipals, of administrators, and even of presidents of popular societies. Formerly, they were strongly attached to their ministry, when it produced them an income of seventy thousand livres; they abdicated it when it yielded them no more than six thousand. Yes; fear not their fanaticism, but their ambition; not the dress which they did wear, but the new hide which they have put on. Fear not the old superstition, but the new and false superstition, which men feign to embrace in order to ruin us!"

Grappling at once the question of religion, Robespierre thus proceeded:

"Let citizens animated by a pure zeal deposit on the altar of the country the useless and pompous monuments of superstition, that they may be rendered subservient to the triumphs of liberty: the country and reason smile at these offerings; but what right have aristocracy and hypocrisy to mingle their influence with that of civism? What right have men, hitherto unknown in the career of the Revolution, to seek amidst all these events the means of usurping a false popularity, of hurry-

ing the very patriots into false measures, and of throwing disturbance and discord among us? What right have they to violate the liberty of religion in the name of liberty, and to attack fanaticism with a new fanaticism? What right have they to make the solemn homage paid to pure truth degenerate into wearisome and ridiculous farces?

"It has been supposed that, in accepting the civic offerings, the Convention has proscribed the Catholic worship. No, the Convention has taken no such step, and never will take it. Its intention is to uphold the liberty of worship which it has proclaimed, and to repress at the same time all those who shall abuse it to disturb public order. It will not allow the peaceful ministers of the different religions to be persecuted, and it will punish them severely, whenever they shall dare to avail themselves of their functions to mislead the citizens, and to arm prejudice or royalism against the republic.

"There are men who would fain go further; who, upon pretext of destroying superstition, would fain make a sort of religion of atheism itself. Every philosopher, every individual, is at liberty to adopt on that subject what opinion he pleases; whoever would make a crime of this is a madman; but the public man, the legislator, would be a hundred times more insane, who should adopt such a system. The National Convention abhors it. The Convention is not a maker of books and of systems. It is a political and popular body. Atheism is *aristocratic*. The idea of a great Being, who watches over oppressed innocence and who punishes triumphant guilt, is quite popular. The people, the unfortunate, applaud me. If there are any who censure, they must belong to the rich and to the guilty. I have been from my college years a very indifferent Catholic; but I have never been a cold friend, or an unfaithful defender of humanity. I am on that account only the more attached to the moral and political ideas which I have here expounded to you. *If God did not exist, it would behove man to invent him.*"*

Robespierre, after making this profession of faith, imputed to the foreign foe the persecutions exercised against religion, and the calumnies circulated against the best patriots. Robespierre, who was extremely distrustful, and who had supposed the Girondins to be royalists, was a firm believer in a foreign faction, which, as we have observed, consisted at most of a few spies sent to the armies, certain bankers who were the agents of

* "Robespierre, with all his fanaticism in favour of democracy, felt the necessity, as strongly as any man in France, both of some religious impressions to form a curb upon the passions of the people, and of a strong central government to check their excesses. He early felt a horror of the infidel atrocities of the municipality; and saw that such principles, if persisted in, would utterly disorganize society throughout France. With the sanguinary spirit of the times, he resolved to effect it by their extermination."—*Alison.* E.

stockjobbers, and correspondents of the emigrants. "The foreigners," said he, "have two sorts of armies: the one on our frontiers is powerless and nearly ruined; the other, the more dangerous of the two, is in the midst of us. It is an army of spies, of hireling knaves, who introduce themselves every where, even into the bosom of the popular societies. It is this faction which has persuaded Hebert that I meant to cause Pache, Chaumette, Hebert, the whole commune, to be arrested. I persecute Pache, whose simple and modest virtue I have always admired and defended!—I, who have fought for him against a Brissot and his accomplices!" Robespierre praised Pache, but took no notice of Hebert. He merely said that he had not forgotten the services of the commune in the days when liberty was in danger. Then, launching out against what he called the foreign faction, he hurled the bolts of the Jacobins at Proly, Dubuisson, Pereyra, and Desfieux. He related their history, he depicted them as the agents of Lebrun and of the foreign powers, employed to imbitter animosities, to divide the patriots, and to inflame them against one another. From the manner in which he expressed himself, it was obvious that the hatred which he felt for old friends of Lebrun, had no small share in producing his distrust. On his motion, all four were expelled from the society, amidst the most tumultuous applause, and he proposed a purifying scrutiny for all the Jacobins.

Thus Robespierre had hurled an anathema at the new worship, given a severe lesson to all the firebrands, said nothing very consolatory to Hebert, not committed himself so far as to praise that filthy writer, and directed the whole fury of the storm upon foreigners, who had the misfortune to be friends of Lebrun, to admire Dumouriez, and to censure our political system in the conquered countries. Lastly, he had arrogated to himself the recomposition of the society, by obtaining the adoption of his motion for a purifying scrutiny.

During the succeeding days, Robespierre followed up his system, and read letters to the Jacobins, some anonymous, others intercepted, proving that foreigners, if they did not produce, at least rejoiced at, the extravagances in regard to religion, and the calumnies in regard to the best patriots. Danton had received from Hebert a sort of challenge to explain himself. He would not do so at first, lest it should appear as though he were obeying a summons; but, a fortnight afterwards, he seized a favourable occasion for addressing the Assembly. A proposition had been brought forward that all the popular societies should be furnished with a place for meeting at the expense of the state. On this subject he made various observations, and thence took occasion to say that, if the constitution ought to be lulled to sleep while the people strikes and terrifies the enemies of its revolutionary operations, it was nevertheless right to beware of those who would urge that same people beyond the bounds of

the Revolution. Coupé of the Oise replied to Danton, and distorted, whilst opposing, his ideas. Danton immediately reascended the tribune, amidst some murmurs. He then challenged those who had any thing to allege against him to bring forward their charges, that he might reply to them publicly. He complained of the disapprobation which was expressed in his presence. "Have I then lost," he exclaimed, "those features which characterize the face of a free man?" As he uttered these words, he shook that head which had been so often seen, so often encountered, amid the storms of the Revolution, and which had always encouraged the daring of the republicans, and struck terror into the aristocrats. "Am I no longer," he continued, "the same man who was at your side in every critical moment? Am I no longer that man so persecuted, so well known to you—that man whom you have so often embraced as your friend, and with whom you have sworn to die in the same dangers?" He then reminded the Assembly that he was the defender of Marat, and was thus obliged to cover himself, as it were, with the shade of that creature whom he had formerly protected and disdained. "You will be surprised," said he, "when I shall make you acquainted with my private conduct, to see that the prodigious fortune which my enemies and yours have attributed to me is dwindled down to the very small portion of property which I have always possessed. I defy malice to furnish any proof against me. Its utmost efforts will not be able to shake me. I will take my stand in face of the people. You shall judge me in its presence. I will no more tear the leaf of my history, than you will tear yours." In conclusion, Danton demanded a commission to investigate the accusations preferred against him. Robespierre then rushed in the utmost haste to the tribune. "Danton," he exclaimed, "demands of you a commission to investigate his conduct. I consent to it, if he thinks that this measure will prove serviceable to him. He wishes the crimes with which he is charged, to be specified. Well, I will specify them. Danton, thou art accused of having emigrated. It has been said that thou hadst gone to Switzerland; that thy indisposition was feigned to disguise thy flight from the people; it has been said that it was thy ambition to be regent under Louis XVII.; that every thing was prepared for proclaiming, at a fixed time, this shoot of the Capets; that thou wert at the head of the conspiracy; that neither Pitt, nor Coburg, nor England, nor Austria, nor Prussia, was our real enemy, but thyself alone; that the Mountain was composed of thine accomplices; that it was silly to bestow a thought on agents sent by the foreign powers; that their conspiracies were fables worthy only of contempt; in short that it was thou, and thou alone, who oughtest to be put to death!"

Universal applause drowned the voice of Robespierre. He re-

sumed: "Knowest thou not, Danton, that the more courage and patriotism a man possesses, the more intent are the enemies of the public weal upon his destruction? Knowest thou not, and know ye not all, citizens, that this method is infallible? Ah! if the defender of liberty were not slandered, this would be a proof that we had no more nobles or priests to combat!" Then alluding to Hebert's paper, in which he, Robespierre, was highly praised, he added: "The enemies of the country seem to overwhelm me exclusively with praises. But I spurn them. Is it supposed that, beside these praises which are repeated in certain papers, I do not perceive the knife with which they would fain slaughter the country.* The cause of the patriots is like that of the tyrants. They are all security for one another. I may be mistaken respecting Danton, but I have seen him in his family; he deserves nothing but praise. In his political relations, I have watched him; a difference of opinion led me to study him with attention, frequently with anger; he was slow, I admit, to suspect Dumouriez; he did not hate Brissot and his accomplices cordially enough; but, if he was not always of the same sentiments as myself, am I thence to conclude that he betrayed the country? No, I always saw him serve it with zeal. Danton wishes to be tried. He is right. Let me be tried too! Let them produce men more patriotic than we are. I would wager that they are nobles, privileged persons, priests. You will there find a marquis, and you will have the exact measure of the patriotism of those who accuse us."

Robespierre then called upon all those who had any thing to allege against Danton to come forward. No one durst speak. Momoro, himself a friend of Hebert's, was the first to remark that, as no person came forward, this was a proof that there was nothing to be alleged against Danton. A member then proposed that the president should give him the fraternal embrace. It was agreed to, and Danton, stepping up to the *bureau*, received the embrace amidst universal applause.

The conduct of Robespierre on this occasion was generous and clever. The danger common to all the old patriots, the ingratitude with which Danton's services were repaid, and, lastly, a decided superiority, had lifted Robespierre above his habitual egotism; and, for this time full of right sentiments, he was more eloquent than it was given to his nature to be. But the service which he had rendered Danton had been more useful to the cause of the government, and of the old patriots who composed it, than to Danton himself, whose popularity was gone. Extinct enthusiasm cannot easily be rekindled; and there was no reason

* "Hebert's municipal faction contained many obscure foreigners, who were supposed, and not without some appearance of truth, to be the agents of England, for the purpose of destroying the republic, by driving it to excess and anarchy."—*Mignet.* E.

to presume that there would again be public dangers great enough to afford Danton, by his courage, the means of retrieving his influence.

Robespierre, prosecuting his work, did not fail to attend every sitting of purification. When it came to Clootz's turn, he was accused of connexions with Vandeniver, the foreign banker. He attempted to justify himself, but Robespierre addressed the society. He reminded it of Clootz's connexions with the Girondins, his rupture with them, owing to a pamphlet entitled "*Neither Roland nor Marat,*" a pamphlet in which he attacked the Mountain as strongly as the Gironde; his extravagant exaggerations, his perseverance in talking of a universal republic, in exciting a rage for conquests, and in compromising France with all Europe. "And how," continued Robespierre, "could M. Clootz interest himself in the welfare of France, when he took so deep an interest in the welfare of Persia and Monomotapa? There is a recent crisis, indeed, of which he may boast. I allude to the movement against the established worship — a movement which, conducted rationally and deliberately, might have produced excellent effects, but the violence of which was liable to do the greatest mischief. M. Clootz had a conference one night with Bishop Gobel. Gobel gave him a promise, and, next day, suddenly changing language and dress, he gave up his letters of ordination. M. Clootz imagined that we should be dupes of these masquerades. No, no; the Jacobins will never regard as a friend of the people this pretended *sans-culotte,* who is a Prussian and a baron, who possesses an income of one hundred thousand livres, who dines with conspirator bankers, and who is the orator, not of the French people, but of the human race."

Clootz was immediately excluded from the society, and, on the motion of Robespierre, it was decided that all nobles, priests, bankers, and foreigners, without distinction, should be excluded.

At the next sitting, it came to the turn of Camille-Desmoulins. He was reproached with his letter to Dillon, and feelings of compassion for the Girondins. "I thought Dillon a brave and a clever man," said Camille, "and I defended him. As for the Girondins, I was peculiarly situated in regard to them. I have always loved and served the republic, but I have frequently been wrong in my notions of those who served it. I adored Mirabeau, I loved Barnave and the Lameths, I admit; but I sacrificed my friendship and my admiration, as soon as I knew that they had ceased to be Jacobins. A most extraordinary fatality decreed that out of sixty revolutionists who signed my marriage contract, only two friends, Danton and Robespierre, are now left. All the others have emigrated or been guillotined. Of this number were seven of the twenty-two. An emotion of sympathy was therefore very pardonable on this occasion. I

have said," added Desmoulins, "that they died as republicans, but as federalist republicans; for I assure you that I believe there were not many royalists among them."

Camille-Desmoulins was beloved for his easy disposition and his natural and original turn of mind. "Camille has made a bad choice of his friends," said a Jacobin; "let us prove to him that we know better how to choose ours, by receiving him with open arms." Robespierre, ever the protector of his old colleagues, but assuming at the same time a tone of superiority, defended Camille-Desmoulins. "He is weak," said he, "and confiding, but he has always been a republican. He loved Mirabeau, Lameth, Dillon, but he has broken his idols as soon as he was undeceived. Let him pursue his career, and be more cautious in future." After this exhortation, Camille was admitted amidst applause. Danton was then admitted without any observation, and Fabre d'Eglantine in his turn, but he had to submit to some questions concerning his fortune, which he was allowed to attribute to his literary talents. This purification was continued, and occupied a long time. It was begun in November, 1793, and lasted several months.

The policy of Robespierre and the government was well known. The energy with which this policy had been manifested, intimidated the restless promoters of the new worship, and they began to think of retracting, and of retracing their steps.* Chaumette, who had the eloquence of a speaker at a club or at a commune, but who had neither the ambition nor the courage of a party-leader, did not by any means pretend to vie with the Convention, and to set himself up for the creator of a new worship. He was anxious, therefore, to seize an occasion for repairing his fault. He resolved to obtain an explanation of the resolution which shut up all the places of worship, and proposed to the commune to declare that it had no intention to cramp religious liberty, and meant not to deprive the professors of any religion of the right to meet in places paid for by them, and maintained at their cost. "Let it not be alleged," said he, "that it is weakness or policy that actuates me. I am equally

* The municipal faction of Chaumette and Hebert had not only struck at the root of religious worship, but they had attempted also to alter the whole existing social code. "The most sacred relations of life," says Mr. Alison, "were at the same period placed on a new footing, suited to the extravagant ideas of the times. Marriage was declared a civil contract, binding only during the pleasure of the contracting parties. Divorce immediately became general; and the corruption of manners reached a height unknown during the worst days of the monarchy. So indiscriminate did concubinage become, that, by a decree of the Convention, bastards were declared entitled to an equal share of the succession with legitimate children. The divorces in Paris in the first three months of 1793 were 562, while the marriages were only 1785—a proportion probably unexampled among mankind! The consequences soon became apparent. Before the era of the Consulate, one half of the whole births in Paris were illegitimate." E.

incapable of the one and the other. It is the conviction that our enemies would fain abuse our zeal, to urge it beyond bounds, and to hurry us into false steps; it is the conviction that, if we prevent the Catholics from exercising their worship publicly, and with the permission of the law, bilious wretches will go and inflame their imaginations, or conspire in caverns. It is this conviction alone that inspires me and induces me to speak." The resolution proposed by Chaumette, and strongly seconded by Pache, the mayor, was at length adopted, with some murmurs, which were soon drowned by general applause. The Convention declared, on its part, that it had never intended by its decrees to shackle religious liberty, and it forbade the plate still remaining in the churches to be touched, since the exchequer had no further need of that kind of aid. From that day, the indecent farces performed by the people ceased in Paris, and the ceremonies of the worship of Reason, which had afforded them so much amusement, were abolished.

Amidst this great confusion, the committee of public welfare felt more keenly every day the necessity of giving increased vigour and promptness, and enforcing more ready obedience, to the supreme authority. From day to day, the experience of obstacles rendered it more skilful, and it kept adding fresh pieces to that revolutionary machine created for the duration of the war. It had already prevented the transfer of power to new and inexperienced hands, by proroguing the Convention, and by declaring the government revolutionary till the peace. At the same time, it had concentrated this power in its hands, by making the revolutionary tribunal, the police, the military operations, and the very distribution of the articles of consumption, dependent on itself. Two months' experience had made it acquainted with the obstacles by which the local authorities, either from excess or want of zeal, clogged the action of the superior authority. The transmission of the decrees was frequently interrupted or delayed, and their promulgation neglected in certain departments. There still remained many of those federalist administrations which had risen in insurrection, and the power of coalescing was not yet forbidden them. If, on the one hand, the departmental administrations exhibited some danger of federalism, the communes, on the other, acting in a contrary spirit, exercised, after the example of that of Paris, a vexatious authority, issued laws, and imposed taxes; the revolutionary committees wielded an arbitrary and inquisitorial power against persons; revolutionary armies, instituted in different localities, completed these particular, tyrannical, petty governments, disunited among themselves, and embarrassing to the superior government. Lastly, the authority of the representatives, added to all the others, increased the confusion of the sovereign powers, for they imposed taxes and issued penal laws, like the communes and the Convention itself.

Billaud-Varennes, in an ill-written but able report, detailed these inconveniences, and caused the decree of the 14th of Frimaire (Dec. 4), to be a model for a provisional, energetic, and absolute government. Anarchy, said the reporter, threatens republics at their birth and in their old age. Let us endeavour to secure ourselves from it. This decree instituted the *Bulletin des Lois*, an admirable invention, the idea of which was perfectly new; for the laws, sent by the Assembly to the ministers, and by the ministers to the local authorities, without any fixed term, without minutes to guarantee their transmission or their arrival, were frequently issued a long time before they were either promulgated or known. According to the new decree, a commission, a printing-office, and a particular kind of paper, were exclusively devoted to the printing and circulation of the laws. The commission, composed of four persons, independent of all authority, free from all other duties, received the law, caused it to be printed, and sent it by post within fixed and invariable terms. The transmission and the delivery were ascertained by the ordinary means of the post; and these movements, thus reduced to a regular system, became infallible. The Convention was afterwards declared the *central point of the government*. Under these words was disguised the sovereignty of the committees, which did every thing for the Convention. The departmental authorities were in some measure abolished; all their political privileges were taken from them, and the only duties left to them, as to the department of Paris on the occasion of the 10th of August, consisted in the assessment of the contributions, the maintenance of the roads, and the superintendence of purely economical matters. Thus these intermediate and too powerful agents between the people and the supreme authority were suppressed. The district and communal administrations alone were suffered to exist, with all their privileges. Every local administration was forbidden to unite itself with others; to remove to a new place; to send out agents, to issue ordinances extending or admitting decrees, or to levy taxes or men. All the revolutionary armies established in the departments were disbanded, and there was to be left only the single revolutionary army established at Paris for the service of the whole republic. The revolutionary committees were obliged to correspond with the districts charged to watch them, and with the committee of general safety. Those of Paris were allowed to correspond only with the committee of general safety, and not with the commune. Representatives were forbidden to levy taxes unless they were approved by the Convention; they were also forbidden to issue penal laws.

Thus all the authorities were brought back to their proper sphere. Any conflict or coalition between them was rendered impossible. They received the laws in an infallible manner. They could neither modify them nor defer their execution. The

two committees still retained their sway. That of public welfare, besides its supremacy over that of general safety, continued to have the diplomatic and the war department, and the universal superintendence of all affairs. It alone could henceforward call itself *committee of public welfare.* No committee in the communes could assume that title.

This new decree concerning the institution of the revolutionary government, though restrictive of the authority of the communes, and even directed against their abuse of power, was received in the commune of Paris with great demonstration of obedience. Chaumette, who affected docility as well as patriotism, made a long speech in praise of the decree. By his awkward eagerness to enter into the system of the supreme authority, he even drew down a reprimand upon himself, and he had the art to disobey, in striving to be too obedient. The new decree placed the revolutionary committees of Paris in direct and exclusive communication with the committee of general safety. In their fiery zeal, they had ventured to arrest people of all sorts. It was alleged that a great number of patriots had been imprisoned by them, and they were said to be filled with what began to be called *ultra-revolutionists.* Chaumette complained to the council-general of their conduct, and proposed to summon them before the commune, in order to give them a severe admonition. Chaumette's motion was adopted. But with his ostentation of obedience, he had forgotten that, according to the new decree, the revolutionary committees of Paris were to correspond with the committee of general safety alone. The committee of public welfare, no more desiring an exaggerated obedience than disobedience, not allowing, above all, the commune to presume to give lessons, even good ones, to committees placed under the superior authority, caused Chaumette's resolution to be annulled, and the committees to be forbidden to meet at the commune. Chaumette received this correction with perfect submission. "Every man," said he to the commune, "is liable to error. I candidly confess that I was wrong. The Convention has annulled my requisition and the resolution adopted on my motion; it has done justice upon the fault which I committed; it is our general mother; let us unite ourselves with it."

With such energy, the Committee was likely to succeed in putting a stop to all the disorderly movements either of zeal or of resistance,* and to produce the greatest possible precision in

* "In his well-known pamphlet entitled the 'Old Cordelier,' Camille-Desmoulins, under the pretence of describing the state of Rome under the emperors, gives the following accurate and spirited sketch of the despotism which subdued all France at this period:—'Every thing under that terrible government was made the groundwork of suspicion. Does a citizen avoid society, and live retired by his fireside? That is to ruminate in private on sinister designs. Is he rich? That renders the danger the greater that he

the action of the government. The *ultra-revolutionists*, compromised and repressed since the movement against religion, received a new check, more severe than any that had preceded it. Ronsin had returned from Lyons, whither he had accompanied Collot-d'Herbois with a detachment of the revolutionary army. He had arrived in Paris at the moment when the report of the sanguinary executions committed in Lyons had excited pity. Ronsin had caused a bill to be posted, which disgusted the Convention. He there stated that, out of the one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants of Lyons, fifteen hundred only were not implicated in the rebellion, that before the end of Frimaire all the guilty would have perished, and that the Rhone would have carried their bodies to Toulon. Other atrocious expressions of his were mentioned. People talked a great deal of the despotism of Vincent in the war-office, and of the conduct of his ministerial agents in the provinces, and their rivalry with the representatives. They repeated various expressions dropped by some of them, indicating a design to cause the executive power to be constitutionally organized.

The energy which Robespierre and the committee had recently displayed encouraged people to speak out against these agitators. In the sitting of the 27th of Frimaire, a beginning was made by complaints of certain revolutionary committees. Lecointre denounced the arrest of a courier of the committee of public welfare by one of the agents of the ministry; Boursault said that, in passing through Longjumeau, he had been stopped by the commune, that he had made known his quality of deputy, and that the commune nevertheless insisted that his passport should be legalized by the agent of the executive council then on the spot. Fabre d'Eglantine denounced Maillard, the leader of the murderers of September, who had been sent to Bordeaux by the executive council, and who was charged with a mission whilst he ought to be expelled from every place; he denounced Ronsin and his placard, at which every body had shuddered; lastly, he denounced Vincent, who had usurped the entire control of the war-office, and declared that he would blow up the Convention, or force it to organize the executive power, as he was determined not to be the valet of the committees. The Convention immediately placed in a state of

will corrupt the citizens by his largesses. Is he poor? None so dangerous as those who have nothing to lose. Is he thoughtful and melancholy? He is revolving what he calls the calamities of his country. Is he gay and dissipated? He is concealing, like Cæsar, ambition under the mask of pleasure. The natural death of a celebrated man is become so rare, that historians transmit it as a matter worthy of record, to future ages. Every day the accuser makes his triumphal entry into the palace of Death, and reaps the rich harvest which is presented to his hands. The tribunals, once the protectors of life and property, have become the mere organs of butchery."

arrest Vincent, secretary-general at war, Ronsin, general of the revolutionary army, Maillard, on a mission at Bordeaux, three agents of the executive power, whose conduct at St. Girons was complained of, and lastly one Mazuel, adjutant in the revolutionary army, who had said that the Convention was conspiring, and that he would spit in the faces of the deputies. The Convention then decreed the penalty of death against the officers of the revolutionary armies illegally formed in the provinces, who should not separate immediately; and lastly, it ordered the executive council to come the following day to justify itself.

This act of energy was a severe mortification to the Cordeliers and provoked explanations at the Jacobins. The latter had not yet spoken out respecting Vincent and Ronsin, but they demanded an inquiry to ascertain the nature of their misdemeanors. The executive council justified itself—most humbly to the Convention. It declared that it never intended to set itself up as a rival to the national representation, and that the arrest of the courier, and the difficulties experienced by Boursault, the deputy were occasioned solely by an order of the committee of public welfare itself, an order which directed all passports and all despatches to be verified.

While Vincent and Ronsin were imprisoned as ultra-revolutionists, the committee pursued severe measures against the party of the equivocals and the stockjobbers. It placed under arrest Proly, Dubuisson, Desfieux, and Pereyra, accused of being agents of the foreign powers and accomplices of all the parties. Lastly, it ordered the four deputies, Bazire, Chabot Delaunay of Angers, and Julien of Toulouse, accused of being moderates and of having made sudden fortunes, to be apprehended in the middle of the night.

We have already seen the history of their clandestine association, and of the forgery which had been the consequence of it We have seen that Chabot, already shaken, was preparing to denounce his colleagues, and to throw the whole blame upon them. The reports circulated respecting his marriage, and the denunciations which Hebert was daily repeating, completely intimidated him, and he hastened to reveal the whole affair to Robespierre. He pretended that he had entered into the plot with no other intention than that of following and denouncing it He attributed this plot to the foreign powers, which, he said strove to corrupt the deputies in order to debase the national representation, and which then employed Hebert and his accomplices to defame them after they had corrupted them. Thus there were, according to him, two branches in the conspiracy, the corrupting branch and the defamatory branch, which concerted together with a view to dishonour and to dissolve the Convention. The participation of the foreign bankers in this intrigue; the language used by Julien and Delaunay, who said

that the Convention would soon finish by devouring itself, and that it was right to make a fortune as speedily as possible; and some intercourse between Hebert's wife and the mistresses of Julien and Delaunay, served Chabot for the groundwork of this fable of a conspiracy with two branches, in which the corrupters and defamers were secretly leagued for the attainment of the same object. Chabot had, however, some scruples left, and justified Bazire. As it was, he himself who had bribed Fabre, and should have incurred a denunciation from the latter had he accused him, pretended that his overtures had been rejected, and that the hundred thousand francs in assignats, suspended by a thread in the privy, were the sum destined for Fabre and refused by him. These fables of Chabot had no semblance of truth; for it would have been much more natural, had he entered into the conspiracy for the purpose of divulging it, to communicate it to some of the members of one or the other committee, and to deposit the money in their hands. Robespierre sent Chabot to the committee of general welfare, which gave orders in the night for the arrest of the deputies already mentioned. Julien contrived to escape. Bazire, Delaunay, and Chabot only were apprehended.

The discovery of this disgraceful intrigue caused a great sensation, and confirmed all the calumnies which the parties levelled at each other. People circulated, with more assurance than ever, the rumour of a foreign faction, which bribed the patriots, and excited them to obstruct the march of the Revolution, some by an unseasonable moderation, others by a wild exaggeration, by continued defamations, and by an odious profession of atheism. And yet what reality was there in all these suppositions? On the one hand, men less fanatic, more disposed to pity the vanquished, and for that very reason more susceptible to the allurements of pleasure and corruption; on the other, men more violent and more blind, taking the lowest of the people for their assistants, persecuting with their reproaches those who did not share their fanatical insensibility, and profaning the ancient rites of religion without reserve, without decency; between these two parties bankers, taking advantage of every crisis to engage in stockjobbing speculations; four deputies out of seven hundred and fifty, yielding to the influence of corruption and becoming the accomplices of these stockjobbers; lastly, a few sincere revolutionists, but foreigners, and suspected as such, compromising themselves by that very exaggeration, by favour of which they hoped to cause their origin to be forgotten:—this it was that was real, and in this we find nothing but what was very ordinary, nothing that justified the supposition of a profound machination.

The committee of public welfare, anxious to place itself above the parties, resolved to strike and to brand them all, and to this

end it sought to show that they were all accomplices of the foreign foe. Robespierre had already denounced a foreign faction, in the existence of which his mistrustful disposition led him to believe. The turbulent faction, thwarting the superior authority and disgracing the revolution, was immediately accused by it of being the accomplice of the foreign faction ;* but it made no such charge against the moderate faction, nay it even defended the latter, as we have seen in the case of Danton. If it still spared it, this was because it had thus far done nothing that could obstruct the progress of the revolution, because it did not form a numerous and obstinate party, like the old Girondins, and because it consisted only of a few individuals who condemned the *ultra-revolutionary* extravagances.

Such was the state of parties and the policy of the committee of public welfare in regard to them in Frimaire, year 2 (December, 1793). While it exercised the authority with such vigour, and was engaged in completing the interior of the machine of revolutionary power, it displayed not less energy abroad, and ensured the prosperity of the revolution by signal victories.

* " Hebert, the head of this turbulent and atrocious faction, is a miserable intriguer—a caterer for the guillotine—a traitor paid by Pitt—a thief and robber who had been expelled from his office of check-taker at a theatre, for theft."—*Le Vieux Cordelier.* E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

END OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1793—MANŒUVRE OF HOCHE IN THE VOSGES—RETREAT OF THE AUSTRIANS AND PRUSSIANS —RAISING OF THE BLOCKADE OF LANDAU—OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY—SIEGE AND TAKING OF TOULON—LAST ENGAGEMENT AT THE PYRENEES—EXCURSION OF THE VENDEANS BEYOND THE LOIRE, AND THEIR DESTRUCTION AT SAVENAY.

THE campaign terminated on all the frontiers in the most brilliant and successful manner. In Belgium it had been at length deemed preferable to go into winter-quarters, in despite of the plan of the committee of public welfare, which had been anxious to profit by the victory of Watignies, to enclose the enemy between the Scheldt and the Sambre. Thus at this point the aspect of affairs had not changed, and the advantages of Watignies were still ours.

On the Rhine, the campaign had been greatly prolonged by the loss of the lines of Weissenburg on the 22nd of Vendemiaire (Oct. 13). The committee of public welfare determined to recover them at any cost, and to raise the blockade of Landau, as it had done that of Dunkirk and Maubeuge. The state of our departments of the Rhine was a reason for losing no time in removing the enemy from that quarter. The Vosges were singularly imbued with the feudal spirit; the priests and the nobles had there retained a powerful influence; the French language being not much spoken, the new revolutionary ideas had scarcely penetrated thither; there were great numbers of communes where the decrees of the Convention were unknown, where there were no revolutionary committees, and in which the emigrants circulated opinions with impunity. The nobles of Alsace had followed the army of Wurmser in throngs, and were spread from Weissenburg to the environs of Strasburg. A plot had been formed in the latter city for delivering it up to Wurmser. The committee of public welfare immediately sent thither Lebas and St. Just, to exercise the ordinary dictatorship of commissioners of the Convention. It appointed young Hoche, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Dunkirk, to the command of the army of the Moselle; it detached a strong division from the idle army of the Ardennes, which was divided between the two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine; lastly, it caused levies *en masse* to be raised in all the contiguous departments, and directed upon Besançon. These new levies occupied the fortresses, and the garrisons were transferred to the line. At Strasburg, St.

Just displayed the utmost energy and intelligence He struck terror into the ill-disposed, sent those who were suspected of the design to betray Strasburg before a commission, and thence to the scaffold. He communicated new vigour to the generals and to the soldiers. He insisted on daily attacks along the whole line, in order to exercise our raw conscripts. Equally brave and pitiless, he exposed himself to the fire, and shared all the dangers of warfare. An extraordinary enthusiasm seized the army; and the shout of the soldiers, who were inflamed with the hope of recovering the lost ground, was, "Landau or death!"

The proper manœuvre to execute on this part of the frontiers would still have been to unite the two armies of the Rhine and of the Moselle, and to operate *en masse* on one of the slopes of the Vosges. For this purpose, it would have been necessary to recover the passes which crossed the line of the mountains, and which we had lost when Brunswick advanced to the centre of the Vosges, and Wurmser to the walls of Strasburg. The plan of the committee was formed, and it resolved to seize the chain itself, with a view to separate the Austrians and the Prussians. Young Hoche, full of ardour and talent, was charged with the execution of this plan, and his first movements at the head of the army of the Moselle induced a hope of the most decided results.

The Prussians, to give security to their position, had attempted to take by surprise the castle of Bitche, situated in the very heart of the Vosges. This attempt was thwarted by the vigilance of the garrison, which hastened in time to the ramparts; and Brunswick, whether he was disconcerted by this failure, whether he dreaded the activity and energy of Hoche, or whether he was dissatisfied with Wurmser, with whom he was not on good terms, retired first to Bisingen, on the line of the Erbach, and then to Kaiserslautern in the centre of the Vosges. He had not given Wurmser notice of this retrograde movement; and, while the latter was upon the eastern slope, nearly as high as Strasburg, Brunswick, on the western, was beyond Weissenburg and nearly on a line with Landau. Hoche had followed Brunswick very closely in his retrograde movement; and, after he had in vain attempted to surround him at Bisingen and even to reach Kaiserslautern before him, he formed the plan of attacking him at Kaiserslautern itself, in spite of the difficulties presented by the position. Hoche had about thirty thousand men. He fought on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of November, but the country was imperfectly known and scarcely practicable. On the first day, General Ambert, who commanded the left, was engaged, while Hoche, with the centre, was seeking his way. On the next, Hoche found himself alone opposed to the enemy, while Ambert had lost himself in the mountains. Owing to the nature of the ground, to his force, and to the advantage

of his position, Brunswick was completely successful. He lost but about a dozen men: Hoche was obliged to retire with the loss of about three thousand; but he was not disheartened, and proceeded to rally his troops at Pirmasens, Hornbach, and Deux-Ponts. Hoche,* though unfortunate, had nevertheless displayed a boldness and a resolution which struck the representatives and the army. The committee of public welfare, which, since the accession of Carnot, was enlightened enough to be just, and which was severe towards want of zeal alone, wrote him the most encouraging letters, and for the first time bestowed praise on a beaten general. Hoche, without being for a moment daunted by his defeat, immediately formed the resolution of joining the army of the Rhine, with a view to overwhelm Wurmser. The latter, who had remained in Alsace, while Brunswick had retired to Kaiserslautern, had his right flank uncovered. Hoche directed General Taponnier with twelve thousand men upon Werdt, to cut the line of the Vosges, and to throw himself on the flank of Wurmser, while the army of the Rhine should make a general attack upon the front of the latter.

Owing to the presence of St. Just, continual combats had taken place at the end of November and the beginning of December between the army of the Rhine and the Austrians. By going every day into the fire, it began to be familiarized with war. Pichegru commanded it.† The corps sent by Hoche into

* "Hoche was a gallant man in every sense of the word; but, though he distinguished himself greatly in battle, he had not the good fortune to die there. He was deservedly esteemed among the first of France's earlier generals before Bonaparte monopolized her triumphs."—*Lord Byron.* E.

† "Charles Pichegru, a French general, was born in 1761, of a respectable, though poor family. In the year 1792 he was employed on the staff of the army of the Rhine, rose rapidly through the ranks of general of brigade and of division, and, in 1793, assumed the chief command of that same army. He was the inventor of the system of sharp-shooting, of flying artillery, and of attacks perpetually repeated, which rendered the enemy's cavalry almost useless. In 1794 the army of the North was committed to Pichegru, who made a most victorious campaign. In the following year the National Convention appointed him commandant of Paris against the Terrorists, whose projects he succeeded in overthrowing. He joined the army of the Rhine a short time after, when he testified a desire to re-establish the house of Bourbon on the throne, which, coming to the knowledge of the Directory, they recalled him, on which he retired to his native place, Arbois, where he spent several months in domestic retirement. In 1797 he was chosen president of the council of Five Hundred, and became the hope of the Clichyan party. He was, however, arrested by the troops of the directorial triumvirate, conveyed to the Temple, and condemned, together with fifty other deputies, to be transported to Guiana. After some months' captivity in the pestilential deserts of Sinnimari, Pichegru contrived to make his escape, and set sail for England, where he was most warmly received. He then went to live in obscurity in Germany, but, in 1804, came secretly to Paris with Georges and a great number of conspirators, to try to overturn the consular government. The plot being discovered, Pichegru was arrested and conducted to the

the Vosges had many difficulties to surmount in penetrating into them, but it at length succeeded, and seriously alarmed Wurmser's right by its presence. On the 22d of December (Nivose 2), Hoche marched across the mountains, and appeared at Werdt, on the summit of the eastern slope. He overwhelmed Wurmser's right, took many pieces of cannon and a great number of prisoners. The Austrians were then obliged to quit the line of the Motter, and to move first to Sultz, and afterwards on the 24th to Weissenburg, on the very lines of the Lauter. The retreat was effected with disorder and confusion. The emigrants and the Alsacian nobles who had flocked to join Wurmser, fled with the utmost precipitation. The roads were covered by whole families seeking to escape. The two armies, Prussian and Austrian, were dissatisfied with one another, and lent each other little assistance against a foe full of ardour and enthusiasm.

The two armies of the Rhine and the Moselle had joined. The representatives gave the chief command to Hoche, and he immediately made dispositions for retaking Weissenburg. The Prussians and the Austrians, now concentrated by their retrograde movement, were better able to support one another if they pleased. They resolved therefore to take the offensive on the 26th of December (6 Nivose), the very day on which the French general was preparing to rush upon them. The Prussians were in the Vosges and around Weissenburg. The Austrians were spread, in advance of the Lauter, from Weissenburg to the Rhine. Had they not been determined to take the offensive, they would most assuredly not have received the attack in ad-

Temple, where he was one morning found dead in his bed. Several physicians who met on the occasion, asserted that he had strangled himself with his cravat."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Pichegru," observed Napoleon, "instructed me in mathematics at Brienne, when I was about ten years old. He possessed considerable knowledge in that science. As a general, he was a man of no ordinary talent, far superior to Moreau, though he had never done any thing extraordinary, as the success of his campaigns in Holland was in a great measure owing to the battle of Fleurus. Pichegru, after he had united himself to the Bourbons, sacrificed the lives of upwards of twenty thousand of his soldiers, by throwing them purposely into the enemy's hands, whom he had informed beforehand of his intentions."—*Voice from St. Helena.* E.

"Nature had made Pichegru a soldier. She had given him that eagle eye which fixes victory on the field of battle, but she had denied him the qualities of a statesman. He was a mere child in politics, and took it into his head to conspire openly, before the face of the Directory, without once thinking that the Directors had it in their power to stop him. I know for certain, that among the conditions which he had made with the royal house was this, that a statue should be erected to him in his lifetime as the restorer of the monarchy. Louis XVIII. has faithfully executed this clause of the contract, not, it is true, during the general's life, but since his death. I have seen in the court of the Louvre this bronze without glory. The legitimacy of a cause never removes the stain of treason."—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.* E.

vance of the lines and having the Lauter at their back; but they had resolved to attack first; and the French, in advancing upon them, found their advanced guards in march. General Desaix, who commanded the right of the army of the Rhine, marched upon Lauterburg; General Michaud was directed upon Schleithal; the centre attacked the Austrians, drawn up on the Geisberg; and the left penetrated into the Vosges to turn the Prussians. Dessaix carried Lauterburg; Michaud occupied Schleithal; and the centre, driving in the Austrians, made them fall back from the Geisberg to Weissenburg itself. The occupation of Weissenburg was likely to prove disastrous to the allies, and it was in imminent danger; but Brunswick, who was at Pigeonnier, hastened to this point, and kept the French in check with great firmness. The retreat of the Austrians was then effected with less disorder; but next day the French occupied the lines of Weissenburg. The Austrians fell back upon Germersheim, the Prussians upon Bergzabern. The French soldiers still advanced shouting, "Landau or death!" The Austrians hastened to recross the Rhine, without attempting to remain another day on the left bank, and without giving the Prussians time to arrive from Mayence. The blockade of Landau was raised, and the French took up their winter quarters in the Palatinate. Immediately afterwards, the two allied generals attacked one another in contradictory statements, and Brunswick sent his resignation to Frederick William. Thus, on this part of the theatre of the war, we had gloriously recovered our frontiers, in spite of the united forces of Prussia and Austria.

The army of Italy had undertaken nothing of importance, and, since its defeat in the month of June, it had remained upon the defensive. In the month of September, the Piedmontese, seeing Toulon attacked by the English, thought at length of profiting by this circumstance, which might occasion the loss of the French army. The King of Sardinia repaired in person to the theatre of war, and a general attack of the French camp was resolved upon for the 8th of September. The surest way of operating against the French would have been to occupy the line of the Var, which separated Nice from their territory. In so doing, the enemy would have made himself master of all the positions which they had taken beyond the Var. He would have obliged them to evacuate the county of Nice, and perhaps even to lay down their arms. An immediate attack of their camp was preferred. This attack, executed with detached corps, operating by several valleys at once, was not successful; and the King of Sardinia, dissatisfied with the result, immediately retired to his own dominions. Nearly about the same time the Austrian general, De Vins, at length thought of operating upon the Var; but he executed his movement with no more than three or four thousand men, advanced no further than Isola, and, suddenly

stopped by a slight check, he again ascended the High Alps, without following up this attempt. Such had been the insignificant operations of the army of Italy.

A more serious interest fixed the whole attention on Toulon. That place, occupied by the English and the Spaniards, secured to them a footing in the South, and a position favourable for an attempt at invasion. It therefore behoved France to recover Toulon as speedily as possible. The committee had issued the most urgent orders on this point, but the means of siege were utterly wanting. Carteaux, after reducing Marseilles, had debouched with seven or eight thousand men by the gorges of Ollioules, had made himself master of them after a slight action, and had established himself at the very outlet of these gorges, in presence of Toulon. General Lapoype, detached from the army of Italy with nearly four thousand men, had placed himself on the opposite side to that on which Carteaux was, towards Solliés and Lavalette. The two French corps thus posted, the one on the west, the other on the east, were so far apart that they could scarcely perceive one another, and could not lend each other any assistance. The besieged, with a little more activity, might have attacked them singly, and overwhelmed them one after another. Luckily, they thought of nothing but fortifying the place and manning it with troops. They landed eight thousand Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Piedmontese, and two English regiments from Gibraltar, and thus raised the force of the garrison to fourteen or fifteen thousand men. They strengthened all the defences, and armed all the forts, especially those on the coast, which protected the road where their squadrons lay at anchor. They were particularly solicitous to render Fort Eguillette, situated at the extremity of the promontory which encloses the inner or little road, inaccessible. So difficult did they make the approach to it, that it was called in the army Little Gibraltar. The Marseillais, and all the people of Provence who had taken refuge in Toulon, laboured themselves at the works, and manifested the greatest zeal. The union, however, could not last in the interior of the place, for the reaction against the Mountain had caused the revival of all sorts of factions. There were republicans and royalists of all degrees. The allies themselves did not agree.

The Spaniards were offended at the superiority affected by the English, and harboured a distrust of their intentions. Lord Hood, taking advantage of this disunion, said that, since they could not agree, it would be best for the moment not to proclaim any authority. He even prevented the departure of a deputation which the inhabitants would have sent to the Count de Provence, to induce that prince to come to their city in quality of regent. From that moment it was easy to account for the conduct of the English, and to perceive how blind and how culpable those had

been, who had delivered Toulon to the most cruel enemies of the French navy.

The republicans could not hope, with such means as they then possessed, to retake Toulon. The representatives even recommended that the army should fall back beyond the Durance, and wait for the following season. The reduction of Lyons, however, having placed fresh forces at their disposal, troops and *matériel* were directed upon Toulon. General Doppet, to whom was attributed the taking of Lyons, was appointed to supersede Carteaux. Doppet himself was soon displaced, and succeeded by Dugommier,* a very brave officer, and possessing much more experience. Twenty-eight or thirty thousand men were collected, and orders were given to terminate the siege before the conclusion of the campaign.

The French began by closely hemming in the place, and establishing batteries against the forts. General Lapoype, detached from the army of Italy, was still to the east, and Dugommier, the commander-in-chief, to the west, in advance of Ollioules. The latter was charged with the principal attack. The committee of public welfare had caused a regular plan of attack to be drawn up by the committee of fortifications. The general summoned a council of war to discuss the plan sent from Paris. This plan was ably conceived, but there was one better adapted to circumstances, and which could not fail to produce more speedy results.

In the council of war there was a young man who commanded the artillery in the absence of the superior officer of that arm. His name was Bonaparte, and he was a native of Corsica.† Faith-

* "Dugommier was a native of Martinique, in the West Indies, where he possessed a large estate previously to the Revolution. He embraced the popular party, and, in 1793, was employed as general of brigade, and, next, as commander-in-chief of the army of Italy. In the same year he took Toulon, after a sanguinary contest. In 1794, after gaining several victories, he was killed in battle at St. Sebastian."—*Gorton's Biographical Dictionary.* E.

† "Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769, being the second of the five sons of Carlo Buonaparte, by Letitia Ramolini (since so well known as Madame Mere), a lady of great personal and mental attractions. Napoleon was early sent to France and placed at the military school of Brienne, and thence in 1784 removed to that of Paris, in quality of king's scholar. Here he distinguished himself by his strong desire to excel in the mathematics and military exercises. He very honourably passed his examination preparatory to being admitted into the artillery, of which he was appointed a second lieutenant in 1785. After serving a short time, he quitted his regiment and retired to Corsica, but returning to Paris in 1790, he became a captain in 1791; and at the siege of Toulon in 1793, having the command of the artillery, his abilities began to develop themselves. He was soon after made general of brigade, and, supported by the patronage of Barras, was appointed to command the conventional troops at Paris, with which he defeated those of the sections in the memorable struggle of the 5th of October, 1794. At the desire of the officers and soldiers of the army of Italy, he was appointed to the command of

ful to France, in which he had been educated, he fought in Corsica for the cause of the Convention against Paoli and the English. He had then joined the army of Italy, and served

that army, and three days before his departure for Nice, in March 1796, he married Josephine Beauharnois, widow of the Count de Beauharnois, who suffered under Robespierre. The army opposed to him consisted of 60,000 Austrians and Sardinians, commanded by the Austrian general, Beaulieu. After several skirmishes he wholly outmanœuvred the enemy, and in the course of April won the battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, and Mondovi, which obliged the King of Sardinia to sign a treaty in his own capital. On the 10th of May following he gained the battle of Lodi. This memorable campaign terminated in the treaty of Leoben, the preliminaries of which were signed on the 16th of April, 1797. After making some arrangements in regulation of the Cisalpine republic, which he had established at Milan, Bonaparte signed the definitive treaty with the Austrians at Campo Formio, and returned to Paris, where of course he was received with great respect and rejoicing. He was now nominated general-in-chief of an expedition against England, apparently a mere demonstration, as that against Egypt was at this time in preparation. On the 19th of May, 1798, Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, as many frigates, and an immense number of transports, with 40,000 troops on board, the flower of the French army. From this critical field of action, Bonaparte released himself with his usual decision and activity: having received information of the disasters experienced by the republican armies in Italy and Germany, as also of the disordered state of parties in France, he took measures for secretly embarking in August, 1799, and, accompanied by a few officers entirely devoted to him, he landed at Frejus in October following, and hastened to Paris. He immediately addressed a letter to the Directory, justifying the measures which he had pursued, and replying to the censures on the Egyptian expedition. Courted by all parties, and by Sieyes and Barras, at that time the leading men of the government, the latter, who seems to have entertained an idea of restoring the monarchy, confided his plan to Bonaparte, who however had other objects in view. After many conferences with Sieyes and the leading members of the council of Ancients, on whom he could rely, he disclosed his own projects, the consequence of which was the removal of the sitting of the legislature to St. Cloud, and the devolvement to Bonaparte of the command of the troops of every description, in order to *protect* the national representation. On the 19th of November the meeting accordingly took place at St. Cloud, when soldiers occupied all the avenues. The council of Ancients assembled in the galleries; and that of the Five Hundred, of whom Lucien Bonaparte was president, in the orangery. Bonaparte entered into the council of Ancients, and made an animated speech in defence of his own character, and called upon them to exert themselves in behalf of *liberty* and *equality*. In the mean time a violent altercation took place in the council of Five Hundred, where several members insisted upon knowing why the meeting had been removed to St. Cloud. Lucien Bonaparte endeavoured to allay the rising storm, but the removal had created great heat, and the cry was, "Down with the dictator! No dictator!" At that moment Bonaparte himself entered, followed by four grenadiers, on which several of the members exclaimed, "What does this mean? No sabres here! No armed men!" while others, descending into the hall, collared him, exclaiming, "Outlaw him, down with the dictator!" On this rough treatment, General Lefebvre came to his assistance, and Bonaparte, retiring, mounted his horse, and, leaving Murat to observe what was going forward, sent a picket of grenadiers into the hall. Protected by this force, Lucien Bonaparte declared that the representatives who wished to assassinate his brother were in the pay of England, and proposed a decree which was immediately adopted, "that General Bonaparte, and all those who had seconded him, deserved well of their

before Toulon. He displayed extraordinary intelligence and extreme activity, and slept by the side of his guns. This young officer, on surveying the place, was struck with an idea, which

country; that the Directory was at an end; and that the executive power should be placed in the hands of three provisionary consuls, namely, Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos." Such was the Cromwellian extinction of the French Directory, which was followed by the constitution, called that of the year eight; in which Bonaparte was confirmed first consul, and Cambaceres and Le Brun assistant consuls. The same commission created a senate, a council of state, a tribunate, and a legislative body. Leaving Paris in April, 1800, Bonaparte proceeded with a well appointed army for Italy, passed the Great St. Bernard by an extraordinary march, and, bursting into that country like a torrent, utterly defeated the Austrians under General Melas at Marengo, on the 14th of the following June. This battle and that of Hohenlinden, enabled him a second time to dictate terms of peace to Austria, the result of which was the treaty of Luneville with that power, and ultimately that of Amiens with Great Britain, concluded in March, 1802. All these successes advanced him another step in his now evident march to sovereignty, by securing him the consulate for life. The despair of the friends of the Bourbons at the increasing progress of Bonaparte towards sovereign sway at this time produced an endeavour at assassination by the explosion of a machine filled with combustibles, as he passed in his carriage through the Rue St. Nicaise, from which danger he very narrowly escaped. This plan failing, it as usual served the intended victim, by enabling him to execute and transport several personal enemies. Generals Pichegru and Moreau, Georges, the two Counts de Polignac, and forty-three more were arrested, of whom Pichegru died in prison; Georges and eleven more suffered on the scaffold, and Moreau was exiled and departed for America. On the 2nd of December, 1804, Bonaparte was crowned emperor of France in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, by the hands of Pope Pius VI., whom he obliged to come in person from Rome to perform the ceremony. He was immediately recognised by the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and by the Kings of Prussia, Spain, and Denmark; the King of Sweden alone refusing. Great Britain being his sole enemy of magnitude, on the 7th of August he published a manifesto, announcing an invasion of England, and assembling a numerous flotilla at Boulogne, formed in the neighbourhood a camp of 200,000 men. In less than six weeks the pretended army of England was on the banks of the Danube, and the capitulation of General Mack at Ulm was the rapid consequence. On the 11th of November, 1805, the French army entered Vienna, which Francis II. had quitted a few days before, to retire with a remnant of his army into Moravia, where the Emperor Alexander joined him with a Russian army, which he commanded in person. Napoleon encountered the two emperors on the 2nd of December, on the plains of Austerlitz, where the great military talents of the French leader again prevailed, and the treaty of Presburg followed; which recognised him King of Italy, master of Venice, of Tuscany, of Parma, of Placentia, and of Genoa. Prussia also ceded the grand duchy of Berg, which he gave to Murat. The electors of Bavaria, of Wirtemberg, and Saxony, were transformed into kings; the crown of Naples was bestowed on his brother Joseph, that of Holland on Louis, and that of Westphalia on Jerome; the republican Lucien declining every gift of this nature. In July, 1806, he ratified at Paris the famous treaty of the confederation of the Rhine, in which he transferred to himself the preponderance previously enjoyed by the house of Austria. In September following, a powerful Prussian army was got together, and that wretched campaign ensued which ended in the decisive battle of Jena, fought on the 14th of October, 1806, the consequence of which defeat was more fatal than the defeat itself. The severe campaign against Russia succeeded, in which were fought the battles of Pultusk and Friedland, and which ended in

he communicated to the council of war. Fort Eguillette, called Little Gibraltar, closed the road where the allied squadrons were moored. If this fort were taken, the squadrons could no longer

the treaty of Tilsit. Napoleon now turned his attention to Spain, and affected to meet the king and his son Ferdinand at Bayonne, to adjust their family differences. The result was the abdication of Charles IV., and the forced resignation of Ferdinand. On the 25th of October, 1808, Napoleon announced that he intended to crown his brother King of Spain at Madrid, and to plant the eagles of France on the towers of Lisbon. The Spaniards nevertheless tenaciously, if not skilfully, resisted; and Napoleon, leaving the pursuit of the English army under Sir John Moore to Marshal Soult, returned to Paris. Encouraged by the occupation of a large French army in Spain, Austria ventured a third time to declare war against France; on which Napoleon quitted Paris, and, heading his army, fought the battles of Landshut, Eckmuhl, Ratisbonne, and Neumark, and once more entered Vienna. The decisive victory of Wagram was gained on the 5th and 6th of July, 1809; on the 12th a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and, on the 14th of the ensuing October, a definitive treaty of peace was concluded, one of the secret conditions of which soon became apparent by preparations commencing for the dissolution of the marriage of the conqueror with Josephine. On the 2nd of April, 1810, Napoleon espoused the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor Francis II. Soon after this marriage, he united to France the provinces situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and, by a decree of the 13th of December in the same year, Holland, the three Hanseatic cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubec, and a part of Westphalia, were added to the empire; as also, by another decree, the Valais. In March, 1811, a son was born to him, whom he called King of Rome. Aware of the discontent of Russia, and of her intention to resist on the first favourable opportunity, towards the end of the year 1811 he began those mighty preparations for the invasion of that empire, which formed the nucleus of the greatest array of disciplined and able soldiery which ever moved under one command and in one direction. In May, 1812, he left Paris to review the grand army, made up of all his auxiliaries and confederates, willing and unwilling, assembled on the Vistula, and, arriving at Dresden, spent fifteen days in that capital, attended by the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and nearly the whole of the princes of the continent, among whom he moved the *primum mobile* and the centre. On the 10th of September the famous battle of Borodino was fought, so fatal to both parties, and in which 60,000 men are supposed to have perished. Napoleon, nevertheless, pressed on to Moscow, from which the Russians retreated, as also the greater part of the inhabitants, who abandoned it by order of the governor, Count Rostopchin. When, therefore, Napoleon entered the celebrated capital, four days after the battle, he found it for the greater part deserted and in flames. After remaining thirty-five days in the ruins of this ancient metropolis, exposed to every species of privation, retreat became necessary, and one of the most striking scenes of human suffering was experienced by the retiring army ever produced by the extravagances of ambition. Arriving at Warsaw on the 10th of December, on the 18th of the same month Napoleon entered Paris at night, and, on the following day, a bulletin, disclosed his immense losses, with no great concealment of their extent. Early the next month he presented to the senate a decree for levying 350,000 men, which was unanimously agreed to, and he forthwith began preparations to encounter the forces of Russia and Prussia, now once more in combination. On the 2nd of May, 1813, he encountered the armies of these allies at Lutzen, and forced them to retire, on which Austria undertook to mediate, but, not succeeding, the battle of Bautzen followed, in which the French were victorious. At length these contests terminated in the famous battle of Leipsic, fought on the 16th, 18th, and 19th

lie in the road without running the risk of being burned; neither could they evacuate it and leave behind a garrison of fifteen thousand men, without communication, without succour, without

of October, which was decisive of the war as to Germany. Napoleon returned to Paris, and interrupted the compliment of address, by stating the fact, that 'within the last year all Europe marched with us, now all Europe is leagued against us.' He followed up this avowal by another demand of 300,000 men. The levy was granted, and on the 26th of January, 1814, he again headed his army, and, the allies having passed the Rhine early in the same month, in the succeeding February were fought the battles of Dizier, Brienne, Champ Aubert, and Montmirail, with various success; but now the advanced guard of the Russians entered into action, and Napoleon was called to another quarter. The sanguinary conflicts of Montereau and Nogent followed, in which the allied forces suffered very severely, and were obliged to retire upon Troyes. At length, however, their extensive array bore on so many points, that, on the French being driven back on the barriers of Paris, Marshal Marmont, who commanded there, sent a flag of truce, and proposed to deliver up the city. Napoleon hastened from Fontainebleau, but was apprized five leagues from Paris of the result. He accordingly returned to Fontainebleau, where he commanded an army of 50,000 men, and the negotiation ensued, which terminated in his consignment to the island of Elba, with the title of ex-emperor, and a pension of two millions of livres. It is unnecessary to detail the events of his brief residence in this island, in which he was visited by many curious Englishmen and others. It is probable that he never meant to remain in that equivocal situation, or the allies to allow him. Be this as it may, secretly embarking in some hired feluccas, accompanied with about 1200 men, on the night of the 25th of February, 1815, he landed on the 1st of March in the gulf of Juan, in Provence, at three o'clock in the afternoon. He immediately issued a proclamation, announcing his intention to resume his crown, of which 'treason had robbed him,' and, proceeding to Grenoble, was at once welcomed by the commanding officer Labedoyere, and two days afterwards he entered Lyons, where he experienced a similar reception. Thus received and favoured, he reached Paris on the 20th of March without drawing a sword. In the capital he was received with loud acclamations of 'Vive l'empereur!' and was joined by Marshal Ney and the Generals Drouet, Lallemand, and Lefebvre. On the 18th of June, occurred the signal and well-known victory of Waterloo. Napoleon immediately returned to Paris, but the charm was now utterly dissolved; and he resigned himself, on the 15th of July, into the hands of Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, then lying at Rochfort, and was exceedingly anxious to land in England. It is impossible to dwell on the minutiæ of his conduct and reception, or on the circumstances attendant on his consignment for safe custody to St. Helena, by the joint determination of the allies. For this his final destination he sailed on the 11th of August, 1815, and arrived at St. Helena on the 13th of the following October. It appears probable that mental affliction, added to unhealthy climate, began to operate fatally on the constitution of Bonaparte from the hour of his arrival! as nearly the whole of the four years and upwards, while he remained there, he was sickly and diseased. His ultimate complaint was a cancer in his breast, apparently a disease to which he had a constitutional tendency, as his father died of a similar malady. He bore the excruciating torture of his disorder, for six weeks, with great firmness, generally keeping his eyes fixed on a portrait of his son, which was placed near his bed. From the beginning he refused medicine as useless; and the last words, uttered in a state of delirium, on the morning of his death, were 'Mon fils!' soon afterwards, 'tête d'armée!' and lastly, 'France.' This event took place on the 5th of May, 1821, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was interred, according to his

any other prospect than that of being obliged, soone ıor later, to lay down their arms. There was, therefore, every reason to presume that if Fort Eguillette were once in the possession of the republicans, the squadrons and the garrison would evacuate Toulon. Thus the key of the place was Fort Eguillette, but it was almost impregnable. Young Bonaparte strongly supported this idea as best adapted to circumstances, and at length caused it to be adopted.

The French began by hemming in the place more closely than ever. Bonaparte, favoured by a few olive-trees, which masked his artillerymen, placed a battery very near Fort Malbosquet, one of the most important of those surrounding Toulon. One morning, this battery suddenly opened and surprised the besieged, who did not conceive it possible to place guns so near to the fort. The English general, O'Hara, who commanded the garrison, resolved to make a sortie for the purpose of destroying the battery and spiking the guns. On the 30th of November (10 Frimaire) he sallied forth at the head of six thousand men, penetrated unawares to the republican posts, gained possession of the battery, and immediately began to spike the guns. Fortunately, young Bonaparte was not far off with a battalion. A trench led to the battery. Bonaparte threw himself into it with his battalion, advanced without noise among the English, then all at once gave the order to fire, and threw them, by his sudden appearance, into the greatest surprise. General O'Hara, in astonishment, imagined that it was his own soldiers who were firing, in mistake, upon one another. He then advanced towards the republicans, to ascertain if that were not the case, but was wounded in the hand, and taken in the trench itself by a sergeant. At the same moment, Dugommier, who had ordered the *générale* to be beaten in the camp, brought up his soldiers to the attack, and pushed on between the battery and the city. The English, finding themselves in danger of being cut off, then retired, after losing their general, and failing to rid themselves of this dangerous battery.

This success singularly encouraged the besiegers, and, in a like degree, dispirited the besieged. So great were the apprehensions of the latter, that they said that General O'Hara had purposely suffered himself to be taken, to sell Toulon to the republicans. Meanwhile the republicans, who were determined to conquer the place, and who had not the means of purchasing it, prepared for the extremely perilous attack of the Eguillette. They had thrown into it a great number of bombs, and strove to demolish its defences with twenty-four pounders. On the 18th of December (28 Frimaire) it was resolved to make the assault at midnight. A simultaneous attack was to be made by General

own desire, near some willow-trees and a spring of water, at a place called Haine's Valley, his funeral being attended by the highest military honours." —*Gorton's Biographical Dictionary.* E.

Lapoype on Fort Faron. At midnight, while a tremendous storm was raging, the republicans set themselves in motion. The soldiers who guarded the fort kept themselves in general out of sight, in order to screen themselves from the bombs and balls. The French hoped to reach it unperceived, but, at the foot of the height, they found some of the enemy's riflemen. An action commenced. On the report of the musketry, the garrison of the fort ran to the ramparts and fired upon the assailants, who alternately fell back and advanced. A young captain of artillery, named Muiron, taking advantage of the inequalities of the ground, succeeded in ascending the height without losing many of his men. On reaching the foot of the fort, he got in by an embrasure. The soldiers followed him, penetrated into the battery, made themselves masters of the guns, and, in a short time, of the fort itself.

In this action General Dugommier, the representatives Salicetti,* and Robespierre the younger, and Bonaparte, the commandant of artillery, had been present in the fire, and communicated the greatest courage to the troops. On the part of General Lapoype the attack had not been so successful, though one of the redoubts of Fort Faron had been carried.

As soon as Fort Eguillette was occupied, the republicans lost no time in disposing the guns so as to play upon the ships. But the English did not wait till they had completed their preparations. They immediately resolved to evacuate the place, that they might no longer run the risks of a difficult and perilous defence. Before they withdrew, they determined to burn the arsenal, the dockyard, and all the ships that they could not take away. On the 18th and 19th, without apprizing the Spanish admiral, without forewarning the compromised inhabitants that they were about to be delivered up to the victorious Mountaineers, orders were issued for the evacuation. Every English ship came in turn to the arsenal to supply herself with such stores as she was in want of. The forts were then all evacuated, excepting Fort Lamalgue, which was to be abandoned the last.

This evacuation was effected with such despatch, that the Spaniards, apprized of it too late, were left outside the walls and escaped only by a miracle. Lastly, orders were given to set fire to the arsenal. Twenty ships of the line and frigates suddenly appeared in flames in the midst of the road, and excited despair in the un-

* "I never liked Salicetti. There was something about him which to me was always repulsive When I read the story of the Vampire, I associated that ideal character with the recollection of Salicetti. His pale, jaundiced complexion—his dark, glaring eyes—his lips, which turned deadly white whenever he was agitated by any powerful emotion—all seemed present to me. On one memorable occasion his face became so frightfully pallid, and his whole appearance—it was when he was under the fear of arrest—affected me to such a degree, that it haunted me in dreams a long time after."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

fortunate inhabitants and indignation in the republicans, who saw the squadron burning without having the power to save it. Presently, more than twenty thousand persons, men, women, and children, carrying their most valuable effects, poured upon the quays, extending their hands towards the squadrons, and imploring an asylum to screen them from the victorious army. These were all the Provençal families who had committed themselves in the sectionary movement at Aix, Marseilles, and Toulon. Not a single boat put off to the succour of these imprudent French, who had placed their confidence in foreigners, and delivered up to them the principal seaport of their country. Admiral Langara, however, with more humanity, ordered out his boats, and received on board the Spanish squadron all the fugitives that they could bring away. Lord Hood dared not resist this example and the imprecations that were poured forth against him. He issued orders, in his turn, but very late, that the people of Toulon should be received on board his squadron. Those unfortunate creatures hurried with fury into the boats. In this confusion, some fell into the sea, others were separated from their families. Mothers might be seen looking for their children, wives, daughters, seeking their husbands or their fathers, and wandering upon the quays by the light of the conflagration. At this dreadful moment, thieves, taking advantage of the confusion, to plunder, rushed among the unhappy wretches crowded together upon the quays, and fired, shouting, "Here are the republicans!" Terror seized the multitude. Hurrying away pell-mell, it left its property to the villains, the contrivers of this stratagem.

At length the republicans entered, and found the city half deserted and great part of the naval stores destroyed. Fortunately, the galley-slaves had extinguished the fire, and prevented it from spreading. Out of fifty-six sail of the line and frigates, only seven ships and eleven frigates remained. The others had been carried off or burned by the English. The horrors of the siege and of the evacuation were soon succeeded by those of revolutionary vengeance. We shall relate in another place the sequel of the disasters of this guilty and unfortunate city. The taking of Toulon* caused extraordinary joy, and produced as strong an

* The following is Bonaparte's own account of this memorable siege, dictated at St. Helena: "The commandant of artillery (Napoleon), who, for the space of a month, had been carefully reconnoitring the ground, proposed the plan of attack which occasioned the reduction of Toulon. He declared that it was not necessary to march against the place, but only to occupy a certain position which was to be found at the extreme point of the promontory of Balaguier and l'Eguillette. If the general-in-chief would occupy this position with three battalions, he would take Toulon in four days. In conformity with this proposal, the French raised five or six batteries against the position, which was called 'Little Gibraltar,' and constructed platforms for fifteen mortars. A battery had also been raised of eight twenty-four pounders,

impression as the victories of Watignies, the reduction of Lyons, and the raising of the blockade of Landau. Thenceforward there was no reason to apprehend that the English, supporting

and four mortars against Fort Malbosquet. The enemy were every day receiving reinforcements; and the public watched with anxiety the progress of the siege. They could not conceive why every effort should be directed against Little Gibraltar, quite in an opposite direction to the town. All the popular societies made denunciation after denunciation on this subject. Dugommier accordingly determined—his plans having been completed—that a decisive attack should be made on Little Gibraltar. The commandant of artillery, in consequence, threw seven or eight thousand shells into the fort, while thirty twenty-four pounders battered the works. On the 18th of December, at four in the afternoon, the troops left their camp and marched towards the village of Seine. The plan was, to attack at midnight, in order to avoid the fire of the forts and the immediate redoubts. The allied troops, to avoid the effect of the shells and balls which showered upon the fort, were accustomed to occupy a station at a small distance in the rear of it. The French had great hopes of reaching the works before them; but the enemy had placed a line of skirmishers in front of the fort; and, as the musketry commenced firing at the very foot of the hill, the allied troops hastened to the defence of the fort, whence a brisk fire was immediately opened. Case-shot showered all around. At length, after a most furious attack, Dugommier, who headed the leading column, was obliged to give way, and, in the utmost despair, he cried out, 'I am a lost man!' Success was, indeed, indispensable in those days, as the want of it conducted the unfortunate general to the scaffold. The cannonading and musketry continued. Captain Muiron, of the artillery, a young man full of bravery and resources, was detached with a battalion of light infantry, and supported by the second column, which followed them at the distance of a musket-shot. He was perfectly acquainted with the position, and availed himself so well of the windings of the ascent, that he conducted his troops up it without sustaining any loss. He debouched at the foot of the fort—rushed through an embrasure—his soldiers followed him—and the fort was taken. As soon as they were masters of the position, the French turned the cannon against the enemy, and, at daybreak, marched on Balaguier and l'Eguillette; but the enemy had already evacuated those positions, which Lord Hood was no sooner informed of, than he made signal to weigh anchor and get out of the roads. He then went to Toulon, to make it known that there was not a moment to be lost in getting out to sea. The weather was dark and cloudy, and every thing announced the approach of the south-west wind, so terrible at this season. The council of the combined forces met, and unanimously agreed that Toulon was no longer tenable. They accordingly proceeded to take measures as well for the embarkation of the troops, as for destroying such French vessels as they could not carry away with them, and firing the marine establishments. They likewise gave notice to all the inhabitants, that those who wished to leave the place might embark on board the English and Spanish fleets. In the night, Fort Poné was blown up by the English, and, an hour afterwards, part of the French squadron was set on fire. Nine 74-gun ships, and four frigates or corvettes, fell a prey to the flames. The fire and smoke from the arsenal resembled the eruption of a volcano, and the thirteen vessels which were burning in the road, were like so many magnificent displays of fireworks. The masts and forms of the vessels were distinctly marked by the blaze, which lasted many hours, and formed an unparalleled spectacle. During all this time the batteries of l'Eguillette and Balaguier kept up an incessant fire on the vessels in the roads. Many of the English ships were much damaged, and a great number of transports, with troops on board, were sunk. Thousands of the Toulonnese had followed the English, so that the revolutionary tri-

themselves on Toulon, would again produce devastation and rebellion in the South.

The campaign had terminated less successfully in the Pyrenees. Still, notwithstanding numerous reverses and great want of skill on the part of the generals, we had lost nothing but the line of the Tech, and still retained that of the Tet. After the unfortunate action at Truillas, on the 22nd of September (1 Vendemiaire) against the Spanish camp, in which Dagobert had displayed such coolness and intrepidity, Ricardos, instead of marching forward, had fallen back upon the Tech. The retaking of Villefranche, and a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men received by the republicans, had decided him to this retrograde movement. He had raised the blockade of Collioure and Port-Vendre, proceeded to the camp of Boulon, between Ceret and Ville Longue, and secured his communications by guarding the high-road to Bellegarde. The representatives, Fabre and Gaston, full of fire, insisted on attacking the camp of the Spaniards, in order to drive them beyond the Pyrenees; but the attack was unsuccessful, and ended only in a useless effusion of blood.

Fabre, impatient to attempt an important enterprise, had long meditated a march to the other side of the Pyrenees, with a view to force the Spaniards to retreat. He had been persuaded that the fort of Roses might be taken by a *coup de main*. At his desire, but contrary to the opinion of the generals, three columns were pushed beyond the Pyrenees, with orders to unite at Espola. But, too weak, too far apart, they could not join one another, were beaten, and driven back upon the great chain, after sustaining a considerable loss. This happened in October. In November, thunder-storms, unusual at that season, swelled the torrents, interrupted the communications of the different Spanish camps with one another, and placed them in the greatest danger.

This was the time for revenging ourselves upon the Spaniards for the reverses which we had experienced. They had no other means left for recrossing the Tech but the bridge of Ceret, and they were left, inundated and famished, on the left bank at the mercy of the French. But nothing that ought to have been done, was done. General Dagobert had been succeeded by General Turreau, and the latter by General Doppet. The army was disorganized. It fought faintly in the environs of Ceret. It lost even the camp of St. Ferreol, and Ricardos escaped from the dangers of his position. It was not long before he revenged himself much more ably for the danger in which he had been involved, and rushed on the 7th of November (17 Brumaire) on a French column, which was cooped up at Ville Longue, on the

bunals found but few of the guilty in the place. Nevertheless, above a hundred unfortunate wretches were shot within the first fortnight." E.

right bank of the Tech, between that river, the sea, and the Pyrenees. He defeated this column, ten thousand strong, and threw it into such disorder that it could not rally before it reached Argelès. Immediately afterwards, Ricardos ordered Delatre's division to be attacked at Collioure, took possession of Collioure, Port-Vendre, and St. Elme, and drove us completely beyond the Tech. Thus finished the campaign towards the end of December. The Spaniards took up their winter-quarters on the banks of the Tech. The French encamped around Perpignan and on the banks of the Tet. We had lost some ground, but less than might have been apprehended, after the disasters which we had sustained. It was, at any rate, the only frontier on which the campaign had not terminated gloriously for the arms of the republic. At the western Pyrenees, a reciprocal defensive had been maintained.

In La Vendée, new and terrible battles had been fought, with great advantage to the republic, but with great injury to France, which there beheld Frenchmen arrayed against and slaughtering one another.

The Vendeans, beaten at Cholet on the 17th of October (26 Vendemiaire), had thrown themselves upon the bank of the Loire, to the number of eighty thousand persons, men, women, and children. Not daring to return to their country occupied by the republicans, and unable to keep the field in the presence of a victorious army, they thought of proceeding to Bretagne and following up the ideas of Bonchamps, when that young hero was dead and could no longer direct their melancholy destinies. We have seen that, the day before the battle of Cholet, he sent a detachment to occupy the post of Varade on the Loire. That post, negligently guarded by the republicans, was taken in the night between the 16th and 17th. The battle being lost, the Vendeans were then able to cross the river unmolested, by means of some boats left on the bank, and out of reach of the republican cannon. The danger having been hitherto on the left bank, the government had not thought of defending the right bank. All the towns in Bretagne were ill-guarded. Some detachments of the national guard, dispersed here and there, were incapable of checking the progress of the Vendeans, and could only retreat on their approach. The latter advanced, therefore, without impediment, and arrived successively at Candé, Chateau-Gonthier, and Laval, without encountering any resistance.

Meanwhile, the republican army was uncertain of their course, their number, and their plans; nay, for a moment, it had believed that they were destroyed, and so the representatives had written to the Convention. Kleber alone, who still commanded the army in the name of L'Echelle, had held a contrary opinion, and endeavoured to moderate a dangerous security. It was not long, in fact, before intelligence was received that the Vendeans

were far from exterminated, that in the fugitive column there were still left thirty or forty thousand armed men, capable of fighting. A council of war was immediately held, and, as it was not known whether the fugitives intended to proceed towards Angers or Nantes, to march for Bretagne, or to make for the Lower Loire to join Charette, it was resolved that the army should divide, and that one part under General Haxo should keep Charette in check and retake Noirmoutiers; that another division under Kleber should occupy the camp of St. George near Nantes; and that the rest should remain at Angers, to cover that town and to observe the march of the enemy.

Had the republican generals been better informed, they would no doubt have continued together, and marched without intermission in pursuit of the Vendeans. In the state of disorder and dismay in which they were, it would have been easy to disperse and entirely destroy them; but the direction which they had taken was not known, and, amidst this doubt, the course pursued was, after all, the wisest. Precise intelligence, however, soon arrived, and it was learned that the Vendeans had marched upon Candé, Chateau-Gonthier, and Laval. It was then resolved to pursue them immediately, and to overtake them before they could inflame Bretagne, and make themselves masters of any great town or seaport. Generals Vimeux and Haxo were left at Nantes and in Lower Vendée: all the rest of the army proceeded towards Candé and Chateau-Gonthier. Westermann and Beaupuy formed the advanced guard; Chalbos, Kleber, and Canuel, each commanded a division; and L'Echelle, keeping at a distance from the field of battle, left the operations to be directed by Kleber, who enjoyed the confidence and the admiration of the army.

In the evening of the 25th of October (4 Brumaire) the republican advanced guard arrived at Chateau-Gonthier. The main body was a day's march behind. Westermann, though his troops were extremely fatigued, though it was almost dark, and he was yet six leagues from Laval, determined to march thither immediately. Beaupuy, quite as brave but more prudent than Westermann, strove in vain to convince him of the danger of attacking the Vendean mass in the middle of the night, so far in advance of the main body of the army, and with troops harassed by fatigue. Beaupuy was obliged to give way to the senior in command. They commenced their march without delay. Arriving in the middle of the night at Laval, Westermann sent an officer to reconnoitre the enemy: the latter, hurried away by his ardour, made a charge instead of a reconnaissance, and quickly drove in the first posts. The alarm was given in Laval, the tocsin rang, the whole hostile mass was presently astir, and came to make head against the republicans. Beaupuy, behaving with his usual firmness, courageously sustained the attack of the Vendeans. Westermann displayed all his intrepidity. The

combat was one of the most obstinate, and the darkness of the night rendered it still more sanguinary.* The republican advanced guard, though very inferior in number, would nevertheless have maintained its ground to the last, had not Westermann's cavalry, which was not always as brave as its commander, suddenly dispersed and obliged him to retreat. Owing to the efforts of Beaupuy, the retreat was effected upon Chateau-Gonthier in tolerable order. The main body arrived there on the following day. Thus the whole army was again collected on the 26th, the advanced guard exhausted by a useless and destructive action, the main body fatigued by a long march, performed without provisions, without shoes, and through the mud of autumn. Westermann and the representatives were for moving forward again. Kleber strongly opposed this advice, and at his suggestion it was decided not to advance farther than Villiers, halfway between Chateau-Gonthier and Laval.

The next point was to form a plan for the attack of Laval. This town is seated on the Mayenne. To march directly by the left bank, which the army occupied, would be imprudent, as was judiciously observed by a highly-distinguished officer, Savary, who was perfectly acquainted with that part of the country. It would be easy for the Vendeans to occupy the bridge of Laval, and to maintain themselves there against all attacks. They might then, while the republican army was uselessly crowded together on the left bank, file along the right bank, cross the Mayenne in its rear, and attack it unawares. He proposed, therefore, to divide the attack, and to throw part of the army upon the right bank. On this side there would be no bridge to cross, and the occupation of Laval would not present any obstacle. This plan, approved by the generals, was adopted by L'Echelle. Next day, however, L'Echelle, who sometimes threw off his nullity to commit blunders, sent an order the most stupid and the most contrary to the course agreed upon the day before. He directed that the army should march, according to his favourite expression, *majestically and en masse*, upon Laval, filing upon the left bank. Kleber and all the generals were indignant. Nevertheless they were obliged to obey. Beaupuy advanced first; Kleber immediately followed. The whole Vendean army was deployed on the heights of Entrames. Beaupuy attacked; Kleber deployed on the right and left of the road, so as to extend himself as much as possible. Sensible, however, of the disadvantage of

* "The republicans supported an instant the shock of our army, whose numbers and movements were hidden by night, but they were soon turned, and the disorder became such, that our people took cartridges from their caissons, and they from ours. This confusion was favourable to the Vendeans, who lost few men, and killed a great many of the enemy. The darkness was so great, that M. Keller gave his hand to a republican to help him out of a ditch, thinking him one of us. The flashes of the cannon showed him at once the uniform, and—he killed him!"—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

this position, he sent to desire L'Echelle to direct Chalbos's division upon the enemy's flank, a movement which would have shaken him. But this column, composed of those battalions formed at Orleans and Niort, which had so often run away, dispersed before they had begun their march. L'Echelle was the first to scamper off at full gallop. A full half of the army, which was not engaged, fled with the utmost precipitation, with L'Echelle at its head, and ran to Chateau-Gonthier, and from Chateau-Gonthier to Angers. The brave Mayençais, who had never yet flinched, dispersed for the first time. The rout then became general. Beaupuy, Kleber, Marceau, and Merlin and Turreau, the representatives, made incredible but useless efforts to stop the fugitives.* Beaupuy received a ball in the middle of the chest. On being carried into a hut, he cried, "Leave me here, and show my bloody shirt to my soldiers." The gallant Bloss, who commanded the grenadiers, and was noted for extraordinary intrepidity, fell at the head of them. At length, one part of the army halted at Lyon-d'Angers; the other fled to Angers itself. General indignation was excited by the cowardly example set by L'Echelle, who had been the first to run away. The soldiers murmured loudly. On the following day, during the review, the small number of brave men who had stuck to their colours, and these were the Mayençais, shouted, "Down with L'Echelle! Kleber and Dubayet for ever! Let them give us back Dubayet!" L'Echelle, who heard these shouts, conceived a stronger dislike than ever for the army of Mayence, and for the generals whose bravery put him to shame. The representatives, seeing that the soldiers would no longer obey

* "The battle began at eleven o'clock in the morning. The republicans had two pieces of cannon on a rising ground in front. M. Stofflet, who was by the side of an emigrant, said to him, 'You shall see how we take cannon.' At the same time he ordered M. Martin, surgeon, to charge on the pieces with a dozen horsemen. Martin set off at a gallop. The cannoniers were killed, and the two pieces carried away. They turned them immediately against the republicans, and M. de la Marsonnierre was charged to point them. A spent ball struck him so violently, as to bury his shirt in his flesh. M. de Bangé supplied his place. This battery was important. It was exposed to the hottest fire of the enemy. M. de Larochejaquelein was almost continually with M. de Bangé, making the pieces always advance in front of the republicans, who were retreating. The drivers were so frightened that they were obliged to whip them on. For a moment cartouches were wanting. M. de Royrand galloped off for some. Coming back, a ball struck him on the head; he died of his wound some time after. The perseverance of this attack decided the success of the battle. The republicans gave way, and fled in disorder to Chateau-Gonthier. They wanted to form again in the town, and placed two cannon on the bridge to defend it. M. de Larochejaquelein, who had pursued them briskly, said to his soldiers, 'What, my friends, shall the conquerors sleep out of doors, and the conquered in the town?' The Vendeans had never had so much ardour. They rushed on the bridge, and the cannon were taken. The Mayençais tried a moment to resist. They were overthrown, and our people entered Chateau-Gonthier."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

L'Echelle, resolved to suspend him, and offered the command to Kleber. The latter refused it, because he was not fond of the situation of a general-in-chief, an everlasting butt to the representatives, to the minister, to the committee of public welfare, and consented merely to direct the army in the name of another. The command was therefore given to Chalbos, who was one of the oldest generals in the army. L'Echelle, anticipating the resolution of the representatives, resigned, saying that he was ill, and retired to Nantes, where he died some time afterwards.

Kleber, seeing the army in a deplorable state, dispersed partly at Angers and partly at Lyon-d'Angers, proposed to assemble the whole of it at Angers itself, then to allow it a few days' rest, to furnish it with shoes and clothes, and to reorganize it in a complete manner. This suggestion was adopted, and all the troops were collected at Angers. L'Echelle, on sending in his resignation, had not failed to denounce the army of Mayence, and to attribute to brave men a rout which was owing solely to his own cowardice. A distrust had long been felt of that army, of its *esprit de corps*, of its attachment to its generals, and of its opposition to the staff of Saumur. The recent shouts of "Dubayet for ever! Down with L'Echelle!" completely compromised it in the opinion of the government. Accordingly, the committee of public welfare soon issued an ordinance commanding that it should be dissolved and incorporated with the other corps. Kleber was charged with this operation. Though this measure was taken against himself and his companions-in-arms, he cheerfully obeyed, for he felt the danger of the spirit of rivalry and animosity which subsisted between the garrison of Mayence and the rest of the troops, and he saw moreover a great advantage in forming good heads of columns, which, skilfully distributed, might communicate their own energy to the whole army.

During these transactions at Angers, the Vendeans, delivered at Laval from the republicans, and seeing nothing that opposed their march, considered what course they had to pursue. Two, alike advantageous, presented themselves. They had to choose between the extremity of Bretagne and that of Normandy. In the farthest part of Bretagne, a strong spirit of fanaticism had been excited by the priests and the nobles; the population would receive them with joy; and the country, hilly and extremely intersected, would furnish them with very easy means of resistance; lastly they would be on the sea-coast and in communication with the English. The extremity of Normandy, or the peninsula of Cotentin, was rather more distant but much easier to guard; for, by making themselves masters of Port-Beil and St. Cosme, they could close it completely. They would there find the important town of Cherbourg, easily accessible to them on the land side, full of supplies of all kinds, and above all, well adapted for communication with the English.

The road to Bretagne was guarded only by the army of Brest, under Rossignol, consisting at most of five or six thousand men and badly organized. The road to Normandy was defended by the army of Cherbourg, composed of levies *en masse*, ready to disperse at the first musket-shot, and of a few thousand regular troops, which had not yet quitted Caen. Thus neither of these two armies was to be dreaded by the Vendean force. With a little celerity it would even be easy to avoid a meeting with them. But the Vendeans were ignorant of the nature of the localities. They had not among them a single officer who could tell them what Bretagne and Normandy were, what were their military advantages and their fortresses. They conceived, for instance, that Cherbourg was defended on the land side: they were incapable of making haste, of gaining information during their march, of executing any thing, in short, with any degree of vigour and precision.

Their army, though numerous, was in a deplorable state. All the principal chiefs were either dead or wounded. Bonchamps had expired on the left bank; D'Elbée had been conveyed wounded to Noirmoutiers; Lescure, struck by a ball on the forehead, was drawn dying after the army.* Laroche-Jacquelein alone was left, and to him the chief command had been assigned. Stofflet commanded under him. The army, now obliged to move and to abandon its own country, ought to have been organized; but it marched pell-mell, like a mob, having the women, the children, and the waggons, in the centre. In a regular army, the brave, the weak, the coward, are so dovetailed, as it were, that they must perforce hold together and mutually

* "We quitted Laval without having determined if we should go to Rennes. Stofflet, on his own authority, took the road to Fougeres. In the evening we stopped at Mayenne; the next day we continued our disastrous journey. The army, after a skirmish, in which it succeeded, entered Ernée. We passed the night there. I was overwhelmed with fatigue, so threw myself on a mattress by Lescure, and went to sleep. During it, they perceived all at once that the patient had lost his strength, and was dying. They put on blisters, but, an instant after, he lost his speech. At one o'clock in the morning, sleep left me, and I passed twelve hours in a state of distraction impossible to paint. Toward noon we were forced to continue our journey. I got first into the carriage on the mattress by Lescure. Agatha was on the other side. Our friends represented to me that the surgeon would be more useful than I, and made me get out of the carriage, and put me on horseback. I saw nothing. I had lost all power of thinking. I distinguished no objects. I knew not what I felt. A dark cloud, a frightful void, surrounded me. I will own that, finding on the road the bodies of many republicans, a sort of involuntary rage made me push on my horse, so as to trample under foot those who had killed Lescure! In about an hour I heard some noise in the carriage, and sobs—I wanted to rush in. I suspected my misfortune, but they drew me off, and I dared not persist. In reality, the time when I had heard a noise in the carriage had been the last of M. de Lescure. Agatha wished to get out, but thinking that I should then know the worst, she had the courage to pass seven hours beside the dead body."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Laroche-Jaquelein.* E.

support one another. A few courageous men are sufficient to impart their energy to the whole mass. Here, on the contrary, no ranks were kept, no division into companies, into battalions, was observed. Each marched where he pleased, the bravest men had ranged themselves together and formed a corps of five or six thousand, always ready to be the first to advance. Next to them came a troop, consisting of those who were disposed to decide an advantage by throwing themselves on the flanks of an enemy already broken. After these two bands slowly followed that confused mass, which was ever ready to run away on the firing of the first shot.

Thus the thirty or forty thousand armed men were reduced to a few thousand brave fellows, who were always disposed to fight from temperament. The want of subdivisions prevented them from forming detachments, directing a corps to this or that point, or making any disposition whatever. Some followed Laroche-Jacquelein, others Stofflet, and would follow nobody else. It was impossible to give orders. All that could be obtained by the officers was to get their people to follow at a given signal. Stofflet had merely a few trusty peasants who went to communicate his directions to their comrades. They had scarcely two hundred wretched cavalry, and about thirty pieces of cannon, ill-served and ill-kept. The baggage encumbered the march: the women and the old men strove, for the sake of greater safety, to burrow amidst the foremost troop of fighters, and filled their ranks and embarrassed their movements. The men began to conceive a distrust of the officers. They said that the latter were anxious to reach the coast only that they might embark and abandon to their fate the unfortunate peasants whom they had torn from their homes. The council, whose authority had become absolutely illusory, was divided; the priests were dissatisfied with the military chiefs; nothing, in short, would have been easier than to destroy such an army, even if the utmost disorder of command had not prevailed among the republicans.

The Vendeans were, therefore, incapable alike of conceiving and executing any plan whatever. It was twenty-six days since they quitted the Loire, and, in so long a space of time, they had done nothing at all. After this prolonged indecision, they at last came to a determination. On the one hand, they were told that Rennes and St. Malo were guarded by considerable numbers of troops; on the other, that Cherbourg was strongly defended on the land side. They resolved, therefore, to besiege Granville, seated on the coast between the point of Bretagne and that of Normandy. This plan had the especial advantage of bringing them near to Normandy, which had been described to them as extremely fertile, and abounding in provisions. They marched, in consequence, upon Fougères. Fifteen or sixteen thousand men of the levy *en masse* had been collected upon the

road which they were pursuing, but these dispersed without striking a blow. They reached Dol on the 10th of November, and Avranches on the 12th.

On the 14th of November (24 Brumaire) they marched for Granville, leaving half their men and all their baggage at Avranches. The garrison having attempted to make a sortie, they repulsed it, and penetrated in pursuit of it into the suburb. The garrison had time to enter and to secure the gates; but the suburb was in their possession, and they had thus great facilities for the attack. They advanced from the suburb to the palisades which had recently been erected, and, without thinking of pulling them down, they merely kept up a fire of musketry against the ramparts, whilst they were answered with grape-shot and cannon-balls. At the same time they placed some pieces on the surrounding heights, and fired to no purpose against the top of the walls and on the houses of the town. At night they dispersed, and left the suburb, where the fire of the place allowed them no rest. They went beyond the reach of the cannon to seek lodging, provisions, and, above all, fire, for the weather began to be extremely cold. The chiefs could scarcely retain a few hundred men in the suburb, to keep up a fire of musketry from that quarter.

On the following day, their inability to take a walled town was still more clearly demonstrated to them. They made another trial of their batteries, but without success. They again opened a fire of musketry along the palisades, but were soon completely disheartened. One of them all at once conceived the idea of taking advantage of the ebb-tide to cross the beach, and to attack the town on the side next to the harbour. They were preparing for this new attempt, when the suburb was set on fire by the representatives shut up in Granville. They were then obliged to evacuate it, and to think of retreat. The proposed attempt on the side towards the sea was entirely relinquished, and on the following day they all returned to Avranches to rejoin the rest of their force and the baggage. From this moment their discouragement was extreme. They complained more bitterly than ever of the chiefs who had torn them from their country and now wanted to abandon them, and insisted, with loud shouts, on returning to the Loire. In vain did Laroche-Jacquelein, at the head of the bravest of their force, make a new attempt to lead them into Normandy: in vain did he march to Ville-Dieu, which he took: he was followed by scarcely a thousand men. The rest of the column, marching upon Pont-Orson, took the road through Bretagne, by which it had come. It made itself master of the bridge at Beaux, across the Selune, the possession of which was indispensable for reaching Pont-Orson.

During these occurrences at Granville, the republican army had been reorganized at Angers. Scarcely had the time neces-

sary for giving it a little rest and order elapsed, when it was conducted to Rennes, to be there joined by six or seven thousand men of the Brest army, commanded by Rossignol. There a council of war was held, and the measures to be taken for continuing the pursuit of the Vendean column were determined upon. Chalbos, being ill, had obtained permission to retire upon the rear, to recruit his health; and Rossignol had been invested by the representatives with the chief command of the army of the West and that of Brest, forming a total of twenty or twenty-one thousand men. It had been resolved that these two armies should proceed forthwith to Antrain; that General Tribout, who was at Dol with three or four thousand men, should march to Pont-Orson; and that General Sepher, who had six thousand soldiers of the army of Cherbourg, should follow the rear of the Vendean column. Thus, placed between the sea, the post of Pont-Orson, and the army at Antrain and Sepher, which was coming from Avranches, this column could not fail to be enveloped and destroyed.

All these dispositions had been executed at the very moment when the Vendeans were leaving Avranches and taking possession of the bridge at Beaux, with the intention of proceeding to Pont-Orson. It was the 18th of November (28 Brumaire). General Tribout, a declaimer without any knowledge of war, had, in order to guard Pont-Orson, merely to occupy a narrow pass across a marsh, which covered the town and could not be turned. With so advantageous a position, he had it in his power to prevent the Vendeans from stirring a single step. But, as soon as he perceived the enemy, he abandoned the defile and moved forward. The Vendeans, encouraged by the taking of the bridge at Beaux, charged him vigorously, obliged him to fall back, and, profiting by the disorder of his retreat, threw themselves into the pass which crosses the marsh, and thus made themselves masters of Pont-Orson, which they ought not to have been suffered to approach.

Owing to this unpardonable blunder, an unexpected route was opened to the Vendeans. They might march upon Dol; but from Dol they would be obliged to go to Antrain, and to encounter the republican main army. They nevertheless evacuated Pont-Orson and advanced towards Dol. Westermann hastened in pursuit of them. Impetuous as ever, he hurried Marigny and his grenadiers along with him, and had the hardihood to follow the Vendeans as far as Dol with a mere advanced guard. He actually overtook them, and drove them confusedly into the town; but, soon recovering themselves, they sallied forth from Dol, and, by that destructive fire which they directed so well, they obliged the republican advanced guard to retire to a great distance.

Kleber, who still directed the army by his counsels, though it was commanded by another, proposed, in order to complete the

destruction of the Vendean column, to blockade it, and thus cause it to perish by famine, disease, and want. Dispersions were so frequent among the republican troops, that an attack by main force might be attended with dangerous risks. On the contrary, by fortifying Antrain, Pont-Orson, and Dinan, they would enclose the Vendeans between the sea and three intrenched points; and, by harassing them every day with the troops under Westermann and Marigny, they could not fail to destroy them. The representatives approved this plan; and orders were issued accordingly. But, all at once, an officer arrived from Westermann. He said that, if the main body of the army would second his general, and attack Dol on the Antrain side, while he would attack it from the Pont-Orson side, it would be all over with the Catholic army, which must be utterly destroyed. The representatives took fire at this proposal. Prieur of La Marne, not less impetuous than Westermann, caused the plan at first adopted to be changed, and it was decided that Marceau, at the head of a column, should march upon Dol simultaneously with Westermann.

On the morning of the 21st, Westermann advanced upon Dol. In his impatience, he did not think of ascertaining if Marceau's column, which was to come from Antrain, had already reached the field of battle, and he attacked forthwith. The enemy replied to his attack by their formidable fire. Westermann deployed his infantry and gained ground; but cartridges began to fail; he was then obliged to make a retrograde movement, and fell back to a *plateau* where he established himself.* Taking advantage of this situation, the Vendeans fell upon his column and dispersed it. Meanwhile, Marceau at length came

* "The republicans tried to defend Pontorson, but were beaten. I arrived in a carriage at night, just as the fighting was over. The coach passed every moment over dead bodies. The jolting, and the cracking of bones broken by the wheels, was horrible. When alighting, a corpse was before the door of the carriage. I was going to step on it, when they took it away. Soon after we arrived at Dol, fatigued, and in want of provisions. At nine o'clock at night the town was alarmed, the drum beat to arms, and the patrol came galloping towards us, and announced that we must prepare for the attack of a numerous army, which had been marching all day, and was now fast approaching Dol. The moment the Vendeans had formed themselves at the entrance of the town, the attack began. The cries of the soldiers—the roll of the drums—the fire of the howitzers casting a transient gleam over the town—the noise of the musketry—the thunder of the cannon—all contributed to the impression made on those who expected life or death from the issue of this battle. In the midst of this, we kept profound silence. Suddenly we heard, at the entrance of the town, 'Advance cavalry!'—'Vive le Roi!' A hundred thousand voices, men, women, and children, repeated the cry, which told us that our brave protectors had saved us from massacre. The horsemen went off at full gallop, crying 'Vive le Roi!' The light of the firing made their sabres shine through the darkness. All the rest of the night we listened to the cannon, the noise of which grew gradually fainter. Towards morning the republicans had retreated two leagues."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

in sight of Dol; the victorious Vendeans united against him; he resisted with heroic firmness for a whole day, and successfully maintained his ground on the field of battle. But his position was extremely perilous; he sent to Kleber, soliciting advice and succour. Kleber hastened to him, and advised him to take a retrograde, indeed, but a very strong position in the environs of Trans. Some hesitation was felt in following the advice of Kleber, when the presence of the Vendean riflemen made the troops fall back. They were at first thrown into disorder, but soon rallied on the position pointed out by Kleber. That general then again brought forward the first plan which he had proposed, and which consisted in fortifying Antrain. It was adopted; but it was resolved that the troops should not return to Antrain but remain at Trans, and fortify themselves there, in order to be nearer to Dol. With that fickleness which governed all determinations, this plan was once more relinquished, and it was again resolved to take the offensive, notwithstanding the experience of the preceding day. A reinforcement was sent to Westermann, with orders to attack on his side, at the same time that the main army should attack on the side next to Trans.

Kleber in vain objected that Westermann's troops, disheartened by the event of the preceding day, would not stand firm. The representatives insisted, and the attack was fixed for the following day. Next day the movement was accordingly executed. Westermann and Marigny were anticipated and attacked by the enemy. Their troops, though supported by a reinforcement, dispersed. They made incredible efforts to stop them; to no purpose they rallied around them a few brave men, who were soon hurried along by the rest. The victorious Vendeans abandoned that point, and moved upon their right towards the army which was advancing from Trans.

While they had just obtained this advantage and were preparing to gain a second, the report of the artillery had struck terror into the town of Dol, and among such of them as had not yet come forth to fight. The women, the aged men, the children, and the cowards ran off on all sides and fled towards Dinan and the sea. Their priests, with crucifixes in their hands, made useless efforts to bring them back. Stofflet and Laroche-Jacquelein ran every where to stop them and lead them again into action. At length they succeeded in rallying them and making them take the road to Trans, after the brave fellows who had preceded them.

Not less confusion prevailed in the principal camp of the republicans. Rossignol and the representatives, commanding all at once, could neither agree together nor act. Kleber and Marceau, devoured by vexation, had advanced to reconnoitre the ground and to withstand the effort of the Vendeans. Arrived in presence of the enemy, Kleber would have deployed the advanced guard of the army of Brest, but it ran away at the first

fire. He then ordered Canuel's brigade to advance. This brigade was in great part composed of Mayence battalions, which, with their wonted bravery, resisted during the whole day, and were left alone on the field of battle forsaken by the rest of the troops. But the Vendean band which had beaten Westermann took them in flank, and they were forced to retreat. The Vendeans, profiting by this movement, pursued them to Antrain itself. At length it became urgent to quit Antrain, and the whole republican army retired to Rennes.

It was then that the prudence of Kleber's advice was fully appreciated. Rossignol, in one of those generous impulses of which he was capable, notwithstanding his resentment against the generals of the Mayence troops, appeared at the council of war with a paper containing his resignation. "I am not qualified," said he, "to command an army. Let me have a battalion and I will do my duty: but I am not fit for the chief command. Here is my resignation, and they who refuse it are enemies of the republic."—"No resignation!" cried Prieur of La Marne; "thou art the eldest son of the committee of public welfare. We will give thee generals who shall advise thee, and who shall be responsible in thy stead for the events of the war." Kleber, however, mortified at seeing the army so unskilfully directed, proposed a plan which could alone re-establish the state of affairs, but was far from agreeing with the proposition of the representatives. "You ought," said he to them, "if you allow Rossignol to retain the generalship, to appoint a commander-in-chief of the infantry, a commander of the cavalry, and one of the artillery." His suggestion was adopted. He then had the boldness to propose Marceau as commander-in-chief of the infantry, Westermann of the cavalry, and Debilly of the artillery, all three suspected as members of the Mayence faction. A momentary dispute ensued respecting the individuals; but the opponents at length yielded to the ascendency of that able and generous officer, who loved the republic, not from an excited imagination but from temperament, who served with admirable sincerity and disinterestedness, who was passionately fond of his profession, and imbued with the spirit of it in a very rare degree. Kleber had recommended Marceau, because that brave young soldier was at his disposal, and he reckoned upon his entire devotedness. He was sure, if Rossignol remained the cipher he was, to direct every thing himself, and to bring the war to a successful termination.

The Cherbourg division, which had come from Normandy, was united with the armies of Brest and the West, which then quitted Rennes and proceeded towards Angers, where the Vendeans were endeavouring to cross the Loire. The latter, after securing the means of return by their twofold victory on the road to Pont-Orson and on that of Antrain, thought of retiring to their own country. They passed, without striking a blow, through

Fougères and Laval, and designed to make themselves masters of Angers, with the intention of crossing the Loire at the bridge of Cé. The last experiment which they had made at Granville had not wholly convinced them of their inability to take walled towns. On the 3rd of December they threw themselves into the suburbs of Angers, and began to fire upon the front of the place. They continued on the following day, but, anxious as they were to open for themselves a passage to their own country, from which they were now separated only by the Loire, they soon despaired of succeeding. The arrival of Westermann's advanced guard on the same day, the 4th, completely disheartened them, and caused them to relinquish their enterprise. They then marched off, ascending the Loire, and not knowing where they should be able to cross it. Some advised that they should go on to Saumur, others to Blois; but, at the moment when they were deliberating, Kleber came up with his division along the Saumur road, and obliged them to fall back into Bretagne. Thus these unfortunate creatures, destitute of provisions, of shoes, of vehicles to convey their families, afflicted by an epidemic disease, were again wandering in Bretagne, without finding either an asylum or outlet whereby to escape.* The roads were covered with the sad vestiges of their disastrous retreat; and at the bivouac before Angers were found women and children who had died of hunger and cold. They began already to believe that the Convention meant no harm to any but their chiefs, and many of them threw away their arms and fled clandestinely across the country. At length the reports made to them concerning Mans, the abundance which they should find there, and the dispositions of the inhabitants, induced them to proceed thither. They passed through La Flèche, of which they made themselves masters, and entered Mans after a slight skirmish.

The republican army followed them. Fresh disputes had taken place among the generals. Kleber had intimidated the quarrelsome by his firmness, and obliged the representatives to send back Rossignol to Rennes with his division of the Brest army. An ordinance of the committee of public welfare then

* "No words can possibly give an idea of our despair. Hunger, fatigue, and grief, had transformed us all. Every body was in rags, even our chiefs. I will attempt a sketch of our costume. Besides my peasant-dress, I had on my head a flannel hood, an old blanket about me, and a large piece of blue cloth tied round my neck with twine. I wore three pair of yellow worsted stockings, and green slippers fastened to my feet with cord. My horse had an hussar saddle with a sheep-skin. M. de Mouliniers had a turban and a Turkish dress which he had taken from the playhouse at La Flèche. The Chevalier de Beauvolliers was wrapped up in a lawyer's gown, and had a woman's hat over a flannel nightcap. Madame d'Armaille and her children were covered with pieces of yellow damask. M. de Verteuil had been killed in battle with two petticoats on, one fastened round his neck, and the other to his waist. He fought thus equipped."— *Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* E.

conferred on Marceau the title of commander-in-chief, and dismissed all the Mayence generals, but allowed Marceau to avail himself temporarily of Kleber's services. Marceau declared that he would not command, if Kleber were not at his side to direct every thing. "In accepting the title," said Marceau to Kleber, "I take the annoyance and the responsibility upon myself, and I shall leave thee the actual command and the means of saving the army."—"Be easy, my friend," said Kleber, "we will fight and we will be guillotined together."

The army marched immediately, and, from that moment, every thing was conducted with unity and firmness. Westermann's advanced guard arrived on the 12th at Mans, and instantly charged the Vendeans. Confusion seized them; but some thousand brave men, headed by Laroche-Jacquelein, formed before the town, and obliged Westermann to fall back upon Marceau, who was coming up with a division. Kleber was still behind with the rest of the army. Westermann was for attacking immediately, though it was dark. Marceau, impelled by his impetuous temperament, but fearing the censure of Kleber, whose cool, calm energy never suffered itself to be hurried away, at first hesitated; but, overcome by Westermann, he made up his mind, and attacked Mans. The tocsin rang, and dismay pervaded the town. Westermann and Marceau dashed forward in the dark, overturning all before them; and, in spite of a galling fire from the houses, they drove back the greater number of the Vendeans to the great square of the town. Marceau directed the streets running into this square on his right and left to be cut off, and thus kept the Vendeans blockaded. His position was, nevertheless, hazardous; for, having ventured into a town in the middle of the night, he was liable to be turned and surrounded. He, therefore, sent a message to Kleber, urging him to come up as speedily as possible with his division. The latter arrived at daybreak. Most of the Vendeans had fled; the bravest of them only remained to protect the retreat: they were charged with the bayonet, broken, dispersed, and a horrible carnage began all over the town.

Never had rout been so disastrous. A considerable number of women, left behind, were made prisoners. Marceau saved a young female who had lost her relatives, and who, in her despair, begged to be put to death. She was modest and beautiful. Marceau, full of kindness and delicacy, took her into his carriage, treated her with respect, and caused her to be conveyed to a place of safety. The country was covered to a considerable distance by this great disaster. The indefatigable Westermann harassed the fugitives, and strewed the roads with dead bodies. The unfortunate Vendeans, not knowing whither to flee, entered Laval for the third time, and left it again immediately to proceed once more towards the Loire. They purposed

to cross at Ancenis. Laroche-Jacquelein and Stofflet threw themselves on the other bank, with the intention, it was said, of procuring boats, and bringing them to the right bank. They did not come back. Indeed, it is asserted that it was impossible for them to return. The passage could not be effected. The Vendean column, deprived of the presence and support of its two leaders, continued to descend the Loire, still pursued, and still vainly seeking a passage. At length, reduced to despair, not knowing which way to turn, it resolved to flee to the extreme point of Bretagne, to the Morbihan. It proceeded to Blain, where its rear-guard obtained an advantage; and from Blain to Savenai, whence it hoped to be able to throw itself into the Morbihan.

The republicans had followed the Vendean column without intermission, and they arrived at Savenai on the evening of the same day that it had entered that place. Savenai had the Loire on the left, marshes on the right, and a wood in front. Kleber felt the importance of occupying the wood the same day, and of making himself master of all the heights, in order to crush the Vendeans on the following day in Savenai, before they had time to leave it. Accordingly, he directed his advanced guard upon them; and he himself, seizing the moment when the Vendeans were debouching from the wood, to repulse this advanced guard, boldly threw himself into it with a corps of infantry, and completely cleared it of them. They then fled to Savenai, and shut themselves up there, keeping up, however, a continual fire all night. Westermann and the representatives proposed to attack immediately, and to consummate the destruction that very night. Kleber, determined that no fault of his should deprive him of a certain victory, declared positively that he would not attack; and then, assuming an imperturbable indifference, he suffered them to say what they pleased, without replying to any provocation. He thus prevented every sort of movement.

Next morning, December the 23rd, before it was light, he was on horseback with Marceau, passing along his line, when the Vendeans, driven to desperation and determined not to survive that battle, rushed first upon the republicans. Marceau marched with the centre, Canuel with the right, Kleber with the left. All of them fell upon and drove back the Vendeans. Marceau and Kleber joined in the town, and, taking all the cavalry they could find, went in pursuit of the enemy. The Loire and the marshes forbade all retreat to the unfortunate Vendeans. A great number perished by the bayonet;* others were

* "On this occasion between five and six thousand Vendeans perished with arms in their hands. The work of fusillading was carried on during eight days at Savenai, till the walls were scaled with blood, and the ditches filled with human bodies."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

made prisoners; and very few found means to escape. On that day the column was utterly destroyed, and the great war of La Vendée was truly brought to a close.*

Thus this unfortunate population, drawn from its own country through the imprudence of its chiefs, and reduced to the necessity of seeking a port as a place of refuge within reach of the English, had in vain set foot in the waters of the Ocean. Granville had proved inaccessible to it. It had been led back to the Loire; unable to cross that river, it had been a second time driven back into Bretagne, and from Bretagne again to the Loire. At length, finding it impossible to pass that fatal barrier, it had gone to perish in a body between Savenai, the Loire, and the marshes. Westermann was despatched with his cavalry to pursue the fugitive wrecks of La Vendée. Kleber and Marceau returned to Nantes. Received on the 24th by the people of that city, they obtained a sort of triumph, and were presented by the Jacobin club with a civic crown.

If we take a general view of this memorable campaign of 1793, we cannot help considering it as the greatest effort that was ever made by a nation threatened with civil war. In the year 1792, the coalition, which was not yet complete, had acted without unity and without vigour. The Prussians had attempted a ridiculous invasion in Champagne; the Austrians had confined themselves in the Netherlands to the bombardment of the fortress of Lille; the French, in their first excitement, drove back the Prussians beyond the Rhine, the Austrians beyond the Meuse, conquered the Netherlands, Mayence, Savoy, and the county of Nice. The important year 1793 opened in a very different manner. The coalition was strengthened by three powers which had hitherto been neutral. Spain, provoked to the utmost by the event of the 21st of January, had at length sent fifty thousand men to the Pyrenees; France had obliged Pitt to declare himself; and England and Holland had entered at once into the coalition, which was thus doubled, and which, better informed of the means of the enemy with which it had to cope, augmented its forces, and prepared for a decisive effort. Thus, as in the time of Louis XIV., France had to sustain the attack of all Europe; and she had not drawn upon herself this combination of enemies by her ambition, but by the just indignation which the interference of the powers in her internal affairs had awakened in her.

So early as the month of March, Dumouriez set out on a rash enterprise, and proposed to invade Holland by crossing over in boats. Meanwhile, Coburg surprised the lieutenants of

* "I have seen and observed well these desperate heroes of Savenai; and I swear to you that they wanted nothing of soldiers but the dress. I know not if I am mistaken, but this war of brigands and peasants, on which so much ridicule has been thrown, and which people have affected to treat as despicable, has always appeared to me the one of the greatest importance to the republic."—*Letter from a Republican General to Merlin de Thionville.* E.

that general, drove them beyond the Meuse, and even obliged him to return and put himself at the head of his army. Dumouriez was forced to fight the battle of Neerwinden. That terrible battle was won, when the left wing gave way and recrossed the Gette: it became necessary to beat a retreat, and we lost the Netherlands in a few days. Our reverses then soured the public mind; Dumouriez broke with his government, and went over to the Austrians. At the same time Custine, beaten at Frankfort, driven back upon the Rhine, and separated from Mayence, left the Prussians to blockade and to commence the siege of that famous fortress; the Piedmontese repulsed us at Saorgio; the Spaniards crossed the Pyrenees; and, lastly, the provinces of the West, already deprived of their priests, and provoked to the utmost by the levy of the three hundred thousand men, rose in insurrection at the name of the throne and of the altar.

It was at this moment that the Mountain, exasperated by the desertion of Dumouriez, the defeat sustained in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, at the Alps, and more especially by the insurrection of the West, throwing off all restraint, tore the Girondins by force from the bosom of the Convention, and thus removed all those who could still have talked to it of moderation. This new outrage created it new enemies. Sixty-seven departments out of eighty-three rose against the government, which had then to struggle with Europe, royalist La Vendée, and three-fourths of federalized France. It was at this epoch that we lost the camp of Famars and the brave Dampierre, that the blockade of Valenciennes was completed, that Mayence was closely pressed, that the Spaniards crossed the Tech and threatened Perpignan, that the Vendeans took Saumur and besieged Nantes, and that the federalists made preparations for proceeding from Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen, upon Paris.

From all these points a bold march upon the capital might have been attempted. The Revolution might have been terminated in a few days, and European civilization suspended for a long time. Fortunately, the insurgents laid siege to fortresses. The reader will recollect with what firmness the Convention reduced the departments to submission, by merely showing its authority, and dispersing the imprudent people who had advanced as far as Vernon; with what success the Vendeans were repulsed from Nantes, and stopped in their victorious career. But, while the Convention was triumphing over the federalists, its other enemies were making alarming progress. Valenciennes and Mayence were taken after memorable sieges; the war of federalism was attended with two deplorable events, the siege of Lyons and the treason at Toulon; lastly, La Vendée itself, notwithstanding the successful resistance of Nantes, enclosed by the Loire, the sea, and Poitou, had repulsed the columns of Westermann and Labarolière, which had attempted to pene-

trate into its bosom. Never had situation been more perilous. The allies were no longer detained in the north and on the Rhine by sieges; Lyons and Toulon offered solid supports to the Piedmontese; La Vendée appeared invincible, and offered a footing to the English. It was then that the Convention summoned to Paris the deputies of the primary assemblies, gave them the constitution of the year 3 to swear to and to defend, and decided with them that entire France, men, and things, should be at the disposal of the government. Then were decreed the levy *en masse*, generation by generation, and the power of requiring whatever was needed for the war. Then were instituted the great book, and the forced loan from the rich, in order to withdraw part of the assignats from circulation, and to effect the forced sale of the national domains. Then were two large armies despatched to La Vendée; the garrison of Mayence was conveyed thither by carriages travelling post; it was resolved that that unfortunate country should be laid waste, and that its population should be transferred to other parts. Lastly, Carnot became a member of the committee of public welfare, and introduced order and unity into the military operations.

We had lost Cæsar's Camp, and Kilmaine had, by a lucky retreat, saved the remains of the army of the North. The English advanced to Dunkirk and laid siege to that town, while the Austrians attacked Le Quesnoy. A force was rapidly moved from Lille upon the rear of the Duke of York. Had Houchard, who on this occasion commanded sixty thousand French, comprehended Carnot's plan, and proceeded to Furnes, not an Englishman would have escaped. Instead of advancing between the corps of observation and the besieging corps, he pursued a direct course, and at least caused the siege to be raised, by fighting the successful battle of Hondtschoote. This was our first victory, which saved Dunkirk, deprived the English of all the fruits of the war, and restored to us joy and hope.

Fresh reverses soon converted this joy into new alarms. Le Quesnoy was taken by the Austrians; Houchard's army was seized with a panic terror at Menin, and dispersed; the Prussians and the Austrians, whom there was nothing to stop after the reduction of Mayence, advanced upon the two slopes of the Vosges, threatened the lines of Weissenburg, and beat us in several rencounters. The Lyonnese made a vigorous resistance; the Piedmontese had recovered Savoy, and descended towards Lyons, to place our army between two fires. Ricardos had crossed the Tet and advanced beyond Perpignan; lastly, the division of the troops in the West into two armies, that of La Rochelle and that of Brest, had prevented the success of the plan of campaign agreed upon at Saumur on the 2nd of September. Canclaux, badly seconded by Rossignol, had found himself alone, in advance, in the heart of La Vendée, and had fallen back upon Nantes. New efforts were then required. The

dictatorship was completed and proclaimed by the institution of the revolutionary government; the power of the committee of public welfare was proportioned to the danger; the levies were effected, and the armies swelled by a multitude of recruits; the new comers filled the garrisons, and permitted the organized troops to be transferred to the line; lastly, the Convention ordered the armies to conquer within a given time.

The means which it had employed produced their inevitable effects. The armies of the North, being reinforced, concentrated themselves at Lille and at Guise. The allies had proceeded to Maubeuge, and purposed taking it before the end of the campaign. Jourdan, marching from Guise, fought the Austrians at Watignies, and forced them to raise the siege of Maubeuge, as Houchard had obliged the English to raise that of Dunkirk. The Piedmontese were driven back beyond the St. Bernard by Kellermann. Lyons, inundated by levies *en masse*, was carried by assault; Ricardos was driven beyond the Tet; lastly, the two armies of La Rochelle and Brest, united under one commander, L'Echelle, who suffered Kleber to act for him, crushed the Vendeans at Cholet, and obliged them to cross the Loire in disorder.

A single reverse disturbed the joy which such events could not fail to produce. The lines of Weissenburg were lost. But the committee of public welfare resolved not to terminate the campaign before they were retaken. Young Hoche, general of the army of the Moselle, unsuccessful, yet brave, at Kaiserslautern, was encouraged though beaten. Unable to get at Brunswick, he threw himself on the flank of Wurmser. From that moment the united armies of the Rhine and of the Moselle drove the Austrians before them beyond Weissenburg, obliged Brunswick to follow the retrograde movement, raised the blockade of Landau, and encamped in the Palatinate. Toulon was retaken in consequence of a happy idea, and by a prodigy of boldness; lastly, the Vendeans, who were supposed to be destroyed, but who, in their despair, had to the number of eighty thousand crossed the Loire and sought a seaport, with the intention of throwing themselves into the arms of the English—the Vendeans were driven back alike from the coast and from the banks of the Loire, and annihilated between these two barriers, which they never could pass. At the Pyrenees alone our arms had been unfortunate; but we had lost the line of the Tech only, and were still encamped before Perpignan.

Thus this grand and awful year showed us Europe pressing the Revolution with its whole weight, and, making it atone for its first successes in 1792, driving back its armies, penetrating by all the frontiers at once, and part of France rising in insurrection, and adding its efforts to those of the hostile powers. The Revolution then took fire. Hurling its indignation on the 31st of May, it created by that day new enemies, and appeared on the

point of succumbing again to Europe and three-fourths of its revolted provinces. But it soon reduced its internal enemies to their duty, raised a million of men at once, beat the English at Hondtschoote, was beaten in its turn, but immediately redoubled its efforts, won a victory at Watignies, recovered the lines of Weissenburg, drove the Piedmontese beyond the Alps, took Lyons and Toulon, and twice crushed the Vendeans, the first time in La Vendée, and, for the last time, in Bretagne. Never was there a grander spectacle, or one more worthy to be held forth to the admiration and the imitation of nations. France had recovered all that she had lost excepting Condé, Valenciennes, and some forts in Roussillon. The powers of Europe, on the contrary, which had all combated her single-handed, had gained nothing, were accusing one another, and throwing upon each other the disgrace of the campaign. France was completing the organization of her means, and preparing to appear still more formidable in the following year.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE HEBERTISTS AND DANTONISTS—THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE PLACES ITSELF BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES AND STRIVES ESPECIALLY TO REPRESS THE HEBERTISTS — MOVEMENT ATTEMPTED BY THE HEBERTISTS — ARREST AND DEATH OF RONSIN, VINCENT, HEBERT, MOMORO, &c.—THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC WELFARE SUBJECTS THE DANTONISTS TO THE SAME FATE—DEATH OF DANTON, CAMILLE-DESMOULINS, LACROIX, FABRE D'EGLANTINE, CHABOT, &c.

The Convention had begun to exercise some severities against the turbulent faction of the Cordeliers and of the ministerial agents. Ronsin and Vincent were in prison. Their partisans were bestirring themselves without. Momoro at the Cordeliers, Hebert at the Jacobins, were striving to excite the interest of the hot revolutionists in favour of their friends. The Cordeliers drew up a petition, and asked, in a tone that was any thing but respectful, if it was intended to punish Vincent and Ronsin for having courageously attacked Dumouriez, Custine, and Brissot. They declared that they considered those two citizens as excellent patriots, and that they should still retain them as members of their society. The Jacobins presented a more measured petition, and merely prayed that the report concerning Vincent and Ronsin should be accelerated, in order that they might be punished if guilty, or restored to liberty if they were innocent.

The committee of public welfare still kept silence. Collot-d'Herbois alone, though a member of the committee and a compulsory partisan of the government, displayed the warmest zeal in behalf of Ronsin. The motive of this was natural. The cause of Vincent was almost foreign to him, but that of Ronsin, who was sent with him to Lyons, and who moreover carried his sanguinary ordinances into execution, concerned him very nearly. Collot-d'Herbois had maintained, with Ronsin, that not more than a hundredth part of the Lyonnese were patriots; that it was necessary to carry away or to sacrifice the rest, and to consign their carcasses to the Rhone, in order to dismay the whole of the South by this spectacle, and to strike terror into the rebellious city of Toulon. Ronsin was in prison for having repeated these horrible expressions in a posting-bill. Collot-d'Herbois, now summoned to render an account of his mission, was deeply

interested in justifying the conduct of Ronsin, that he might gain approbation for his own.

At this moment there arrived a petition signed by some citizens of Lyons, who presented a most distressing picture of the calamities inflicted on their city. They represented discharges of grape-shot succeeding the executions by the guillotine, an entire population threatened with extermination, and a wealthy manufacturing city demolished not with the hammer but by mining. This petition, which four citizens had had the courage to sign, produced a painful impression upon the Convention. Collot-d'Herbois hastened to make his report, and, in his revolutionary intoxication,* he exhibited those awful executions as they appeared to his imagination, that is, as indispensable and perfectly natural. "The Lyonnese," said he in substance, "were conquered, but they openly declared that they would soon have their revenge. It was necessary to strike terror into these yet unsubdued rebels, and with them into all those who were disposed to imitate them. A prompt and a terrible example was required. The ordinary instrument of death did not act with sufficient despatch; the hammer demolished but slowly. Grape-shot has destroyed the men, mining has destroyed the buildings. Those who have suffered had all imbrued their hands in the blood of the patriots. A popular commission selected them with prompt and unerring eye from among the multitude of prisoners; and there was no reason to regret any of those who had suffered." Collot-d'Herbois obliged the Convention to approve of what appeared so natural to himself; he then proceeded to the Jacobins to complain to them of the difficulty he had had to justify his conduct, and of the compassion which the Lyonnese had excited. "This morning," said he, "I was forced to employ circumlocutions in order to cause the death of traitors to be approved of. People shed tears. They inquired *whether they had died at the first stroke!* Counter-revolutionists!—At the first stroke! And did Chalier die at the first stroke!†. . . 'You inquire,' said I to the Convention, 'how those men died who were covered with the blood of our brethren! If they were not dead, you would not be deliberating here!'. . . Well, they could scarcely understand this language; they could not bear to hear talk of dead men; they knew not how to defend themselves from shadows." Then turning to Ronsin, Collot-d'Herbois added that this general had shared all dangers

* "In the year 1792 this flaming patriot and republican published a tract in favour of a constitutional monarchy, which, it seems, he expected would induce the King to employ him. Being disappointed of his object, he became the decided enemy of royalty, and joined the party of Robespierre." —*Gorton.* E.

† At the execution of this Mountaineer, condemned by the Lyonnese federalists, the executioner had been so awkward at his business that he was obliged to make three attempts before his head was struck off.

with the patriots in the South, that he had there defied with him the daggers of the aristocrats, and displayed the greatest firmness in enforcing respect for the authority of the republic; that at this moment all the aristocrats were rejoicing at his arrest, which they regarded as a source of hope for themselves. "What then has Ronsin done to be arrested?" exclaimed Collot. "I have asked every body this question, none could tell me." On the day which followed this sitting, the 3rd Nivose, Collot, returning to the charge, communicated the death of Gaillard the patriot, who, seeing that the Convention seemed to disapprove of the energy displayed at Lyons, had committed suicide. "Was I wrong," exclaimed Collot, "when I told you that the patriots would be driven to despair, if the public spirit were to sink on this occasion?"

Thus, while the two leaders of the ultra-revolutionists were imprisoned, their partisans were bestirring themselves in their behalf. The clubs, the Convention, were annoyed by remonstrances in their favour, and a member of the committee of public welfare itself, compromised in their sanguinary system, defended them in order to defend himself. Their adversaries began, on their part, to throw the greatest energy into their attacks. Philipeaux, returned from La Vendée, and full of indignation against the staff of Saumur, was solicitous that the committee of public welfare, sharing that indignation, should prosecute Rossignol, Ronsin, and others, and discovered treason in the failure of the plan of campaign of the 2nd of September. We have already seen what blunders, what misconceptions, and what incompatibilities of character there were in the conduct of that war. Rossignol and the staff of Saumur had been actuated by spleen but not by treason. The committee, though disapproving of their conduct, could not visit them with a condemnation which would have been neither just nor politic. Robespierre recommended an amicable explanation; but Philipeaux, becoming impatient, wrote a virulent pamphlet, in which he gave a narrative of the whole war, and mixed up many errors with many truths. This publication could not fail to produce the strongest sensation, for it attacked the most decided revolutionists, and charged them with the most odious treasons. "What has Ronsin done?" said Philipeaux. "Intrigued a great deal, robbed a great deal, lied a great deal! His only expedition is that of the 18th of September, when he caused forty-five thousand patriots to be beaten by three thousand brigands. It is that fatal day of Coron, when, after placing our artillery in a gorge at the head of a column having a flank of six leagues, he kept himself concealed in a stable, like a cowardly rascal, two leagues from the field of battle, where our unfortunate comrades were mowed down by their own guns." We see that in this pamphlet Philipeaux was not very choice in his expressions. Unfortunately, the committee of public welfare, which he ought to have contrived to get on

his side, was itself not treated with much respect. Philipeaux, dissatisfied at seeing his own indignation not sufficiently shared, seemed to impute to the committee part of the faults with which he reproached Ronsin, and even made use of this offensive expression: *if you have been nothing more than mistaken.*

This pamphlet, as we have observed, produced a great sensation. Camille-Desmoulins was not acquainted with Philipeaux, but, pleased to find that in La Vendée the ultra-revolutionists had committed as many faults as in Paris, and not suspecting that anger had so blinded Philipeaux as to convert faults into treason, he read his pamphlet with avidity, admired his courage, and with his wonted *naïveté* he said to every body, "Have you read Philipeaux?"... "You must read Philipeaux." Every body, in his opinion, ought to read that publication, which proved the dangers incurred by the republic, through the fault of the revolutionary exaggerators.

Camille was very fond of Danton, and Danton of him. Both thought that, as the republic was saved by the late victories, it was time to put an end to cruelties thenceforth useless, that their longer continuance would only serve to compromise the Revolution, and that the foreign enemy alone could desire and instigate their prolongation. Camille conceived the idea of commencing a new journal which he entitled *The Old Cordelier*, for he and Danton were the elders of that celebrated club. His shafts were aimed at all the new revolutionists, who wished to overthrow and to outstrip the oldest and most tried revolutionists. Never had this writer—the most remarkable writer of the Revolution, and one of the most natural and witty in our language—displayed such grace, originality, and even eloquence. His first number (15 Frimaire), commenced thus: "O Pitt! I pay homage to thy genius! What new arrivals from France in England have given thee such excellent advice, and furnished thee with such sure means of ruining my country! Thou hast seen that thou shouldst everlastingly fail against her, if thou didst not strive to ruin in the public opinion those who for these five years have been thwarting all thy projects. Thou hast discovered that it is those who have always conquered thee that it behoves thee to conquer; that it behoves thee to accuse of corruption precisely those whom thou hast never been able to corrupt, and of lukewarmness those whom thou never couldst render lukewarm! I have opened my eyes," added Desmoulins; "I have seen the number of our enemies: their multitude tears me from the Hôtel des Invalides, and hurries me back to the fight. I am forced to write; I must throw aside the slow pencil of the history of the Revolution, which I was tracing by the fireside, to take up the rapid and panting pen of the journalist, and to follow at full gallop the revolutionary torrent. A consulting deputy, whom nobody has consulted since the 3rd of

June, I sally forth from my closet and my arm-chair, where I have had abundant leisure to follow minutely the new system of our enemies."

Camille extolled Robespierre to the skies for his conduct at the Jacobins, and for the generous services which he had rendered to the old patriots; and he expressed himself as follows relative to religion and the proscriptions.

"The human mind when ill," said he, "needs the dreamy bed of superstition: and, to see the festivals and the processions that are instituted, the altars and the shrines that are raised, it seems as if it were only the bed of the patient that is changed, as if merely the pillow of the hope of another life were taken away from him... For my part, I said the same thing on the very day that I saw Gobel come to the bar, with his crucifix and his crosier, which were borne in triumph before Anaxagoras,* the philosopher. If it were not a crime of lèse-mountain to suspect a president of the Jacobins and a *procureur* of the commune, like Clootz and Chaumette, I should be tempted to believe that, at this expression of Barrère, *La Vendée has ceased to exist!* the King of Prussia exclaimed with sorrow, 'All our efforts then will fail against the republic, since the kernel of La Vendée is destroyed,' and that the crafty Lucchesini,† in order to console him, made this reply: 'Invincible hero, I have hit upon an expedient. Let me act. I will pay some priests to call themselves charlatans. I will inflame the patriotism of others to make a similar declaration. There are in Paris two famous patriots who will be well adapted, by their talents, their exaggeration, and their well-known religious system, to second us and to receive our impressions. All that need be done, is to make our friends in France act in concert with the two great philosophers, Anacharsis and Anaxagoras; to stir up their bile, and to dazzle their civism by the rich spoil of the sacristies. [I hope that Chaumette will not complain of this Number; the Marquis de Lucchesini could not speak of him in more honourable terms.] Anacharsis and Anaxagoras will imagine that they are pushing the wheel of reason, whereas it will be that of counter-revolution; and presently, instead of leaving Popery, ready to draw its last breath, to expire in France of old age and inanition, I promise you, by the aid of persecution and intole-

* The name assumed by Chaumette.

† "Lucchesini, Marquis of Girolamo, formerly Prussian minister of state, and descended from a patrician family of Lucca, was born in 1752. In the year 1791 he was present at the congress of Reichenbach, in the capacity of a plenipotentiary, for effecting, in conjunction with the English and Dutch ministers, a peace between the Turks and the Emperor. In 1793 the King of Prussia appointed him his ambassador to Vienna; he, however, accompanied his majesty during the greater part of his campaign against France. He was afterwards chamberlain to Napoleon's sister, the Princess of Lucca. Lucchesini died at Florence in the year 1825."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

rance against those who are determined to mass and to be massed, to send off abundance of recruits to Lescure and Laroche-Jacquelein.'"

Camille, then relating what occurred in the time of the Roman emperors, and pretending to give a mere translation of Tacitus, made a terrific allusion to the law of the suspected. "In ancient times," said he, "there was at Rome, according to Tacitus, a law which specified the crimes of state and of lèse-majesty, and decreed capital punishment. These crimes of lèse-majesty, under the republic, were reduced to four kinds: if an army had been abandoned in an enemy's country; if seditions had been excited; if the members of the constituted bodies had mismanaged the public business or the public money; or if the majesty of the Roman people had been degraded. The emperors needed but a few additional articles to this law to involve the citizens and whole cities in proscription. Augustus was the first to extend this law of lèse-majesty, by including in it writings which he called counter-revolutionary. The extensions had soon no limits. As soon as words had become crimes of state, it needed but one step more to change mere looks, sorrow, compassion, sighs, even silence itself, into crimes.

"Presently, it was a crime of lèse-majesty or of counter-revolution in the city of Nursia to have erected monuments to its inhabitants who had fallen during the siege of Modena; a crime of counter-revolution in Libo Drusus to have asked the fortune-tellers if he should not some day possess great wealth; a crime of counter-revolution in Cremuntius Cordus, the journalist, to have called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans; a crime of counter-revolution in one of the descendants of Cassius to have in his house a portrait of his ancestor; a crime of counter-revolution in Marcus Scaurus to have written a tragedy containing a certain verse to which two meanings might be given; a crime of counter-revolution in Torquatus Silanus to live in an expensive style; a crime of counter-revolution in Petreius to have dreamt of Claudius; a crime of counter-revolution in Pomponius because a friend of Sejanus had sought an asylum in one of his country-houses; a crime of counter-revolution to complain of the calamities of the time, for that was equivalent to the condemnation of the government; a crime of counter-revolution not to invoke the divine spirit of Caligula. For having so failed, a great number of citizens were flogged, condemned to the mines, or to be thrown to wild beasts, and some even were sawed asunder. Lastly, it was a crime of counter-revolution in the mother of Fusius Germinus, the consul, to have wept for the melancholy death of her son.

"It was absolutely necessary to manifest joy at the death of a friend or a relative, if a person would not run the risk of perishing himself.

"Every thing gave umbrage to the tyrant. If a citizen pos-

sessed popularity, he was a rival of the prince and might stir up civil war: *Studia civium in se verteret, et si multi idem audeant, bellum esset.* SUSPECTED.

"If, on the contrary, a man shunned popularity, and stuck close to his chimney-corner, this secluded life made him an object of notice. It gave him consideration. SUSPECTED.

"Were you rich—there was imminent danger that the people might be bribed by your largesses. SUSPECTED.

"Were you poor—what then, invincible emperor? That man must be the more closely watched. None is so enterprising as the man who has nothing: *Syllam inopem, unde præcipuam audaciam.* SUSPECTED.

"Were you of a gloomy, melancholy disposition, or carelessly dressed — you were fretting because public affairs were prosperous: *Hominem publicis bonis mœstum.* SUSPECTED."

Camille-Desmoulins proceeded in this manner with this masterly enumeration of suspected persons, and sketched a horrible picture of what was doing at Paris, by what had been done in Rome. If the letter of Philipeaux had produced a great sensation, the journal of Camille-Desmoulins produced a much greater. Fifty thousand copies of each of his numbers were sold in a few days. The provinces took large quantities of them. The prisoners procured them by stealth, and read with delight and with somewhat of hope, that revolutionist who had formerly been so hateful to them. Camille, without wishing the prisons to be opened or the revolution to be thrown back, demanded the institution of a committee, to be called the committee of clemency, to investigate the cases of the prisoners, to liberate the citizens confined without sufficient cause, and to stanch the blood where it had flowed too freely.

The publications of Philipeaux and Desmoulins irritated the zealous revolutionists in the highest degree, and were disapproved of by the Jacobins. Hebert denounced them there with fury. He even moved that their authors should be erased from the list of the society. He mentioned, moreover, Bourdon of the Oise, and Fabre d'Eglantine, as the accomplices of Camille-Desmoulins and Philipeaux. We have seen that Bourdon had attempted, in concert with Goupilleau, to remove Rossignol: he had quarrelled with the staff of Saumur, and had never ceased to inveigh in the Convention against Ronsin's party. It was this that caused him to be coupled with Philipeaux. Fabre was accused of having had a hand in the affair of the fabricated decree, and people were disposed to believe this, though he had been justified by Chabot. Aware of his perilous situation, and having every thing to fear from a system of too great severity, he had spoken twice or thrice in favour of a system of indulgence, broken completely with the ultra-revolutionists, and been treated as an intriguer by Father Duchesne. The Jacobins, without adopting the violent motions of Hebert, decided that Philipeaux,

Camille-Desmoulins, Bourdon of the Oise, and Fabre d'Eglantine, should be summoned to the bar of the society, to give explanations concerning their works and their speeches in the Convention.

The sitting at which they were to appear had drawn an unusually full attendance. People contended with violence for seats, and some were even sold at twenty-five francs each. Philipeaux, though he was not a member of the society, did not refuse to appear at its bar, and repeated the charges which he had already made, either in his correspondence with the committee of public welfare or in his pamphlet. He spared persons no more than he had done before, and twice or three times formally and insultingly gave Hebert the lie. These bold personalities of Philipeaux began to agitate the society, and the sitting was becoming stormy, when Danton observed that it required the closest attention and the greatest composure to judge of so serious a question; that he had not formed any opinion concerning Philipeaux and the truth of his accusations; that he had already said to him himself, "Thou must either prove thy charges, or lay down thy head on the scaffold;" that perhaps there was nothing in fault here but circumstances; but that, at any rate, it was right that every one should be heard, and above all, listened to.

Robespierre, who spoke after Danton, said that he had not read Philipeaux's pamphlet, and merely knew that the committee was in that pamphlet rendered responsible for the loss of twenty thousand men; that the committee had no time to answer libels and to engage in a paper war; that he nevertheless did not conceive Philipeaux to be guilty of any bad intentions, but to be hurried away by passion. "I pretend not," said Robespierre, "to impose silence on the conscience of my colleague; but let him examine his heart, and judge whether it does not harbour vanity or some other petty passion. I dare say he is swayed as much by patriotism as passion; but let him reflect! let him consider the conflict that is commencing! He will see that the moderates will take up his defence; that the aristocrats will range themselves on his side; that the Convention itself will be divided; that there will perhaps arise an opposition party, which would be a disastrous circumstance, and renew the combat that is just over, and the conspiracies which it has cost so much trouble to put down!" He therefore exhorted Philipeaux to examine his secret motives, and the Jacobins to listen to him in silence.

Nothing could be more reasonable and more suitable than Robespierre's observations, with the exception of the tone which was always emphatic and magisterial, especially since he ruled at the Jacobins. Philipeaux again spoke, launched out into the same personalities, and excited the same disturbance as before.

Danton angrily exclaimed that the best way would be to cut short such quarrels, and to appoint a commission to examine the papers in support of the charges. Couthon said that, even before resorting to that measure, it would be well to ascertain if the question was worth the trouble, and whether it might not be merely a question between man and man; and he proposed to ask Philipeaux if in his soul and conscience he believed that there had been treason. He then addressed Philipeaux. "Dost thou believe," said he, "in thy soul and conscience that there has been treason?"—"Yes," imprudently replied Philipeaux. "In that case," rejoined Couthon, "there is no other way. A commission ought to be appointed to hear the accused and the accusers, and to make its report to the society." The motion was adopted, and the commission appointed to investigate not only the charges of Philipeaux, but also the conduct of Bourdon of the Oise, of Fabre d'Eglantine, and of Camille-Desmoulins.

This was the 3rd of Nivose. While the commission was engaged in drawing up its report, the paper-war and the recriminations continued without interruption. The Cordeliers excluded Camille-Desmoulins from their society. They prepared fresh petitions in behalf of Ronsin and Vincent, and submitted them to the Jacobins, for the purpose of inducing the latter to support them in the Convention. That host of adventurers and men of bad character with whom the revolutionary army had been filled, appeared every where, in the promenades, the taverns, the coffee-houses, the theatres, with worsted epaulettes and mustaches, and made a great noise in favour of Ronsin, their general, and Vincent, their minister. They were called the *épauletiers*, and were much dreaded in Paris. Since the enactment of the law which forbade the sections to assemble oftener than twice a week, they had transformed themselves into very turbulent popular societies. There were even two of these societies to each section, and it was to them that all the parties which had any interest in producing a movement sent their agents. The *épauletiers* had not failed to attend them, and through their means tumult prevailed in almost all these assemblies.

Robespierre always firm at the Jacobins, caused the petition of the Cordeliers to be rejected, and also the affiliation to be withdrawn from all the popular societies formed since the 31st of May. These were acts of a prudent and laudable energy. It behoved the committee, however, at the same time that it was making the greatest efforts to repress the turbulent faction, to beware of giving itself the appearance of weakness and moderation. In order that it might retain its popularity and its strength, it was necessary that it should display the same vigour. Hence it was that, on the 5th Nivose, Robespierre was directed to make a new report on the principles of the revolutionary government, and to propose measures of severity against certain

illustrious prisoners. Always making a point, from policy and perhaps too from error, to throw the blame of all disorders upon the supposed foreign faction, he imputed to it the faults both of the moderates and of the ultra-revolutionists. "The foreign courts," said he, "have vomited forth upon France the clever scoundrels whom they keep in their pay. They deliberate in our administrations, introduce themselves into our sectional assemblies and our clubs; they have even sat in the national representation; they direct and will for ever direct the counter-revolution upon the same plan. They hover round us, they acquire our secrets, they flatter our passions, nay they seek to dictate our very opinions." Robespierre, proceeding with this delineation, exhibited them as instigating by turns to exaggeration and weakness, exciting religious persecution in Paris, and the resistance of fanaticism in La Vendée; sacrificing Lepelletier and Marat, and then mingling among the groups which proposed to decree divine honours to them in order to render them odious and ridiculous; giving to or taking away bread from the people; causing specie to appear or disappear, taking advantage, in short, of all accidents, with a view to turn them against the Revolution and France.

After presenting this general summary of all our calamities, Robespierre determined not to consider them as inevitable, imputed them to the foreign enemy, who no doubt had reason to congratulate himself upon them, but who to produce them reckoned upon the vices of human nature, and could not have attained the same end by means of plots. Robespierre, considering all the illustrious prisoners still in confinement as accomplices of the coalition, proposed to send them immediately to the revolutionary tribunal. Thus Dietrich, mayor of Strasburg, Custine junior, Biron, and all the officers who were friends of Dumouriez, of Custine, and of Houchard, were to be forthwith brought to trial. Most certainly there was no need of a decree of the Convention to authorize the sacrifice of these victims by the revolutionary tribunal; but this solicitude to hasten their execution was a proof that the government was not growing feeble. Robespierre proposed moreover to increase, by one-third, the rewards in land promised to the defenders of the country.

After this report, Barrère was directed to prepare another on the arrests, which were said to be more and more numerous every day, and to propose means for verifying the motives of these arrests. The object of this report was to reply, without appearing to do so, to the *Vieux Cordelier* of Camille-Desmoulins, and to his proposal for a committee of clemency. Barrère was severe upon the *Translations of the Ancient Orators*, and nevertheless suggested the appointment of a commission to verify the arrests, which very nearly resembled the committee of clemency

devised by Camille. However, on the observations of some of its members, the Convention deemed it right to adhere to its previous decrees, which required the revolutionary committees to furnish the committee of general welfare with the motives of the arrests, and allowed prisoners to complain to the latter committee.

The government thus steered its course between the two parties that were forming, secretly inclining to the moderate party, but still fearful of suffering this disposition to be too perceptible. Meanwhile, Camille published a number more severe than any which had preceded it, and which was addressed to the Jacobins. It was entitled his defence, and it was the boldest and most terrible recrimination against his adversaries.

On the subject of his exclusion from the Cordeliers, he said, "Forgive me, brethren and friends, if I still presume to take the title of Old Cordelier, after the resolution of the club, which forbids me to deck myself with that name. But, in truth, it is a piece of insolence so unheard-of, that of grandchildren revolting against their grandsire, and forbidding him to use his own name, that I must plead this cause against those ungrateful sons. I should like to know to whom the name ought to belong, whether to the grandpapa or to the children whom he has begotten, not a tenth part of whom he has ever acknowledged, or even known, and who pretend to drive him from the paternal home!"

He then enters into an explanation of his opinions. "The vessel of the republic is steering between two shoals, the rock of exaggeration, and the sandbank of moderatism. Seeing that Father Duchesne and almost all the patriotic sentinels were on deck, spying-glass in hand, wholly engaged in shouting 'Beware, lest you get aground upon moderatism!' I thought it fitting that I, an old Cordelier, and senior of the Jacobins, should assume a difficult duty, and which none of the younger men would undertake, lest they should injure their popularity, that of crying 'Beware, lest you strike upon exaggeration!' And this is the obligation which all my colleagues in the Convention ought to feel that they owe me, namely, that of having risked my popularity itself, in order to save the ship in which my cargo was not larger than their own."

He then justified himself for this expression, for which he had been so vehemently reproached, *Vincent Pitt governs George Bouchotte.* "I certainly did," said he, "in 1787, call Louis XVI. my fat booby of a king, without being sent to the Bastille for it. Is Bouchotte a more illustrious personage?"

He then reviewed his adversaries. To Collot-d'Herbois he said that if he, Desmoulins, had his Dillon, he, Collot, had his Brunet, his Proly, both of whom he had defended. He said to Barrère, "People no longer know one another at the Mountain;

if it had been an old Cordelier, like myself, a *rectilinear* patriot, Billaud-Varennes for example, who had scolded me so severely, *sustinuissem utique;*—I would have said, It is the box on the ear given by the impetuous St. Paul to the good St. Peter, who has done something wrong! But thou, my dear Barrère, thou, the happy guardian of Pamela!* thou, the president of the Feuillans! thou, who proposedst the committee of twelve! thou who, on the 2nd of June, didst submit for deliberation in the committee of public welfare the question whether Danton should be arrested! thou, many more of whose faults I could reveal, if I were to rummage the *old sack* (*le vieux sac*†), that thou shouldst all at once out-Robespierre Robespierre, and that I should be so severely apostrophized by thee!"

"All this is but a family quarrel," adds Camille, "with my friends, the patriots Collot and Barrère, but I shall in my turn put myself into a thundering passion (*bougrement en colère*‡) with Father Duchesne, who calls me *a paltry intriguer, a scoundrel fit for the guillotine, a conspirator who wishes the prisons to be opened in order to make a new Vendée with them, a knave in the pay of Pitt, a long-eared donkey.* Wait for me, Hebert, and I will be at thee in a moment. Here it is not with coarse abuse and mere words that I will attack thee, but with facts."

Camille, who had been accused by Hebert of having married a wealthy woman, and of dining with aristocrats, then entered into the history of his marriage, which brought him an income of four thousand livres, and he drew a picture of his simple, modest, and indolent life. Then, passing to Hebert, he reminded him of his old trade of check-taker, of his thefts, which caused his expulsion from the theatre, of his sudden and well-known fortune, and covered him with the most deserved infamy. He related and proved that Bouchotte had given Hebert out of the funds of the war department, first one hundred and twenty thousand francs, then ten, then sixty, for the copies of Father Duchesne distributed among the armies, though those copies were not worth more than sixteen thousand francs, and that consequently the nation had been robbed of the surplus.

"Two hundred thousand francs," exclaims Camille, "to that poor *sans-culotte* Hebert, to support the motions of Proly and of Clootz!—two hundred thousand francs to calumniate Danton, Lindet, Cambon, Thuriot, Lacroix, Philipeaux, Bourdon of the Oise, Barras, Fréron, d'Eglantine, Legendre, Camille-Desmou-

* This is an allusion to the play of *Pamela*, the representation of which had been prohibited.

† Barrère's name when a noble, was *de Vieux-Sac.*

‡ An expression of the hawkers, who in selling the papers of Father Duchesne, cried in the streets, *Il est bougrement en colère le Père Duchesne.*

lins, and almost all the commissioners of the Convention!—to inundate France with his writings, so proper for forming the mind and the heart!—two hundred thousand francs from Bouchotte! .... After this, can any one be surprised at Hebert's filial exclamation in the sitting of the Jacobins, *To dare to attack Bouchotte!—Bouchotte, who has placed sans-culotte generals at the head of armies!—Bouchotte, so pure a patriot!* I am only astonished that, in the transport of his gratitude, Father Duchesne did not exclaim, 'Bouchotte, who has given me two hundred thousand livres since the month of June!'

"Thou talkest to me," proceeds Camille, "of the company I keep: but is it not known that it is with Kock, the banker, the intimate of Dumouriez, with the woman Rochechouart, agent of the emigrants, that the stanch patriot Hebert, after calumniating in his paper the purest men of the republic, goes in his great joy, he and his Jacqueline, to spend the fine days of summer, in the country, to swallow Pitt's wine, and to drink bumpers to the ruin of the reputation of the founders of liberty?"

Camille then reproaches Hebert with the style of his paper. "Knowest thou not, Hebert, that, when the tyrants of Europe wish to make their slaves believe that France is covered with darkness and barbarism, that this Paris, so extolled for its attic wit and its taste, is peopled with Vandals; knowest thou not, wretch, that it is scraps of thy papers which they insert in their gazettes? as if the people were as ignorant as thou wouldst make Pitt believe; as if they could not be talked to but in so coarse a language; as if that were the language of the Convention and of the committee of public welfare; as if thy obscenities were those of the nation; as if a sewer of Paris were the Seine."

Camille then accuses him of having added by his Numbers to the scandals of the worship of reason, and afterwards exclaims: "Is it then this base sycophant, who pockets two hundred thousand livres, that shall reproach me with my wife's income of four thousand livres? Is it this intimate friend of the Kocks, the Rochechouarts, that shall reproach me with the company I keep? Is it this insensate or perfidious scribbler that shall reproach me with my aristocratic writings—he whose papers I will prove to be the delight of Coblentz and the only hope of Pitt! that man, struck out of the list of the servants of the theatre for thefts, to pretend to get deputies, the immortal founders of the republic, struck out of the list of the Jacobins, for their opinions? This writer for the shambles to be the arbiter of opinion—the Mentor of the French people!

"Let them despair," adds Camille-Desmoulins, "of intimidating me by the terrors and the rumours of my arrest, which they are circulating around me! We know that the villains are meditating a 31st of May against the most energetic men of the

Mountain. O my colleagues, I shall say to you, like Brutus and Cicero; 'We are too much afraid of death, and exile and poverty!' *nimium timemus mortem et exilium et paupertatem*... What! when twelve hundred thousand Frenchmen are daily storming redoubts which are bristling with the most formidable artillery, and flying from victory to victory, shall we, deputies to the Convention—we who can never fall like the soldier, in the obscurity of night, shot in the dark, and without witnesses of his valour—we, whose death for the sake of liberty cannot but be glorious, solemn, and in presence of the whole nation, of Europe, and of posterity—shall we be more cowardly than our soldiers? shall we be afraid to look Bouchotte in the face? shall we not dare to encounter the vehement wrath of Father Duchesne, in order likewise to gain the victory which the people expect of us, the victory over the ultra-revolutionists as well as over the counter-revolutionists; the victory over all the intriguers, over all the rogues, over all the ambitious, over all the enemies of the public welfare!

"Will any one suppose that even upon the scaffold, supported by the deep feeling that I have passionately loved my country and the republic, crowned with the esteem and the regret of all genuine republicans, I would exchange my lot for the fortune of that wretch, Hebert, who, in his paper drives twenty classes of citizens to revolt and to despair; who, to smother his remorse and the memory of his calumnies, needs an intoxication more profound than that of wine, and must be incessantly lapping blood at the foot of the guillotine! What is then the scaffold for a patriot but the pedestal of a Sidney, and of a John de Witt!* What is—in this time of war, in which I have had my two brothers cut in pieces for liberty—what is the guillotine but the stroke of a sabre, and the most glorious of all for a deputy, the victim of his courage and of his republicanism!"

These pages will convey an idea of the manners of the time. The roughness, the sternness, the eloquence of Rome and Athens had reappeared among us along with democratic liberty.

This new Number of Camille-Desmoulins's paper produced a still stronger sensation than its predecessors. Hebert did not cease to denounce him at the Jacobins, and to demand the report of the commission. At length, on the 16th Nivose, Collot-d'Herbois rose to make that report. The concourse was as considerable as on the day when the discussion began, and seats were sold at a high price. Collot showed more impartiality than could have been expected from a friend of Ronsin. He reproached Philipeaux for implicating the committee of public welfare in his accusations; for showing the most favourable

* "John de Witt, the able statesman, and grand pensioner of Holland, was torn to pieces by a factious mob in the year 1672." E.

dispostions towards suspected persons; for speaking of Biron with commendation, while he loaded Rossignol with abuse; and lastly for expressing precisely the same preferences as the aristocrats. He brought forward another reproach against him, which, under the circumstances, had some weight; namely that, in his last publication, he had withdrawn the accusations at first preferred against General Fabre-Fond, the brother of Fabre d'Eglantine. Philipeaux, who was not acquainted either with Fabre or Camille, had in fact denounced the brother of the former, whom he conceived that he had found in fault in La Vendée. When brought into contact with Fabre by his position, and accused with him, he had, from a very natural delicacy, suppressed the censures passed upon his brother. This alone proved that they had been led separately, and without knowing one another, to act as they had done, and that they formed no real faction. But party-spirit judged otherwise; and Collot insinuated that there existed a secret intrigue, a concert between the persons accused of moderation. He ransacked the past, and reproached Philipeaux with his votes upon Louis XVI. and upon Marat. As for Camille, he treated him much more favourably. He represented him as a good patriot led astray by bad company, who ought to be forgiven, but, at the same time, exhorted not to indulge in future in such mental debaucheries. He therefore proposed the exclusion of Philipeaux, and the mere reprimand of Camille.

At this moment Camille, who was present at the sitting, caused a letter to be handed to the president, declaring that his defence was inserted in his last number, and begging that the society would permit it to be read. On this proposition, Hebert, who dreaded the reading of that number, in which the disgraceful transactions of his life were revealed, addressed the society, and said that there was an evident intention to complicate the discussion by slandering him, and that, to divert attention, it had been alleged that he had robbed the treasury, which was an atrocious falsehood. .... "I have the documents in my hands," exclaimed Camille. These words caused a great agitation. Robespierre the younger then said that the society ought to put a stop to all personal discussions; that it had not met for the interest of private character, and that, if Hebert had been a thief, that was of no consequence to it; that those who had reason to reproach themselves ought not to interrupt the general discussion. At these far from satisfactory expressions, Hebert exclaimed, "I have nothing to reproach myself with!"—"The disturbances in the departments," resumed Robespierre the younger, "are thy work, It is thou who hast contributed to excite them by attacking the freedom of worship." To this charge Hebert made no reply. Robespierre the elder then spoke, and, being more guarded than his brother, but not more

favourable to Hebert, said that Collot had presented the question in its proper point of view; that an unfortunate incident had disturbed the dignity of the discussion; that all had been in the wrong—Hebert, and those who had replied to him. "What I am about to say," added he, "is not levelled at any individual. He complains with an ill grace of calumny, who has himself calumniated. Those should not complain of injustice who have judged others with levity, precipitation, and fury. Let every one question his own conscience, and apply these reflections to himself. It was my wish to prevent the present discussion. I wished that, in private interviews, in friendly conferences, each should explain himself, and acknowledge his mistakes. Then harmony might have been restored, and scandal spared. But no such thing — pamphlets have been circulated on the morrow, and people have been anxious to produce effect. Now, all that is of importance to us in these personal quarrels is not to know whether passions and injustice have been every where mingled with them, but whether the charges preferred by Philipeaux against the men who direct the most important of our wars are well-founded. This is what ought to be ascertained for the benefit, not of the individuals, but of the republic."

Robespierre actually thought that it was useless to discuss the accusations of Camille against Hebert, for every body knew that they were true; that, besides, they contained nothing that the republic had an interest in verifying; but that, on the contrary, it was of great importance to investigate the conduct of the generals in La Vendée. The discussions relative to Philipeaux were accordingly continued. The whole sitting was devoted to the examination of a great number of eyewitnesses; but, amidst these contradictory affirmations, Danton and Robespierre declared that they could not discover any thing, and that they knew not what to think of the matter. The discussion, which was already too long, was adjourned to the next sitting.

On the 18th, the subject was resumed. Philipeaux was absent. Weary of the discussion relative to him, and which led to no *éclaircissement*, the society then proceeded to the investigation concerning Camille-Desmoulins. He was required to explain himself on the subject of the praises which he had bestowed on Philippeaux, and his relations with him. Camille declared that he did not know him; circumstances affirmed by Goupilleau and Bourdon had at first persuaded him that Philipeaux told the truth; but now, perceiving from the discussion that Philipeaux had distorted the truth (which began, in fact, to be every where apparent), he retracted his praise, and declared that he had no longer any opinion on this subject.

Robespierre, again addressing the society on the question relative to Camille, repeated what he had already said concerning him, that his character was excellent, but that this well-known

character did not give him a right to employ his pen against the patriots; that his writings were the delight of the aristocrats, by whom they were devoured, and circulated in all the departments; that he had translated Tacitus without understanding him; that he ought to be treated like a thoughtless child which has played with dangerous weapons and made a mischievous use of them; that he must be exhorted to forsake the aristocrats and the bad company that corrupted him; and that, in pardoning him, they ought to burn his Numbers. Camille, unmindful of the forms of respect which it behoved him to observe towards the proud Robespierre, then exclaimed from his place: "Burning is not answering."—"Well then," resumed the irritated Robespierre, "let us not burn, but answer. Let Camille's Numbers be immediately read. Since he will have it so, let him be covered with ignominy; let not the society restrain its indignation, since he persists in defending his diatribes and his dangerous principles. The man who clings so tenaciously to perfidious writings is perhaps more than misled. Had he been sincere, he would have written in the simplicity of his heart; he would not have dared to support any longer works condemned by the patriots and sought after by the counter-revolutionists. His is but a borrowed courage. It reveals the hidden persons under whose dictation Camille has written his journal; it reveals that he is the organ of a villanous faction, which has borrowed his pen to circulate its poison with greater boldness and certainty."

Camille in vain begged permission to speak, that he might pacify Robespierre; the society refused to hear him and immediately proceeded to the reading of his papers. Whatever delicacy individuals are resolved to observe towards one another in party quarrels, it is difficult to prevent pride from very soon interfering. With the susceptibility of Robespierre and the natural waywardness of Camille, the division of opinions could not fail soon to change into a division of self-love and into hatred. Robespierre felt too much contempt for Hebert and his partisans to quarrel with them; but he could quarrel with a writer so celebrated in the Revolution as Camille-Desmoulins; and the latter did not use sufficient address to avoid a rupture.

The reading of Camille's Numbers occupied two whole sittings. The society then passed on to Fabre. He was questioned, and urged to say what hand he had had in the new publications which had been circulated. He replied that he had not written a syllable for them, and as for Philipeaux and Bourdon of the Oise, he could declare that he was not acquainted with them. It was proposed to come to some decision relative to the four denounced persons. Robespierre, though no longer disposed to spare Camille, moved that the discussion

should drop there, and that the society should pass to a more important subject, a subject more worthy of its attention, and more useful to the public mind, namely the vices and the crimes of the English government. "That atrocious government," said he, "disguises, under some appearance of liberty, an atrocious principle of despotism and Machiavelism. It behoves us to denounce it to its own people, and to reply to its calumnies by proving its vices of organization and its misdeeds." The Jacobins were well pleased with this subject, which opened so vast a field to their accusing imagination, but some of them wished first to strike out Philipeaux, Camille, Bourdon, and Fabre. One voice even accused Robespierre of arrogating to himself a sort of dictatorship. "My dictatorship," he exclaimed, "is that of Marat and Lepelletier. It consists in being exposed every day to the daggers of the tyrants. But I am weary of the disputes which are daily arising in the bosom of the society, and which are productive of no beneficial result. Our real enemies are the foreigners; it is they whom we ought to follow up, and whose plots it behoves us to unveil." Robespierre, in consequence, repeated his motion; and it was decided, amidst applause, that the society, setting aside the disputes which had arisen between individuals, should devote the succeeding sittings, without interruption, to the discussion of the vices of the English government.

This was throwing out a seasonable diversion to the restless imagination of the Jacobins, and directing it towards a party that was likely to occupy it for a long time. Philipeaux had already retired without awaiting a decision. Camille and Bourdon were neither excluded nor confirmed; they were no longer mentioned, and they merely ceased attending the meetings of the society. As for Fabre d'Eglantine, though Chabot had completely justified him, yet the facts which were daily coming to the knowledge of the committee of general welfare left no doubt whatever of his intrigues. It could therefore do no other than issue an order for his arrest, and connect him with Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, and Julien of Toulouse.

All these discussions produced an impression injurious to the new moderates. There was no sort of unanimity among them. Philipeaux, formerly almost a Girondin, was not acquainted with either Camille, Fabre, or Bourdon; Camille alone was intimate with Fabre; but, as for Bourdon, he was an utter stranger to the other three. But it was thenceforward imagined that there was a secret faction, of which they were either accomplices or dupes. The easy disposition and the epicurean habits of Camille, and two or three dinners which he had taken with the wealthy financiers of the time; the proved implication of Fabre with the stockjobbers, and his recent opulence; caused it to be supposed that they were connected with the so-called cor-

rupting faction. People durst not yet designate Danton as being its leader; but, if he was not accused in a public manner, if Hebert in his paper, and the Cordeliers in their tribune, spared this powerful revolutionist, they said to one another what they durst not publish.

The person most injurious to the party was Lacroix, whose peculations in Belgium were so clearly demonstrated, that any one might impute them to him without being accused of calumny, and without his daring to reply. People associated him with the moderates, on account of his former connexion with Danton, and he caused them to share his shame.

The Cordeliers, dissatisfied that the Jacobins had passed from the denounced persons to the order of the day, declared, 1. That Philipeaux was a slanderer; 2. That Bourdon, the pertinacious accuser of Ronsin, Vincent, and the war-office, had lost their confidence, and was, in their estimation, but an accomplice of Philipeaux; 3. That Fabre, holding the same sentiments as Bourdon and Philippeaux, was only a more cunning intriguer; 4. That Camille, already excluded from their ranks, had also lost their confidence, though he had formerly rendered important services to the Revolution.

Ronsin and Vincent, having been confined for some time, were set at liberty, as there was not sufficient cause for bringing them to trial. It was impossible to prosecute Ronsin for what he had done in La Vendée, for the events of that war were covered by a thick veil; or for what he had done at Lyons, for that would be raising a dangerous question, and accusing at the same time Collot-d'Herbois and the whole existing system of government. It was just as impossible to prosecute Vincent for certain despotic proceedings in the war-office. It was to a political trial only that either of them could have been brought; and it was not yet politic to institute such a trial for them. They were therefore enlarged, to the great joy of the Cordeliers, and of all the *épauletiers* of the revolutionary army.

Vincent was a young man of twenty and some odd years, whose fanaticism amounted to disease, and in whom there was more of insanity than of personal ambition. One day, when his wife had gone to see him in his prison, and was relating to him what had passed, irritated at what she told him, he snatched up a piece of raw meat, and said while chewing it, "Thus would I devour all those villains!" Ronsin, by turns an indifferent pamphleteer, a contractor, and a general, combined with considerable intelligence remarkable courage and great activity. Naturally ambitious, he was the most distinguished of those adventurers who had offered themselves as instruments of the new government. Commander of the revolutionary army, he considered how that post might be rendered available, either for his own benefit, or for the triumph of his

system and of his friends. In the prison of the Luxembourg in which he and Vincent were confined, they had always talked like masters. They had never ceased to say that they should triumph over intrigue; that they should be released by the aid of their partisans; that they would then go and enlarge the patriots who were in confinement, and send all the other prisoners to the guillotine. They had been a torment to all the unfortunate creatures shut up with them, and had left them full of consternation.

No sooner were they liberated, than they loudly declared that they would be revenged, and that they would soon have satisfaction on their enemies. The committee of public welfare could scarcely have done otherwise than release them; but it soon perceived that it had let loose two furies, and that it behoved it to take immediate steps to prevent them from doing mischief. Four thousand men of the revolutionary army were still left in Paris. Among these were adventurers, thieves, and Septembrisers, who assumed the mask of patriotism, and who liked much better to make booty in the interior than to go to the frontiers to encounter poverty, hardship, and danger. These petty tyrants, with their moustaches and their long swords, exercised the harshest despotism in all the public places. Having artillery, ammunition, and an enterprising commander, they might become dangerous. With these associated the firebrands who filled Vincent's office. The latter was their civil, as Ronsin was their military chief. They were connected with the commune through Hebert, the deputy of Chaumette, and through Pache, the mayor, who was ever ready to welcome all parties, and to court all formidable men. Momoro, one of the presidents of the Cordeliers, was their faithful partisan and their champion at the Jacobins. Thus Ronsin, Vincent, Hebert, Chaumette, and Momoro were classed together; and Pache and Bouchotte were added to the list as complaisant functionaries, who winked at their usurpation of two great authorities.

These men had thown off all restraint in their speeches against those representatives, who, they said, designed to keep the supreme power for ever in their hands, and to forgive the aristocrats. One day, when they were dining at Pache's, they met Legendre, a friend of Danton, formerly the imitator of his vehemence, now of his reserve, and the victim of that imitation, for he had to endure the attacks which people dared not make on Danton himself. Ronsin and Vincent addressed offensive expressions to him. Vincent, who had been under obligations to him, embraced him saying that he embraced the old and not the new Legendre; that the new Legendre had become a moderate and was unworthy of esteem. He then asked him ironically if when on mission he had worn the costume of deputy. Legendre answered that he had worn it when with the armies.

Vincent rejoined that this dress was very pompous but unworthy of genuine republicans: he declared that he would dress up a puppet in that costume, call the people together, and say to them: "Look here at the representatives that you have given yourselves; they preach equality to you, and cover themselves with gold and feathers;" and he added that he would then set fire to it. Legendre replied that he was a seditious madman. They were ready to proceed to blows, to the great alarm of Pache. Legendre applied to Ronsin and begged him to pacify Vincent. Ronsin answered that Vincent was indeed rather warm, but that his character was suited to circumstances, and that such men were requisite for the times in which they lived. "You have a faction in the bosom of the Assembly," added Ronsin; "if you do not expel it, you shall be called to account by us." Legendre retired full of indignation, and repeated all that he had seen and heard at this dinner. The conversation became generally known, and furnished a new proof of the audacity and frenzy of the two men who had just been released from confinement.

They expressed the highest respect for Pache and for his virtues, as the Jacobins had formerly done when Pache was minister. It was Pache's luck to charm all the violent spirits by his mildness and complaisance. They were delighted to see their passions approved by a man who had all the semblance of wisdom. The new revolutionists meant, they said, to make him a conspicuous personage in their government: for, without having any precise aim, without having yet the design of, or the courage for, an insurrection, they talked a great deal, after the example of all those plotters who make their first experiments and inflame themselves with words. They every where declared that France wanted other institutions. All that pleased them in the actual organization of the government was the revolutionary tribunal and army. They had therefore devised a constitution, consisting of a supreme tribunal having a chief judge for president, and a military council directed by a generalissimo. Under this government, all matters, judicial or administrative, were to be conducted militarily. The generalissimo and the chief judge were to be the highest functionaries. To the tribunal was to be attached a grand accuser, with the title of censor, empowered to direct prosecutions. Thus, in this scheme framed in a moment of revolutionary ferment, the two essential, nay the only, functions were to condemn and to fight. It is not known whether this plan originated with a single dreamer in a fit of delirium, or with several such persons; whether it had existence in their talk only or whether it had been committed to writing; but so much is certain that its model was to be found in the revolutionary commissions established at Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, Nantes, and that, with their imaginations full of what

they had done in these great cities, those terrible executioners proposed to govern all France on the same plan, and to make the violence of a day the model of a permanent government. As yet they had designated but one of the persons destined for the highest dignities. Pache was wonderfully fitted for the post of grand judge; the conspirators therefore said that he was to be and that he should be so. Without knowing the nature of the scheme or of the dignity, many people repeated as a piece of news: "Pache is to be appointed grand judge." This report circulated without being either explained or understood. As for the dignity of generalissimo, Ronsin, though general of the revolutionary army, durst not aspire to it, and his partisans durst not propose him, as a much more distinguished name was required for such a dignity. Chaumette was also mentioned by some as censor; but his name had been very rarely uttered. Only one of these reports was generally circulated, namely that Pache was to be grand judge.

Throughout the whole revolution, when the long excited passions of a party were ready to explode, it was always a defeat, a treason, a dearth, in short some calamity or other, that served them as a pretext for breaking forth. Such was the case in this instance. The second law of the *maximum*, which, going farther back than the retail shops, fixed the value of commodities on the spot of their fabrication, determined the price of transport, regulated the profit of the wholesale dealer and that of the retail dealer, had been passed; but commerce still escaped the despotism of the law in a thousand ways, and escaped it chiefly in a most disastrous way, by suspending its operations. The stagnation of trade was as great as before, and if goods were no longer refused to be exchanged at the price of the assignat, they were concealed or ceased to move and to be transported to the places of consumption. The dearth was therefore very great owing to this stagnation of commerce. The extraordinary efforts of the government, and the care of the commission of articles of consumption, had, however, partially succeeded in diminishing the dearth of corn, and, above all, in diminishing the fear of it, not less formidable than dearth itself, on account of the derangement and disorder which it produces in commercial relations. But a new calamity began to be felt, namely the want of butcher's meat. La Vendée had formerly sent a great quantity of cattle to the neighbouring provinces. Since the insurrection none had arrived. The departments of the Rhine had ceased to send cattle too, since the war had fixed itself in that quarter. There was of course a real diminution in the quantity. The butchers, moreover, buying cattle at a high price, and selling at the *maximum* price, sought to evade the law. The best meat was reserved for the rich, or the citizens in easy circumstances who paid well for it. A great number of clandestine markets were

established, especially in the environs of Paris, and in the country; and nothing but the offal was left for the lower classes or the purchaser who went to the shops and bought at the *maximum* price. Thus the butchers indemnified themselves by the bad quality for the low price at which they were obliged to sell. The people complained bitterly of the weight, the quality, and the clandestine markets established about Paris. There was a scarcity of cattle, so that it had been found necessary to kill cows in calf. The populace had immediately said that the aristocrat butchers intended to destroy the species, and demanded the penalty of death against those who should kill cows in calf and ewes in lamb. But this was not all. Vegetables, fruit, eggs, butter, fish, were no longer brought to market. A cabbage cost twenty sous. People went to meet the carts on the road, surrounded them, and bought their load at any price. Few of them reached Paris, where the populace awaited them in vain. Wherever there is any thing to be done, hands enough are soon found to undertake it. People were wanted to scour the country in order to procure meat, and to stop the farmers bringing vegetables by the way. A great number of persons of both sexes undertook this business, and bought up the commodities on account of the rich, by paying for them more than the *maximum* price. If there was a market better supplied than the others, these agents hastened thither and took off the commodities at a higher than the fixed price. The lower classes were particularly incensed against those who followed this profession. It was said that among the number were many unfortunate women of the town, who had been deprived by the measures adopted at the instigation of Chaumette of their deplorable means of existence, and who followed this new trade, in order to earn a livelihood.

To remedy all these inconveniences, the commune had resolved, on the repeated petitions of the sections, that the butchers should no longer meet the cattle or go beyond the ordinary markets; that they should not kill any where but in the authorized slaughter-houses; that meat should be sold only in the shambles; that no person should any longer be permitted to stop the farmers by the way; that those who arrived should be directed by the police, and equally distributed among the different markets; that people should not go to wait at the butchers' doors before six o'clock, for it frequently happened that they rose at three for this purpose.

These multiplied regulations could not save the people from the evils which they were enduring. The ultra-revolutionists tortured their imagination to devise expedients. A last idea had occurred to them, namely, that the pleasure-grounds abounding in the suburbs of Paris, and particularly in the fauxbourg St. Germain, might be brought into cultivation. The commune, which refused them nothing, had immediately ordered a list of

these pleasure-grounds, and decided that, as soon as the list was made out, they should be planted with potatoes and culinary vegetables. They conceived, moreover, that, as vegetables, milk, poultry, were not brought to town as usual, the cause of this was to be imputed to the aristocrats who had retired to their seats around Paris. It was actually the case that many persons had, in alarm, concealed themselves in their country-houses. The sections came and proposed to the commune to pass a resolution, or to demand a law, compelling them to return. Chaumette, however, feeling that this would be too odious a violation of individual liberty, contented himself with making a threatening speech against the aristocrats who had retired to their seats around Paris. He merely addressed to them an invitation to return to the city, and exhorted the village municipalities to watch them closely.

Meanwhile, impatience of the evil was at its height. The disorder in the markets increased. Tumults were raised there every moment. People crowded around the butchers' shops, and, in spite of the prohibition to go thither before a certain hour, they were as eager as ever to get before one another. They had there introduced a practice which had originated at the doors of the bakers, namely, to fasten a cord to the door of the shop; each comer laid hold of it, in order to secure his turn. But here, as at the bakers' doors, mischievous persons, or those who had a bad place, cut the cord, a general confusion ensued among the waiting crowd, and they were ready to come to blows.

People knew no longer whom to blame. They could not complain, as they had done before the 31st of May, that the Convention refused a law of *maximum*, the object of all hopes, for the Convention granted every thing. Unable to devise any new expedient, they applied to it for nothing. Still they could not help complaining. The *épauletiers*, Bouchotte's clerks, and the Cordeliers, alleged that the moderate faction in the Convention was the cause of the dearth; that Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Bourdon of the Oise, and their friends, were the authors of the prevailing evils; that it was impossible to exist any longer in that manner, and that extraordinary means must be resorted to; and they added the old expression of all the insurrections, *We want a leader.* They then mysteriously whispered one another, *Pache is to be grand judge.*

However, though the new party had very considerable means at its disposal, though it had the revolutionary army and a dearth, it had neither the government nor public opinion in its favour, for the Jacobins were adverse to it. Ronsin, Vincent, and Hebert, were obliged to profess an apparent respect for the established authorities, to keep their designs secret, and to plot in the dark. On the contrary, the conspirators of the 10th of August and the 31st of May, masters of the commune, of the

Cordeliers, of the Jacobins, and of all the clubs; having numerous and energetic partisans in the National Assembly and in the committees; daring to conspire in secret; could publicly draw the populace along in their train, and employ masses for the execution of their plots. But the party of the *ultra-revolutionists* was not in the same predicament.

The reigning authority refused none of the extraordinary means of defence or even of vengeance. Treasons no longer accused its vigilance; victories on all the frontiers attested, on the contrary, its energy, its abilities, and its zeal. Consequently, those who attacked this authority, and promised neither superior abilities nor superior zeal to those which it displayed, were intriguers who aimed at some end, either of disorder or ambition. Such was the public conviction, and the conspirators could not flatter themselves that the people would go along with them. Thus, though formidable, if they were suffered to act, they were far from being so if timely checked.

The committee watched them, and it continued, by a series of reports, to throw discredit on the two opposite parties. In the ultra-revolutionists it beheld conspirators to be destroyed; in the moderates, on the contrary, it only perceived old friends who held the same opinions with itself, and whose patriotism it could not suspect. But, that it might avoid the appearance of weakness, in striking the revolutionists, it was obliged to condemn the moderates, and to appeal incessantly to terror. The latter replied. Camille published fresh numbers. Danton and his friends combated in conversation the reasons of the committee, and a war of writings and words commenced. Rancour ensued; and St. Just, Robespierre, Barrère, Billaud, who had at first discouraged the moderates from policy alone, and that they might be stronger for it against the ultra-revolutionists, began to persecute them from personal spleen and from hatred. Camille had, as we have seen, already attacked Collot and Barrère. In his letter to Dillon, he had addressed to the dogmatic fanaticism of St. Just, and to the monastic harshness of Billaud, pleasantries which had deeply wounded them. He had, lastly, irritated Robespierre at the Jacobins, and, though he had highly praised him, he had finished by estranging himself from him entirely. Danton was far from agreeable to all of them, on account of his high reputation; and, now that he had retired from the direction of affairs, that he remained in seclusion,* censuring the government, and appearing to excite Camille's caustic

* It was by the advice of Robespierre himself that Danton retired into seclusion. "A tempest is brewing," said he; "the Jacobins have not forgotten your relations with Dumouriez. They dislike your manners; your voluptuous and lazy habits are at variance with their energy. Withdraw, then, for a season; trust to a *friend* who will watch over your dangers, and warn you of the first moment to return!"—*Lacretelle.* E.

and *gossiping* pen,* he could not fail to become more odious to them every day; and it was not to be supposed that Robespierre would again run any risk to defend him.

Robespierre and St. Just—who were accustomed to draw up in the name of the committee the expositions of principles, and who were charged in some measure with the moral department of the government, while Barrère, Carnot, Billaud, and others, directed the material and administrative department—Robespierre and St. Just made two reports, one on the moral principles which ought to guide the revolutionary government, the other on the imprisonments of which Camille had complained in the "Old Cordelier." We must show what sort of conceptions those two gloomy spirits formed of the revolutionary government, and of the means of regenerating a state.

The principle of democratic government is virtue, said Robespierre, and its engine, while establishing itself, is terror. We desire to substitute, in our country, morality for selfishness, probity for honour, principles for usages, duties for decorums, the empire of reason for the tyranny of fashion, the contempt of vice for the contempt of poverty, pride for insolence, greatness of soul for vanity, the love of glory for the love of money, good men for good company, merit for intrigue, genius for wit, truth for show, the charm of genuine happiness for the *ennui* of pleasure, the greatness of man for the littleness of the great, a magnanimous, powerful, and happy people, for an amiable, frivolous, and wretched people—that is to say, all the virtues and all the miracles of the republic for all the vices and all the absurdities of the monarchy.

To attain this aim there was required an austere, energetic government, which should overcome resistance of all kinds. There was, on the one hand, brutal, greedy ignorance, which desired in the republic nothing but convulsions; on the other, base and cowardly corruption, which coveted all the gratifications of the ancient luxury, and which could not resolve to embrace the energetic virtues of democracy. Hence there arose two factions: the one striving to carry every thing beyond due bounds, and, by way of attacking superstition, to destroy the belief of God himself, and to spill torrents of blood, upon pretext of avenging the republic; the other which, weak and vicious, did not feel itself *virtuous enough to be so terrible*, and softly deplored all the necessary sacrifices which the establishment of virtue demanded. One of these factions, said St. Just, *wanted to change Liberty into a Bacchante, the other into a Prostitute.*

Robespierre and St. Just recapitulated the follies of some of the agents of the revolutionary government, and of two or three

* Camille's own expression.

procureurs of communes, who had pretended to renew the energy of Marat, and in so doing they alluded to all the extravagances of Hebert and his partisans. They then enumerated all the faults of weakness, complaisance, and sensibility, imputed to the new moderates. They reproached them with their pity for widows of generals, for intriguing females belonging to the old nobility, for aristocrats, and with talking continually of the severities of the republic, far inferior to the cruelties of monarchies. "You have one hundred thousand prisoners," said St. Just, "and the revolutionary tribunal has already condemned three hundred criminals. But under the monarchy you had four hundred thousand prisoners. Fifteen hundred smugglers were annually hanged, three thousand persons were broken on the wheel, and at this very day there are in Europe four millions of prisoners, whose moans you do not hear, while your parricidal moderation suffers all the enemies of your government to triumph! We load ourselves with reproaches; and kings, a thousand times as cruel as we, sleep in crime."

Robespierre and St. Just, conformably with the concerted system, added that these two factions, opposite in appearance, had one common point, the foreigner, who instigated them to act for the destruction of the republic.

We see how much there was at once of fanaticism, of policy, and of animosity, in the system of the committee. Camille and his friends were attacked by allusions and even indirect expressions. In his *Vieux Cordelier* he replied to the system of virtue by the system of happiness. He said that he loved the republic because it must add to the general felicity; because commerce, industry, and civilization, were more conspicuously developed at Athens, Venice, Florence, than in any monarchy; because the republic could alone realize the lying wish of monarchy, *the fowl in the pot*. "What would Pitt care," exclaimed Camille, "whether France were free, if her liberty served only to carry us back to the ignorance of the ancient Gauls, to the rude vest which formed their clothing, to their misleto, and to their houses, which were but kennels of clay? So far from mourning over it, I dare say Pitt would give a great many guineas that such a liberty were established among us. But it would make the English government furious if people could say of France what Dicearchus said of Attica: 'Nowhere in the world can one live more agreeably than at Athens, whether one has money, or whether one has none. Those who have acquired wealth by commerce or by their industry can there procure all imaginable gratifications; and as for those who are striving to do so, there are so many workshops where they may earn wherewithal to amuse themselves and to lay by something besides, that they cannot complain of poverty without reproaching themselves with idleness.'

"I think then that liberty does not exist in an equality of privations, and that the highest praise of the Convention would be if it could bear this testimony to itself: 'I found the nation without breeches, and I leave it breeched.'*

"What a charming democracy," adds Camille, "was that of Athens! Solon was not there considered as a coxcomb; he was not the less regarded as the model of legislators, and proclaimed by the Oracle the first of the seven sages, though he made no difficulty to confess his fondness for wine, women, and music; and he possesses so firmly established a reputation for wisdom, that at this day his name is never pronounced in the Convention and at the Jacobins but as that of the greatest of legislators. But how many are there among us who have the character of aristocrats and Sybarites, who have not published such a profession of faith!

"That divine Socrates, one day meeting Alcibiades gloomy and thoughtful, apparently because he was vexed at a letter of Aspasia, 'What ails you?' asked the gravest of Mentors. 'Have you lost your shield in battle?—have you been vanquished in the camp, in the race, or in the hall of arms? Has any one surpassed you in singing or playing upon the lyre at the table of the general?' This trait delineates manners. What amiable republicans!"

Camille then complained that to the manners of Athens the rulers of France would not add the liberty of speech which prevailed in that republic. Aristophanes there represented on the stage the generals, the orators, the philosophers, and the people themselves; and the people of Athens, sometimes personated by an old man, at others by a young one, instead of being irritated, proclaimed Aristophanes conqueror at the games, and encouraged him by plaudits and crowns. Many of those comedies were directed against the *ultra-revolutionists* of those times. The sarcasms in them were most cutting. "And if, at this day," added Camille, "one were to translate any of those pieces performed four hundred and thirty years before Christ, under Sthenocles the archon, Hebert would maintain at the Cordeliers that it was a work of yesterday, an invention of Fabre d'Eglantine against himself and Ronsin, and that the translator was the cause of the dearth.

"I am, however, wrong," proceeded Camille, in a tone of sadness, "when I say that men are changed—they have always been the same; liberty of speech enjoyed no more impunity in the ancient than in the modern republics. Socrates, accused of having spoken ill of the gods, drank hemlock. Cicero, for having attacked Antony, was given up to proscription."

* A whimsical parody on the well-known saying applied to Augustus Cæsar—namely, that he found Rome of brick, and left it of marble. E.

Thus this unfortunate young man seemed to predict that the liberty which he took would no more be forgiven him than many others. His pleasantries and his eloquence exasperated the committee. While it kept an eye upon Ronsin, Hebert, Vincent, and all the agitators, it conceived a violent hatred against the amiable writer, who laughed at its systems; against Danton, who was supposed to prompt that writer; and, in short, against all those who were regarded as friends or partisans of those two leaders.

In order not to deviate from its line, the committee presented two decrees, in consequence of the reports of Robespierre and St. Just, tending, it declared, to render the people happy at the expense of their enemies. By these decrees the committee of general welfare was alone invested with the faculty of investigating the complaints of detained persons, and liberating them if they were acknowledged patriots. All those, on the contrary, who should be recognised as enemies of the Revolution were to be kept in confinement till the peace, and then banished for ever. Their property, sequestrated *ad interim*, was to be divided among the indigent patriots, a list of whom was to be drawn up by the communes.* This, it is obvious, was the agrarian law applied to suspected persons for the benefit of the patriots. These decrees, the conceptions of St. Just, were destined to reply to the *ultra-revolutionists*, and to continue to the committee its reputation for energy.

Meanwhile the conspirators were bestirring themselves with more violence than ever. There is no proof that their plans were absolutely arranged, or that they had engaged Pache and the commune in their plot. But they proceeded as before the 31st of May: they excited the popular societies, the Cordeliers, and the sections; they circulated threatening rumours, and sought to take advantage of the disturbances occasioned by the dearth, which every day increased and became more severely felt.

All at once there appeared posting bills in the markets and public places, and pamphlets, declaring that the Convention was the cause of all the sufferings of the people, and that it was necessary to rend from it that dangerous faction which wanted to re-enact the Brissotins and their mischievous system. Some of these writings even insisted that the whole Convention ought to be renewed, that it behoved the people to choose a chief, to organize the executive power, &c. All the ideas, in short, which Vincent, Ronsin, and Hebert had been revolving in their heads filled these publications and seemed to betray their origin. At the same time, the *épauletiers*, more turbulent and blustering than ever, loudly threatened to go to the prisons and slaughter the enemies whom the bribed Convention persisted in sparing.

* Decrees of the 8th and 13th of Ventose.

They said that many patriots were unjustly mingled in the prisons with aristocrats, but that these patriots should be picked out, and liberty and arms given to them at once. Ronsin, in full uniform as general of the revolutionary army, with a tricoloured sash, and red plume, and accompanied by some of his officers, went through the prisons, ordered the registers to be shown him, and formed lists.

It was now the 15th of Ventose. The section of Marat, the president of which was Momoro, assembled, and indignant, it said, at the machinations of the enemies of the people, it declared, *en masse*, that it was in motion, that it would place a veil over the declaration of rights, and remain in that state until provisions and liberty were ensured to the people, and its enemies were punished. In the evening of the same day, the Cordeliers tumultuously assembled: a picture of the sufferings of the people was submitted to them; the persecutions recently undergone by the two great patriots, Vincent and Ronsin, were detailed; and it was said that they were both ill at the Luxembourg, without being able to procure the attendance of a physician. The country, in consequence, was declared to be in danger, and a veil was hung over the declaration of the rights of man. It was in this manner that all the insurrections had begun with a declaration that the laws were suspended, and that the people had resumed the exercise of its sovereignty.

On the following day, the 16th, the section of Marat and the Cordeliers waited upon the commune to acquaint it with their resolutions, and to prevail on it to take similar steps. Pache had taken care not to be present. One Lubin presided at the general council. He replied to the deputation with visible embarrassment. He said that, at the moment when the Convention was taking such energetic measures against the enemies of the Revolution, and for the succour of the indigent patriots, it was surprising that a signal of distress should be made, and that the declaration of rights should be veiled. Then, affecting to justify the general council, as though it had been accused, Lubin added that the council had made all possible efforts to ensure supplies of provisions and to regulate their distribution. Chaumette, in a speech equally vague, recommended peace, required the report on the cultivation of the pleasure-grounds, and on the supply of the capital, which, according to the decrees, was to be provisioned like a fortress in time of war.

Thus the heads of the commune hesitated; and the movement, though tumultuous, was not strong enough to hurry them away, and to inspire them with the courage to betray the committee and the Convention. The disturbance was, nevertheless, great. The insurrection began in the same manner as all those which had previously occurred, and it was calculated to excite not less alarm. By an unlucky accident, the committee of public

welfare was deprived at the moment of its most influential members. Billaud-Varennes and Jean-Bon-St. André were absent on official business; Couthon and Robespierre were ill, and the latter could not come to govern his faithful Jacobins. St. Just and Collot-d'Herbois alone were left to thwart this attempt. They both repaired to the Convention, the members of which were assembling tumultuously and trembling with fear. At their suggestion, Fouquier-Tinville was immediately summoned, and directed to make immediate search after the distributors of the incendiary publications exhibited in the markets, the agitators who were inflaming the popular societies, all the conspirators, in short, who were threatening the public tranquillity. He was enjoined by a decree to apprehend them immediately, and in three days to present his report on the subject to the Convention.

It was not doing much to obtain a decree of the Convention, for it had never refused them against agitators, and it had nevertheless left the Girondins without any against the insurgent commune; but it was requisite to ensure the execution of these decrees by gaining the public opinion. Collot, who possessed great popularity at the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, by his club eloquence, and still more by the well-known energy of his revolutionary sentiments, was charged with the duty of that day, and repaired in haste to the Jacobins. As soon as they were assembled, he laid before them a picture of the factions which threatened liberty, and the plots which they were preparing. "A new campaign is about to open," said he; "the measures of the committee which so happily terminated the last campaign, were on the point of ensuring fresh victories to the republic. Relying on your confidence and your approbation, which it has always been its object to deserve, it was devoting itself to its duties; but all at once our enemies have endeavoured to impede its operations. They have raised the patriots around it for the purpose of opposing them to it, and making them slaughter one another. They want to make us soldiers of Cadmus. They want to immolate us by the hands of each other. But no! we will not be soldiers of Cadmus; thanks to your excellent spirit, we will continue friends, we will be soldiers of liberty alone! Supported by you, the committee will be enabled to resist with energy, to quell the agitators, to expel them from the ranks of the patriots, and, after this indispensable sacrifice, to prosecute its labours and your victories. The post in which you have placed us is perilous," adds Collot, "but none of us tremble before danger. The committee of general safety accepts the arduous commission to watch and to prosecute all the enemies who are secretly plotting against liberty; the committee of public welfare spares no pains for the performance of its immense task; but both need your support. In these days of danger we

are but few. Billaud and Jean-Bon are absent, our friends Couthon and Robespierre are ill. A small number of us only is therefore left to combat the enemies of the public weal. You must support us, or we must retire."—"No, no!" cried the Jacobins. "Do not retire; we will support you." Numerous plaudits accompanied these encouraging words. Collot proceeded, and then related what had passed at the Cordeliers. "There are men," said he, "who have not had the courage to suffer during a few days of confinement, men who have undergone nothing during the revolution, men whose defence we undertook when we deemed them oppressed, and who have attempted to excite an insurrection in Paris, because they had been imprisoned for a few moments. An insurrection, because two men have suffered, because they had not a doctor to bleed them when they were ill! Woe be to those who demand an insurrection!"—"Yes, yes, woe be to them!" exclaimed all the Jacobins together. "Marat was a Cordelier," resumed Collot; "Marat was a Jacobin: he, too, was persecuted, and assuredly much more than these men of a day; he was dragged before that tribunal at which aristocrats alone ought to appear. Did he provoke an insurrection? No. Sacred insurrection, the insurrection which must deliver humanity from all those who oppress it, is the offspring of more generous sentiments than the petty sentiment into which an attempt is now making to hurry us; but we will not fall into it. The committee of public welfare will not give way to intriguers. It is taking strong and vigorous measures; and, were it even doomed to perish, it will not recoil from so glorious a task."

No sooner had Collot finished, than Momoro rose to justify the section of Marat and the Cordeliers. He admitted that a veil had been thrown over the declaration of rights, but denied the other allegations. He disavowed the scheme of insurrection, and insisted that the section of Marat and the Cordeliers were animated by better sentiments. Conspirators who justify themselves are undone. Whenever they dare not avow the insurrection, and the mere announcement of the object does not produce a burst of opinion in their favour, they can effect nothing more. Momoro was heard with marked disapprobation; and Collot was commissioned to go in the name of the Jacobins to fraternize with the Cordeliers, and to bring back those brethren led astray by perfidious suggestions.

The night was now far advanced. Collot could not repair to the Cordeliers till the following day, the 17th; but the danger, though at first alarming, was no longer formidable. It became evident that opinion was not favourably disposed towards the conspirators, if that name may be given to them. The commune had receded; the Jacobins adhered to the committee and to Robespierre, though absent and ill. The Cordeliers, impetuous

but feebly directed, and, above all, forsaken by the commune and the Jacobins, could not fail to yield to the eloquence of Collot-d'Herbois, and to the honour of seeing among them so celebrated a member of the government. Vincent, with his frenzy, Hebert, with his filthy paper, at which he laboured as assiduously as ever, and Momoro, with his resolutions of the section of Marat, could not produce a decisive movement. Ronsin alone, with his *épauletiers* and considerable stores of ammunition, had it in his power to attempt a *coup-de-main*. Not for want of boldness, however, but either because he did not find that boldness in his friends, or because he could not entirely depend on his troops, he refrained from acting; and, from the 16th to the 17th of August, all the demonstrations were confined to agitation and threats. The *épauletiers*, mingling with the popular societies, caused a great tumult among them, but durst not have recourse to arms.

In the evening of the 17th, Collot went to the Cordeliers, where he was at first received with great applause. He told them that secret enemies of the Revolution were striving to mislead their patriotism; that they had pretended to declare the republic in a state of distress, whereas at the same moment it was royalty and aristocracy alone that were at the last gasp; that they had endeavoured to divide the Cordeliers and the Jacobins, who ought, on the contrary, to form but one family, united in principles and intentions; that this scheme of insurrection, this veil thrown over the declaration of rights, rejoiced the aristocrats, who on the preceding night had all followed this example and veiled in their saloons the declaration of rights; and that therefore, in order not to crown the satisfaction of the enemy, they ought to lose no time in unveiling the sacred code of nature, which was nearer triumphing over tyrants than ever. The Cordeliers could not withstand these representations, though there were among them a great number of Bouchotte's clerks; they hastened to signify their repentance, removed the crape thrown over the declaration of rights, and delivered it to Collot, charging him to assure the Jacobins that they would always pursue the same course with them.

Collot-d'Herbois hurried away to the Jacobins to proclaim their victory over the Cordeliers and the ultra-revolutionists. The conspirators* were thus forsaken by all. They had no resource left but a *coup-de-main*, which, as we have observed, was almost impossible. The committee of public welfare resolved to prevent any movement on their part by causing the ringleaders to be apprehended, and by sending them immediately before the revolutionary tribunal. It enjoined Fouquier to search for facts that would bear out a charge of conspiracy, and to prepare forthwith an act of accusation. St. Just was directed, at the same time, to make a report to the Convention against

the united factions which threatened the tranquillity of the state.

On the 23d of Ventose, St. Just presented his report. Agreeably to the adopted system, he represented the foreign powers as setting to work two factions; the one composed of seditious men, incendiaries, plunderers, defamers, and atheists, who strove to effect the overthrow of the republic by exaggeration; the other consisting of corrupt men, stockjobbers, extortioners, who, having suffered themselves to be seduced by the allurements of pleasure, were endeavouring to enervate and to dishonour the republic. He asserted that one of these factions had begun to act; that it had attempted to raise the standard of rebellion; but that it had been stopped short: that he came in consequence to demand a decree of death against those in general who had meditated the subversion of the supreme power, contrived the corruption of the public mind and of republican manners, obstructed the arrival of articles of consumption, and in any way contributed to the plan framed by the foreign foe. St. Just added that it behoved the Convention from that moment *to make justice, probity, and all the republican virtues the order of the day.*

In this report, written with a fanatical violence, all the factions were equally threatened: but the only persons explicitly devoted to the vengeance of the revolutionary tribunal were the ultra-revolutionary conspirators, such as Ronsin, Vincent, Hebert, &c., and the corrupt members, Chabot, Bazire, Fabre, and Julien, the fabricators of the forged decree. An ominous silence was observed respecting those whom St. Just called the *indulgents* and the *moderates.*

In the evening of the same day, Robespierre went with Couthon to the Jacobins, and both were received with applause. The members surrounded them, congratulated them on their recovery, and promised unbounded attachment to Robespierre. He proposed an extraordinary sitting for the following day, in order to elucidate the mystery of the conspiracy which had been discovered. His suggestion was adopted. The acquiescence of the commune was equally ready. At the instigation of Chaumette himself, it applied for the report which St. Just had delivered to the Convention, and sent to the printing-office of the republic for a copy in order to read it. All submitted cheerfully to the triumphant authority of the committee of public welfare.

* "The case of these men was singular. The charge bore that they were associates of Pitt and Coburg, and had combined against the sovereignty of the people, and much more to the same purpose, consisting of allegations that were totally unimportant, and totally unproved. But nothing was said of their rivalry to Robespierre, which was the true cause of their trial, and as little of their revolutionary murders being the ground on which they really deserved their fate."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

In the night between the 23rd and 24th, Hebert, Vincent, Ronsin, Momoro, Mazuel, one of Ronsin's officers, and lastly, Kock, the foreign banker, a stockjobber, and ultra-revolutionist, at whose house, Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, frequently dined and formed all their plans, were apprehended by direction of Fouquier-Tinville. Thus the committee had two foreign bankers to persuade the world that the two factions were set in motion by the coalition. Baron de Batz was to serve to prove this against Chabot, Julien, Fabre, and all the corrupt men and moderates; while Kock was to furnish the same evidence against Vincent, Ronsin, Hebert, and the ultra-revolutionists.

The persons denounced suffered themselves to be arrested without resistance, and were sent on the following day to the Luxembourg. The prisoners thronged with joy to witness the arrival of those furious men, who had filled them with such alarm, and threatened them with a new September. Ronsin displayed great firmness and indifference; the cowardly Hebert was downcast and dejected; Momoro, thunderstruck. Vincent was in convulsions. The rumour of these arrests was immediately circulated throughout Paris and produced universal joy. It was unluckily added that these were not all, and that men belonging to all the factions were to be punished. The same thing was repeated in the extraordinary sitting of the Jacobins. After each had related what he knew of the conspiracy, of its authors, and of their projects, he added that happily all their plots would be known, and that a report would be made against other persons besides those who were actually in custody.

The war-office, the revolutionary army, and the Cordeliers, were struck in the persons of Vincent, Ronsin, Hebert, Mazuel, Momoro, and their assistants. It was deemed right to punish the commune also. Nothing was talked of but the dignity of grand judge reserved for Pache; but he was well known to be incapable of joining in a conspiracy, docile to the superior authority, respected by the people; and the committee would not strike too severe a blow by associating him with the others. It therefore preferred ordering the arrest of Chaumette, who was neither bolder nor more dangerous than Pache, but who from vanity and obstinate prejudice, was the instigator of the most imprudent determinations of the commune, and one of the most zealous apostles of the worship of reason. The unfortunate Chaumette was therefore apprehended. He was sent to the Luxembourg with Bishop Gobel, the author of the grand scene of the abjuration, and with Anacharsis Clootz, already excluded from the Jacobins and the Convention, on account of his foreign origin, his noble birth, his fortune, his universal republic, and his atheism.

When Chaumette arrived at the Luxembourg, the suspected

persons ran to meet him, and loaded him with sarcasm. With a great fondness for declamation, Chaumette had none of Ronsin's boldness or of Vincent's fury. His smooth hair and his timid look gave him the appearance of a missionary; and such he had actually been of the new worship. He could not withstand the raillery of the prisoners. They reminded him of his motions against prostitutes, against the aristocrats, against the famine, against the suspected persons. One prisoner said to him, bowing, "Philosopher Anaxagoras, I am suspected, thou art suspected, we are suspected." Chaumette excused himself in an abject and tremulous tone; but from that time he did not venture to leave his cell, or appear in the court among the other prisoners.

The committee, after it had caused these unfortunate men to be apprehended, required the committee of general safety to draw up the act of accusation against Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, Julien of Toulouse, and Fabre. All five were placed under accusation and delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal. At the same moment it became known that a female emigrant, under prosecution by a revolutionary committee, had found an asylum at the house of Herault-Sechelles. This celebrated deputy, who possessed a large fortune, together with high birth, a handsome person, and a cultivated and elegant mind, who was the friend of Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, and Proly, and who had often shuddered to see himself in the ranks of those terrible revolutionists, had become suspected, and it was forgotten that he had been the principal author of the Constitution. The committee lost no time in ordering him to be arrested, in the first place because it disliked him, and in the next to prove that it would not fail to punish moderates overtaken in a fault, and that it would not be more indulgent to them than to other culprits. Thus the shafts of this formidable committee fell at once upon men of all ranks, of all opinions, and of every degree of merit.

On the 1st of Germinal, the proceedings against one part of the conspirators commenced. In the same accusation were included Ronsin, Vincent, Hebert, Momoro, Mazuel, Kock the banker, the young Lyonnese Leclerc, who had become *chef de division* in Bouchotte's office, Ancar and Ducroquet, commissaries of the victualling department, and some other members of the revolutionary army and of the war-office. In order to keep up the notion of a connivance between the ultra-revolutionary faction and that called the foreign faction, Proly, Dubuisson, Pereyra, and Desfieux were comprised in the same accusation, though they had never had any connexion with the other accused persons. Chaumette was reserved to figure at a future time with Gobel and the other authors of the scenes of the worship of reason; and lastly, if Clootz, who ought to have been associ-

ated with these latter was joined with Proly, it was in his quality of foreigner. The accused were nineteen in number. The boldest and firmest of them were Ronsin and Clootz. "This," said Ronsin, to his co-accused, "is a political process; of what use are all your papers and your preparations for justifying yourselves? you will be condemned. When you should have acted, you talked. Know how to die. For my part, I swear that you shall not see me flinch. Strive to do the same." The wretched Hebert and Momoro bewailed their fate, and said that liberty was undone! "Liberty undone!" exclaimed Ronsin, "because a few paltry fellows are about to perish! Liberty is immortal. Our enemies will fall in their turn, and liberty will survive them all." As they accused one another, Clootz exhorted them not to aggravate their misfortunes by mutual invectives, and he recited the celebrated apologue:

> Je rêvais cette nuit que, de mal consumé,
> Côte à côte d'un gueux on m'avait inhumé.

This recitation had the desired effect, and they ceased to reproach one another with their misfortunes. Clootz, still full of his philosophical opinions to the very scaffold, attacked the last relics of deism that were left in them, and preached up nature and reason with an ardent zeal and an extraordinary contempt of death. They were carried to the tribunal amidst an immense concourse of spectators. We have shown, in the account of their conduct, in what their conspiracy consisted. Clubbists of the lowest class, intriguers belonging to public offices, ruffians attached to the revolutionary army,—these conspirators had the exaggeration of inferiors, of the bearers of orders, who always exceed their commission. Thus they had wished to push the revolutionary government so far as to make it a mere military commission, the abolition of superstitious practices to persecution of religion, republican manners to coarseness, liberty of speech to the most disgusting vulgarity; lastly, democratic jealousy and severity towards men to the most atrocious defamation. Abusive expressions against the Convention and the committee, plans of government in words, motions at the Cordeliers and in the sections, filthy pamphlets, a visit of Ronsin to the prisons to see whether patriots like himself were not confined in them, lastly, some threats, and an attempt at commotion upon pretext of the dearth —such were their plots. In all these there was nothing but the follies and the obscenities of loose characters. But a conspiracy deeply laid and corresponding with foreign powers was far above the capacity of these wretches. It was a perfidious supposition of the committee, which the infamous Fouquier-Tinville was charged to demonstrate to the tribunal, and which the tribunal had orders to adopt.

The abusive expressions which Vincent and Ronsin had used

against Legendre, when dining with him at Pache's, and their reiterated propositions for organizing the executive power, were alleged as attesting the design of annihilating the national representation and the committee of public welfare. Their dinners with Kock, the banker, were adduced in proof of their correspondence with foreign powers. To this proof was added another. Letters, sent from Paris to London, and inserted in the English newspapers, intimated that, from the agitation which prevailed, it was to be presumed that movements would take place. These letters, it was said to the accused, demonstrate that foreigners were in your confidence, since they predicted your plots beforehand. The dearth, the blame of which they had attempted to throw on the government, in order to excite the people against it, was imputed to them alone; and Fouquier-Tinville, returning calumny for calumny, maintained that they were the cause of that dearth by instigating the plunder of the carts with vegetables and fruit by the way. The military stores collected at Paris for the revolutionary army were charged to their account as preparations for conspiracy. Ronsin's visit to the prisons was adduced as a proof of a design to arm the suspected persons and to let them loose upon Paris. Lastly, the papers and publications distributed in the markets, and the veil thrown over the declaration of rights, were considered as a commencement of execution.

Hebert was covered with infamy. His political acts and his paper were scarcely noticed. It was deemed sufficient to prove thefts of shirts and handkerchiefs. But let us quit those disgraceful discussions between these base accused and the base accuser, employed by a terrible government to consummate the sacrifices which it had ordered. Retired within its elevated sphere, this government pointed out the unfortunate creatures who were an obstacle to it, and left Fouquier, its attorney-general, to satisfy the forms of law with falsehoods. If, in this vile herd of victims sacrificed for the sake of the public tranquillity, there are any that deserve to be set apart, they are those unfortunate foreigners, Proly and Anacharsis Clootz, condemned as agents of the coalition. Proly, as we have said, being well acquainted with Belgium, his native country, had censured the ignorant violence of the Jacobins in the Netherlands. He had admired the talents of Dumouriez, and this he confessed to the tribunal. His knowledge of foreign courts, had, on two or three occasions, rendered him serviceable to Lebrun, and this he also confessed. "Thou hast blamed," it was urged against him, "the revolutionary system in Belgium; thou hast admired Dumouriez; thou hast been a friend of Lebrun; thou art, therefore, an agent of the foreign powers." No other fact was alleged against him. As for Clootz, his universal republic, his dogma of reason, his income of one hundred thou-

sand livres, and some efforts which he had made to save a female emigrant, were sufficient for his conviction.

No sooner were the proceedings resumed on the third day than the jury declared that it was satisfied with the evidence before it, and condemned pell-mell these intriguers, agitators, and unfortunate foreigners, to suffer death. One only was acquitted, a man named Laboureau, who in this affair had served as a spy for the committee of public welfare. On the 4th of Germinal, at four in the afternoon, the condemned persons were conveyed to the place of execution. The concourse was as great as on any preceding occasion of the same kind. Places were sold on carts and on tables around the scaffold. Neither Ronsin nor Clootz tripped, to use their own terrible expression. Hebert, overcome with shame, disheartened by contempt, took no pains to conceal his cowardice. He fell fainting every moment, and the populace, vile as himself, followed the fatal cart, repeating the cry of the hawkers of his paper: *Il est b———t en colère le Père Duçhêne.*

Thus were sacrificed these wretched men to the indispensable necessity of establishing a firm and vigorous government; and here the necessity of order and obedience was not one of those sophisms to which governments sacrifice their victims. All Europe threatened France, all the agitators were grasping at the supreme authority, and compromising the commonwealth by their quarrels. It was indispensable that some more energetic men should seize this disputed authority, should hold it to the exclusion of all others, and should thus be enabled to use it for the purpose of withstanding all Europe. If we feel any regret it is to see falsehood employed against these wretches; to find among them a man of firm courage in Ronsin, an inoffensive maniac in Clootz, and at most an intriguer, but not a conspirator, and a foreigner of superior merit, in the unfortunate Proly.

As soon as the Hebertists had suffered, the *indulgents* manifested great joy, and said that they were not wrong in denouncing Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, since the committee of public welfare and the revolutionary tribunal had sent them to the scaffold. Of what, then, can they accuse us? said they. We have done nothing more than reproach those factious men with a design to overthrow the republic, to destroy the National Convention, to supplant the committee of public welfare, to add the danger of religious to that of civil wars, and to produce a general confusion. This is precisely what St. Just and Fouquier-Tinville have laid to their charge in sending them to the scaffold. In what then can we be conspirators, enemies of the republic?

Nothing could be more just than these reflections, and the committee was of precisely the same opinion as Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, and Fabre, respecting the danger of

that anarchical turbulence. In proof of this, Robespierre had, since the 31st of May, never ceased defending Danton and Camille, and accusing the anarchists. But, as we have observed, in striking the latter, the committee ran the risk of being set down as moderate, and it was therefore incumbent on it to display the greatest energy on the other side, lest it should compromise its revolutionary reputation.* It behoved it, while thinking like Danton and Camille, to censure their opinions, to sacrifice them in its speeches, and to appear not to favour them more than the Hebertists themselves. In the report against the two factions, St. Just had threatened one as much as the other, and observed a menacing silence respecting the indulgents. At the Jacobins, Collot had said that the business was not finished, and that a report was preparing against other persons, besides those who were arrested. These threats were accompanied by the apprehension of Herault-Sechelles, a friend of Danton, and one of the most esteemed men of that time. Such facts indicated no intention of relaxing, and yet it was still said in all quarters that the committee was about to retrace its steps, that it was going to mitigate the revolutionary system, and to pursue severe measures against the murderers of all kinds. Those who wished for this return to a milder policy, the prisoners, their families, in short, all the peaceful citizens persecuted under the name of indifferents, gave themselves up to indiscreet hopes, and loudly asserted that the system of the laws of blood was at length about to terminate. Such was soon the general opinion. It spread to the departments, and especially to that of the Rhone, where such terrible vengeance had for some months past been exercised, and in which Ronsin had caused such consternation. People breathed more freely for a moment at Lyons. They dared look their oppressors in the face, and seemed to predict to them that their cruelties were about to have an end. These rumours, these hopes of the middle and peaceful class, roused the indignation of the patriots. The Jacobins of Lyons wrote to those of Paris that aristocracy was raising its head again, that they should soon be unable to keep it down, and that, unless force and encouragement were given to them, they should be reduced to the necessity of taking their own lives like the patriot Gail-

* "By favouring at first, or seeming to favour, the moderates, Robespierre had prepared the ruin of the anarchists, and he thus accomplished two ends which contributed to his domination or his pride; he ruined a formidable faction, and he destroyed a revolutionary reputation, the rival of his own. Motives of public safety required, it must be confessed, these combinations of parties. It appeared impossible to the committee to continue the war without a dictatorship; they considered the Hebertists as an obscene faction, who corrupted the people and assisted the enemy; and the Dantonists as a party whose political moderation and private immorality compromised and dishonoured the republic."—*Mignet.* E.

lard, who had stabbed himself at the time of the first arrest of Ronsin.

"I have seen," said Robespierre to the Jacobins, "letters from some of the Lyonnese patriots. They all express the same despair, and if the most speedy remedy be not applied to their disease, they will not find relief from any recipe but that of Cato and of Gaillard. The perfidious faction which, affecting a perfidious patriotism, aimed at sacrificing the patriots, has been exterminated; but the foreign foe cares little for that; he has another left. Had Hebert triumphed, the Convention would have been overthrown, the republic would have fallen into chaos, and tyranny would have been delighted; but, with the moderates, the Convention is losing its energy, the crimes of the aristocracy are left unpunished, and the tyrants triumph. The foreigner has therefore as much hope with one as with the other of these factions, and he must pay them all without attaching any of them to himself. What cares he whether Hebert expires on the scaffold, so that he has traitors of another kind left, for the accomplishment of his projects? You have done nothing, then, if there is still left a faction for you to destroy; and the Convention is resolved to immolate all, even to the very last of them."

Thus the committee had felt the necessity of clearing itself from the reproach of moderation by a new sacrifice. Robespierre had defended Danton, when he had seen a daring faction preparing to strike by his side one of the most celebrated and most renowned of the patriots. Policy, a common danger, every thing, then induced him to defend his old colleague; but now this bold faction no longer existed. Were he to continue to defend this colleague, stripped of his popularity, he would compromise himself. Besides, the conduct of Danton could not fail to excite many reflections in his jealous mind. What was Danton about? Why did he absent himself from the committee? Associating with Philipeaux and Camille-Desmoulins, he appeared to be the instigator and the leader of that new opposition, which was assailing the government with cutting censures and sarcasms. For some time past, seated opposite to that tribune where the members of the committee took their places, Danton had somewhat of a threatening, and at the same time contemptuous, air. His attitude, his expressions, which ran from mouth to mouth, and his connexions, all proved that, after seceding from the government, he had set up for its censor, and that he kept himself aloof, as if for the purpose of obstructing it by his great reputation. This was not all. Though Danton had lost his popularity, he still retained a reputation for boldness and for extraordinary political genius. If Danton were sacrificed, there would be left not one great name out of the committee; and in the committee there would remain only men of secondary

importance, such as St. Just, Couthon, Collot-d'Herbois. By consenting to this sacrifice, Robespierre would at once destroy a rival, restore to the government its reputation for energy, and above all heighten his reputation for virtue, by striking a man accused of having sought money and pleasure. He was, moreover, exhorted to this sacrifice by all his colleagues, who were still more jealous of Danton than he was himself. Couthon and Collot-d'Herbois were aware that they were despised by that celebrated tribune. Billaud, cold, vulgar, and sanguinary, found in him something grand and overwhelming. St. Just, dogmatic, austere and proud, felt an antipathy to an acting, generous, and easy revolutionist, and perceived that, if Danton were dead, he should become the second personage of the republic. Lastly, all of them knew that Danton, in his plan for renewing the committee, proposed that Robespierre alone should be retained. They therefore beset the latter, and no great efforts were required to wring from him a determination so agreeable to his pride. It is not known what explanations led to this resolution or on what day it was taken; but all at once they became threatening and mysterious. No further mention was made of their projects. In the Convention and at the Jacobins, they maintained an absolute silence. But sinister rumours began to be whispered about. It was said that Danton, Camille, Philipeaux, and Lacroix, were about to be apprehended and sacrificed to the authority of their colleagues. Mutual friends of Danton and Robespierre, alarmed at these reports, and seeing that, after such an act, the life of no man whatever would be safe, and that Robespierre himself could no longer be easy, were desirous of reconciling Robespierre and Danton, and begged them to explain themselves. Robespierre, intrenching himself in an obstinate silence, refused to reply to these overtures, and maintained a distant reserve.* When reminded of the friendship that he had formerly testified for Danton, he hypocritically replied that he

* "After the first symptoms of a commencement of hostilities, Danton, who had not yet terminated his connexion with Robespierre, demanded an interview. It took place at the house of the latter. Danton complained violently, but Robespierre was reserved. 'I know,' said Danton, 'all the hatred which the committee bears me; but I do not fear it.'—'You are wrong,' replied Robespierre; 'they have no evil intentions against you, but it is good to explain oneself.'—'Explain oneself!' retorted Danton, 'for that good faith is necessary;' and, observing Robespierre to assume a grave air at these words, 'Without doubt,' added he, 'it is necessary to suppress the royalists; but we ought only to strike blows which are useful to the republic; and it is not necessary to confound the innocent with the guilty.'—'Ah, who has told you,' rejoined Robespierre sharply, 'that we have caused an innocent person to perish?' Whereupon Danton, turning to one of his friends who had accompanied him, asked, with a bitter smile, 'What sayest thou? Not an innocent has perished?' After these words they separated. All the bonds of friendship were broken."—*Mignet.* E.

could not do any thing either for or against his colleague; that justice was there to defend innocence; that, for his part, his whole life had been a continual sacrifice of his affections to his country; and that, if his friend were guilty, he should sacrifice him with regret, but he should sacrifice him like all the others to the republic.

It is obvious that his mind was made up, that this hypocritical rival would not enter into any engagement relative to Danton, and that he reserved to himself the liberty of delivering him up to his colleagues. In consequence, the rumours of the approaching arrests acquired more consistence. Danton's friends surrounded him, urging him to rouse himself from the kind of slumber which had come over him, to shake off his indolence, and to show at length that revolutionary front which amidst storms he had never yet shown in vain. "I well know," said Danton, "that they mean to arrest me. But no," he added, "they will not dare." Besides, what could he do? To fly was impossible. What country would have given an asylum to this formidable revolutionist? Was he to authorize by his flight all the calumnies of his enemies? And then, he loved his country. "Does a man," he exclaimed, "carry away his country on the soles of his shoes?" On the other hand, if he remained in France, he would have but slender means at his disposal. The Cordeliers belonged to the ultra-revolutionists, the Jacobins to Robespierre. The Convention was trembling. On what force could he lean? These are points not duly considered by those who, having seen this mighty man overturning the throne on the 10th of August, and raising the people against foreigners, have not been able to conceive how he could have fallen without resistance. Revolutionary genius does not consist in reviving a lost popularity, in creating forces which do not exist, but in boldly directing the affections of the people, when once in possession of them. The generosity of Danton, and his secession from public affairs, had almost alienated the popular favour from him, or at least had not left him enough of it for overthrowing the reigning authority. In this conviction of his impotence, he waited and repeated to himself, *They will not dare.* It was but fair to presume that before so great a name and such great services his adversaries would hesitate. He then sank back into his indolence and into the thoughtlessness of men conscious of their strength, who await danger without taking much pains to screen themselves from it.

The committee continued to maintain profound silence, and sinister rumours continued to be circulated. Six days had elapsed since the death of Hebert. It was the 9th of Germinal. All at once, the peaceable men, who had conceived indiscreet hopes from the fall of the furious party, said that they should soon be delivered from the two saints Marat and Chalier, and

that there had been found in their lives enough to change them, as well as Hebert, from great patriots into villains. This report, which originated in the idea of a retrograde movement, spread with extraordinary rapidity, and it was every where asserted that the busts of Marat and Chalier were to be broken in pieces. Legendre denounced this language in the Convention and at the Jacobins, by way of protesting, in the name of his friends, the moderates, against such a project. "Be easy," exclaimed Collot at the Jacobins, "these stories will be contradicted. We have hurled the thunderbolt at the infamous wretches who deluded the people; we have torn the mask from their faces, but they are not the only ones! We will tear off all possible masks. Let not the *indulgents* imagine that it is for them we have fought, that it is for them we have here held glorious sittings. We shall soon undeceive them."

Accordingly, on the following day, the 10th Germinal, the committee of public welfare summoned the attendance of the committee of general safety, and, to give more authority to its measures, that of the committee of legislation also. As soon as all the members had assembled, St. Just addressed them, and, in one of those violent and perfidious reports which he was so clever at drawing up, he denounced Danton, Philipeaux, Desmoulins, and Lacroix, and proposed their apprehension. The members of the two other committees, awe-struck and trembling, durst not resist, and conceived that they were removing the danger from their own persons by giving their assent. Profound secrecy was enjoined, and, in the night between the 10th and the 11th of Germinal, Danton, Lacroix, Philipeaux, and Camille-Desmoulins were arrested unawares, and conveyed to the Luxembourg.

By morning the tidings had spread throughout Paris, and produced there a kind of stupor. The members of the Convention met and preserved a silence, mingled with consternation. The committee, which always made the Assembly wait for it, and which had already all the insolence of power, had not yet arrived. Legendre, who was not of sufficient importance to be apprehended with his friends, was eager to speak. "Citizens," said he, "four members of this Assembly were last night arrested. I know that Danton is one of them; the names of the others I know not; but whoever they be, I move that they be heard at the bar. Citizens, I declare that I believe Danton to be as pure as myself, and I believe that no one has any thing to lay to my charge. I shall not attack any member of the committees of public welfare and of general safety, but I have a right to fear that personal animosities and individual passions may wrest liberty from men who have rendered it the greatest and the most beneficial services. The man who, in September 92, saved France by his energy, deserves to be heard, and ought to

be allowed to explain himself, when he is accused of having betrayed the country."

To procure for Danton the faculty of addressing the Convention was the surest way to save him and to unmask his adversaries. Many members, in fact, were in favour of his being heard; but, at this moment, Robespierre, arriving before the committee in the midst of the discussion, ascended the tribune and in an angry and threatening tone spoke in these terms: "From the disturbance, for a long time unknown, which prevails in this Assembly, from the agitation produced by the preceding speaker, it is evident that the question under discussion is one of great interest, that the point is to decide whether a few men shall this day get the better of the country. But how can you so far forget your principles as to propose to grant this day to certain individuals what you have previously refused to Chabot, Delaunay, and Fabre-d'Eglantine? Why this difference in favour of some men? What care I for the praise that people bestow on themselves and their friends! Too much experience has taught us to distrust such praise. The question is not whether a man has performed this or that patriotic act, but what has been his whole career.

"Legendre pretends to be ignorant of the names of the persons arrested. They are known to the whole Convention. His friend Lacroix is one of them. Why does Legendre affect ignorance of this? Because he knows that it is impossible, without impudence, to defend Lacroix. He has mentioned Danton, because he conceives, no doubt, that to his name is attached a privilege. No, we will have no privileges. We will have no idols!"

At these words there was a burst of applause, and the cowards, trembling at the same time before one idol, nevertheless applauded the overthrow of another, which was no longer to be feared. Robespierre continued: "In what respect is Danton superior to Lafayette, to Dumouriez, to Brissot, to Fabre, to Chabot, to Hebert? What is said of him that may not be said of them? And yet have you spared them? Men talk to you of the despotism of the committees, as if the confidence which the people have bestowed on you, and which you have transferred to these committees, were not a sure guarantee of their patriotism. They affect doubts; but I tell you, whoever trembles at this moment is guilty, for innocence never dreads the public *surveillance.*"

Fresh applause from the same trembling cowards, anxious to prove that they were not afraid, accompanied these words. "And in me, too," added Robespierre, "they have endeavoured to excite terror. They have endeavoured to make me believe that, in meddling with Danton, the danger might reach myself. They have written to me; the friends of Danton have sent me letters,

have beset me with their speeches; they conceived that the remembrance of an old connexion, that an ancient faith in false virtues, would induce me to slacken my zeal and my passion for liberty. On the contrary, I declare that if Danton's dangers were ever to become my own, that consideration would not stop me for a moment. It is here that we all ought to have some courage and some greatness of soul. Vulgar minds, or guilty men, are always afraid to see their fellows fall, because, having no longer a barrier of culprits before them, they are left exposed to the light of truth; but, if there exist vulgar spirits, there are heroic spirits also in this assembly, and they will know how to brave all false terrors. Besides, the number of the guilty is not great. Crime has found but few partisans among us, and, by striking off a few heads, the country will be delivered."

Robespierre had acquired assurance and skill to say what he meant, and never had he shown more skill or more perfidy than on this occasion. To talk of the sacrifice which he made in forsaking Danton, to make a merit of it, to take to himself a share of the danger if there were any, and to cheer the cowards by talking of the small number of the guilty, was the height of hypocrisy and of address. Thus all his colleagues unanimously decided that the four deputies arrested in the night should not be heard by the Convention. At this moment St. Just arrived, and read his report. He was the denouncer of the victims, because he combined an extraordinary vehemence and vigour of style with the subtlety necessary for distorting facts, and giving them a signification which they had not. Never had he been more horribly eloquent or more false; for, intense as might have been his hatred, it could not have persuaded him of all that he advanced. Having at considerable length calumniated Philipeaux, Camille-Desmoulins, and Herault-Sechelles, and accused Lacroix, he came at last to Danton, urging against him the falsest allegations, and distorting known facts in the most atrocious manner. According to him, Danton, greedy, indolent, a liar, and even a coward, sold himself to Mirabeau, and afterwards to the Lameths, and drew up with Brissot the petition which led to the fusillade in the Champ de Mars, not for the purpose of abolishing royalty, but to cause the best citizens to be shot. He then went with impunity to take his recreation, and to revel at Arcis-sur-Aube on the produce of his perfidies. He kept concealed on the 10th of August, and appeared again only to make himself a minister: he then connected himself with the Orleans party, and got Orleans and Fabre elected deputies. Leagued with Dumouriez, bearing only an affected hatred to the Girondins, and keeping up in reality a good understanding with them, he had entirely opposed the events of the 31st of May, and wanted to have Henriot arrested. When Dumouriez, Orleans, and the Girondins had been punished, he treated with the party that

was desirous of setting up Louis XVII. Accepting money from any hand,—from Orleans, from the Bourbons, from foreigners dining with bankers and aristocrats, mingling in all intrigues, prodigal of hopes towards all parties, a real Catiline, in short, rapacious, debauched, indolent, a corrupter of the public morals, he went and secluded himself once more at Arcis-sur-Aube, to enjoy the fruits of his rapine. He returned at length, and recently connected himself with all the enemies of the state, with Hebert and his accomplices, by the common tie of the foreigner, for the purpose of attacking the committee and the men whom the Convention had invested with its confidence.

When this most unjust report was finished, the Convention decreed the accusation of Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Philipeaux, Herault-Sechelles, and Lacroix.

These unfortunate men had been conveyed to the Luxembourg. "Us! arrest us!" said Lacroix to Danton, "I never should have thought it!"—"Thou shouldst never have thought it?" replied Danton; "I knew it; I had been warned of it."*—"And, knowing this, thou hast not acted!" exclaimed Lacroix. "This is the effect of thine accustomed indolence; it has undone us."—"I did not believe," replied Danton, "that they would ever dare to execute their design."

All the prisoners thronged to the wicket to see the celebrated Danton and the interesting Camille, who had thrown a ray of hope into the prisons. Danton was, as usual, calm, proud, and very jovial;† Camille, astonished and depressed; Philipeaux, moved and elevated by the danger. Herault-Sechelles, who had been sent to the Luxembourg some days before them, ran out to meet his friends, and cheerfully embraced them. "When men do silly things," said Danton, "the best thing they can do is to laugh at them." Then, perceiving Thomas Paine, he said to him, "What thou hast done for the happiness and the liberty of thy country, I have in vain attempted to do for mine; I have been less fortunate, but not more guilty. They are sending me to the scaffold — well, my friends, we must go to it gaily!"

* "Danton's friends had more than once warned him of his danger, and implored him to rouse himself; but to all their entreaties he merely replied, 'I would rather be guillotined than guillotine. Besides, my life is not worth the trouble, and I am weary of humanity. The members of the committee seek my death; well, if they effect their purpose, they will be execrated as tyrants; their houses will be rased; salt will be sown there; and upon the same spot a gibbet dedicated to the punishment of crime will be planted. But my friends will say of me that I have been a good father, a good friend, a good citizen. They will not forget me. No; I would rather be guillotined than guillotine.'"—*Mignet.* E.

† "On entering the prison, the first words uttered by Danton were, 'At length I perceive that, in revolutions, the supreme power ultimately rests with the most abandoned."—*Riouffe.* E.

On the next day, the 12th, the act of accusation was sent to the Luxembourg, and the accused were transferred to the Conciergerie, whence they were to go before the revolutionary tribunal. On reading this act, full of atrocious falsehoods, Camille became furious. Presently recovering his composure, he said, with affliction, "I am going to the scaffold for having shed a few tears over the fate of so many unfortunate persons. My only regret in dying is, that I had not the power to serve them." All the prisoners, whatever might be their rank or their opinion, felt a deep interest for him, and formed ardent wishes in his behalf. Philipeaux said a few words about his wife, and remained calm and serene. Herault-Sechelles retained that gracefulness of mind and manners which distinguished him even among persons of his own rank: he embraced his faithful attendant, who had acompanied him to the Luxembourg, but was not allowed to follow him to the Conciergerie; he cheered him, and revived his courage. To the latter prison were transferred, at the same time, Fabre, Chabot, Bazire, and Delaunay, who were to be tried conjointly with Danton, in order to throw odium upon him by this association with forgery. Fabre was ill and almost dying. Chabot, who, during his imprisonment had never ceased writing to Robespierre, to implore his good offices, and to lavish on him the basest flatteries, but without moving him, saw that death was inevitable, and that disgrace must as certainly be his lot as the scaffold. He resolved, therefore, to poison himself. He swallowed corrosive sublimate, but the agony which he suffered having forced him to cry out, he confessed what he had done, accepted medical aid, and was conveyed, as ill as Fabre, to the Conciergerie. A sentiment somewhat more noble seemed to animate him amidst his torments, namely, a deep regret for having compromised his friend Bazire, who had no hand in the crime. "Bazire," he exclaimed, "my poor Bazire, what hast thou done?"

At the Conciergerie, the accused excited the same curiosity as at the Luxembourg. They were put into the room that the Girondins had occupied. Danton spoke with the same energy. "It was on this very day," said he, "that I caused the revolutionary tribunal to be instituted. I beg pardon for it of God and of men. My object was to prevent a new September, and not to let loose a scourge upon mankind." Then, giving way to contempt for his colleagues who were murdering him, "These brother Cains," said he, "know nothing about government. I leave every thing in frightful disorder." To characterize the impotence of the paralytic Couthon and the cowardly Robespierre, he then employed some obscene but original expressions, which indicated an extraordinary gaiety of mind. For a single moment he showed a slight regret at having taken part in the Revolution, saying that it was much better to be a poor fisher-

man than to govern men. This was the only expression of the kind that he uttered.

Lacroix appeared astonished at the number and the wretched state of the prisoners. "What!" said one of them to him, "did not cart-loads of victims teach you what was passing in Paris?" The astonishment of Lacroix was sincere; and it is a lesson for men who, pursuing a political object, have no conception of the individual sufferings of the victims, and seem not to believe because they do not see them.

On the following day, 13th of Ventose, the accused were taken away to the number of fifteen. The committee had associated together the five moderate chiefs, Danton, Herault-Sechelles, Camille, Philipeaux, and Lacroix; the four persons accused of forgery, Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, and Fabre d'Eglantine; Chabot's two brothers-in-law, Julius and Emanuel Frey; d'Espagnac, the contractor; the unfortunate Westermann, charged with having participated in the corruption and plots of Danton; lastly, two foreigners, friends of the accused, Gusman, the Spaniard, and Diederichs, the Dane. The object of the committee in making this medley was to confound the moderates with the corrupt deputies and with foreigners, by way of proving that moderation proceeded at once from the lack of republican virtue and the seduction of foreign gold. The crowd collected to see the accused was immense. A spark of that interest which Danton had once excited was rekindled at sight of him. Fouquier-Tinville, the judges, and the jurors, all subaltern revolutionists raised from nothing by his mighty hand, were embarrassed in his presence. His assurance, his haughtiness, awed them, and he appeared rather to be the accuser than the accused.* Herman, the president, and Fouquier-Tinville, instead of drawing the jurors by lot, as the law required, selected them, and took such as they called *solid* men. The accused were then examined. When Danton was asked the usual questions as to his age and his place of abode, he proudly replied that he was thirty-four years old, and that his name would soon be in the Pantheon, and himself nothing. Camille replied that he was thirty-three, the age of *the sans-culotte Jesus Christ when he died!* Bazire was twenty-nine; Herault-Sechelles and Philipeaux were thirty-four. Thus talents, courage, patriotism, youth, were all again included in this new holocaust, as in that of the Girondins.

Danton, Camille, Herault-Sechelles and the others, complained on finding their cause blended with that of several forgers. The proceedings, however, went on. The accusation preferred against Chabot, Bazire, Delaunay, and d'Eglantine, was

* "Danton, calm and indifferent, amused himself during his trial by throwing little paper-pellets at his judges."—*Hazlitt.* E.

TRIAL OF DANTON, CAMILLE, CHABOT, &c.

first examined. Chabot persisted in his statement, and asserted that, if he had taken part in the conspiracy of the stockjobbers, it was merely for the purpose of revealing it. He convinced nobody; for it appeared extraordinary that, if he had entered into it with such a motive, he should not have secretly forewarned some member of the committees, that he should have revealed it so late, and that he should have kept the money in his hands. Delaunay was convicted; Fabre, notwithstanding his clever defence, in which he alleged that, in making the erasures and interlineations in the copy of the decree, he conceived that it was but the rough draft (*projet*) which they had before them, was convicted by Cambon, whose frank and disinterested deposition was overwhelming. He proved in fact to Fabre that the *projets* of decrees were never signed, that the copy which he had altered was signed by all the members of the commission of five, and that consequently he could not have supposed that he was altering a mere *projet*. Bazire, whose connivance consisted in non-revelation, was scarcely heard in his defence, and was assimilated to the others by the tribunal. It then passed to d'Espagnac, who was accused of having bribed Julien of Toulouse to support his contracts, and of having had a hand in the intrigue of the India Company. In this case, letters proved the facts, and against this evidence all d'Espagnac's acuteness was of no avail. Herault-Sechelles was then examined. Bazire was declared guilty as a friend of Chabot; Herault for having been a friend of Bazire; for having had some knowledge through him of the intrigue of the stockjobbers; for having favoured a female emigrant; for having been a friend of the moderates; and for having caused it to be supposed by his mildness, his elegance, his fortune, his ill-disguised regrets, that he was himself a moderate. After Herault came Danton's turn. Profound silence pervaded the Assembly when he rose to speak. "Danton," said the president to him, "the Convention accuses you of having conspired with Mirabeau, with Dumouriez, with Orleans, with the Girondins, with foreigners, and with the faction which wants to re-instate Louis XVII."—"My voice," replied Danton with his powerful organ, "my voice which has so often been raised for the cause of the people, will have no difficulty to repel that calumny. Let the cowards who accuse me show their faces, and I will cover them with infamy. Let the committees come forward; I will not answer but in their presence: I need them for accusers and for witnesses. Let them appear. For the rest, I care little for you and your judgment. I have already told you that nothingness will be soon my asylum. Life is a burden; take it from me. I long to be delivered from it." Danton uttered these words burning with indignation. His heart revolted at having to answer such men. His demand to be confronted with the committees, and his declared determination not to reply but in their presence, had intimidated the tribunal and

caused great agitation. Such a confronting would in fact have been cruel for them; they would have been covered with confusion, and condemnation would perhaps have been rendered impossible. "Danton," said the president, "audacity is the quality of guilt, calmness that of innocence." At this expression, Danton exclaimed: "Individual audacity ought, no doubt, to be repressed; but that national audacity of which I have so often set the example, which I have so often shown in the cause of liberty, is the most meritorious of all the virtues. That audacity is mine. It is that which I have employed for the republic against the cowards who accuse me. When I find that I am so basely calumniated, how can I contain myself? It is not from such a revolutionist as I, that you must expect a cold defence. Men of my temper are inappreciable in revolutions. Upon their brow is impressed the spirit of liberty." As he uttered these words, Danton shook his head and defied the tribunal. His formidable countenance produced a profound impression. A murmur of approbation escaped from the people, whom energy always touches. "I," continued Danton, "I accused of having conspired with Mirabeau, with Dumouriez, with Orleans, of having crawled at the feet of vile despots!* I that am summoned to reply to *inevitable, inflexible justice!*† And thou, cowardly St. Just, wilt have to answer to posterity for thy accusation against the firmest supporter of liberty! In going through this catalogue of horrors," added Danton, holding up the act of accusation, "I feel my whole frame shudder." The president again exhorted him to be calm, and reminded him of the example of Marat, who replied respectfully to the tribunal. Danton resumed, and said that, since it was desired, he would relate the history of his life. He then related what difficulty he

* "The following anecdote, which is related by M. Bonnet in his work entitled "L'Art de rendre les Révolutions utiles," proves that the suspicions of the committee were not without some foundation, and that Danton, notwithstanding his incessant boast of patriotism, was no better than a mere mercenary intriguer: "Soon after the imprisonment of the King, Danton, wearied of his connexion with Robespierre, came to the resolution of saving the life of Louis on certain conditions. With this view, he sent a confidential emissary into England with propositions for the King's deliverance; but they were not listened to. His agents then contrived to communicate his instructions in a more indirect manner to a certain French nobleman, whom the King had always considered, with justice, as one of those who were most attached to him. Those who were to save the King would, of course, forfeit all influence in France, and be obliged to leave the country. As the price of this double sacrifice, Danton proposed that a sum of money, sufficient to secure the necessary votes, should be deposited in the hands of a banker in London, payable to the persons whom he should specify, under this express condition, that no part of it should be exigible till the King was in safety in a neutral territory. The nobleman to whom this plan was communicated was bound in honour to give it his countenance and support, and, accordingly he corresponded with several of his friends, with the view of recommending it to the belligerent powers. All, however, was in vain." E.

† Expressions of the act of accusation.

had had in attaining to the municipal functions, the efforts made by the Constituents to prevent him, the resistance which he opposed to the designs of Mirabeau, and above all, what he did on that famous day, when, surrounding the royal carriage with an immense concourse of people, he prevented the journey to St. Cloud. He then referred to his conduct when he led the people to the Champ de Mars to sign a petition against royalty, and the motive of that celebrated petition; to the boldness with which he first proposed the overthrow of the throne in 92; to the courage with which he proclaimed the insurrection on the evening of the 9th of August; and to the firmness which he displayed during the twelve hours of that insurrection. Choked with indignation at the thought of the allegation that he had hid himself on the 10th of August, "Where," he exclaimed, "are the men who had occasion to urge Danton to show himself on that day? Where are the privileged beings from whom he borrowed energy? Let my accusers stand forward! I am in my sober senses when I call for them. I will expose the three downright knaves who have surrounded and ruined Robespierre. Let them come forward here, and I will plunge them into that nothingness from which they ought never to have emerged." The president would have again interrupted him, and rang his bell. Danton drowned the sound of it with his terrible voice. "Do you not hear me?" asked the president. "The voice of a man who is defending his honour and his life," replied Danton, "must overpower the sound of thy bell." Wearied, however, from indignation, his voice began to falter. The president then begged him respectfully to rest himself, that he might resume his defence with more calmness and tranquillity.

Danton was silent, and the tribunal passed on to Camille, whose *Vieux Cordelier* was read, and who remonstrated in vain against the interpretation put upon his writings. Lacroix was next brought forward. His conduct in Belgium was severely animadverted on. Lacroix, after the example of Danton, demanded the appearance of several members of the Convention, and made a formal application to obtain it.

This first sitting had excited a general sensation. The concourse of people surrounding the Palace of Justice and extending to the bridges had manifested extraordinary emotion. The judges were frightened. Vadier,* Vouland, and Amar, the most malignant members of the committee of general safety, had

* "Vadier, a lawyer, was an ardent Jacobin, but without abilities, and ridiculous on account of his accent. In 1792 he was appointed deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. In 1794 he successively defended and abandoned the party of Hebert and Danton. After the fall of Robespierre, whom he denounced with severity, Vadier was condemned to transportation, but contrived to make his escape. In 1799 the consular government restored him to his rights as a citizen."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

watched the proceedings, concealed in the printing-office contiguous to the hall of the tribunal, and communicating with it by means of a small loop-hole. There they had witnessed with alarm the boldness of Danton and the dispositions of the public. They began to doubt whether condemnation were possible. Herman and Fouquier had repaired, as soon as the court broke up, to the committee of public welfare, and communicated to it the application of the accused, who demanded the appearance of several members of the Convention. The committee began to hesitate. Robespierre had gone home. Billaud and St. Just alone were present. They forbade Fouquier to reply, enjoined him to prolong the proceedings, to let the three days elapse without coming to any explanation, and then to make the jurors declare themselves sufficiently informed.

While these things were passing at the tribunal, at the committee, and in Paris, there was not less commotion in the prisons, where a deep interest was felt for the accused, and where no hopes were seen for any one if such revolutionists were sacrificed. In the Luxembourg was confined the unfortunate Dillon, the friend of Desmoulins, and defended by him. He had learned from Chaumette, who, involved in the same danger, made common cause with the moderates, what had passed at the tribunal. Chaumette had heard it from his wife. Dillon, a hot-headed man, and who, like an old soldier, sometimes sought in wine a relief under his troubles, talked inconsiderately to a man named Laflotte, who was confined in the same prison. He said that it was high time for the good republicans to raise their heads against vile oppressors; that the people seemed to be awaking; that Danton insisted on replying before the committees; that his condemnation was far from being ensured; that the wife of Camille-Desmoulins might raise the people by distributing assignats; and that, if he himself should contrive to escape, he would collect resolute men enough to save the republicans who were on the point of being sacrificed by the tribunal. These were but empty words, uttered under the influence of wine and vexation. There appears, however, to have been an intention to send a thousand crowns and a letter to Camille's wife. The base Laflotte, thinking to obtain his life and liberty by denouncing the plot, hastened to the keeper of the Luxembourg, and made a declaration in which he alleged that a conspiracy was ready to break out within and without the prisons, for the purpose of liberating the accused and murdering the members of the two committees. We shall presently see what use was made of this fatal deposition.

On the following day, the concourse at the tribunal was as great as before. Danton and his colleagues, equally firm and obstinate, still insisted on the appearance of several members of the Convention and of the two committees. Fouquier, pressed

to reply, said that he did not oppose the summoning of necessary witnesses. But, added the accused, it was not sufficient that he threw no obstacle in the way, he ought himself to summon them. He replied that he would summon all who should be pointed out to him, excepting those who belonged to the Convention, as it was for that assembly to decide whether its members could be cited. The accused again complained that they were refused the means of defending themselves. The tumult was at its height. The president examined some more of the accused—Westermann, the two Freys, and Gusman, and hastened to put an end to the sitting.

Fouquier immediately wrote to the committee, to inform it of what had passed, and to inquire in what way he was to reply to the demands of the accused. The situation was difficult, and every one began to hesitate. Robespierre affected not to give any opinion. St. Just alone, more bold and more decided, thought that they ought not to recede; that they ought to stop the mouths of the accused, and send them to death. At this moment he received the deposition of the prisoner Laflotte, addressed to the police by the keeper of the Luxembourg. St. Just found in it the germ of a conspiracy hatched by the accused, and a pretext for a decree that should put an end to the struggle between them and the tribunal. Accordingly, on the following morning, he addressed the Convention, and declared that a great danger threatened the country, but that this was the last, and, if boldly met, it would soon be surmounted. "The accused," said he, "now before the revolutionary tribunal, are in open revolt; they threaten the tribunal; they carry their insolence so far as to throw balls made of crumbs of bread in the faces of the judges; they excite and may even mislead the people. But this is not all. They have framed a conspiracy in the prisons. Camille's wife has been furnished with money to provoke an insurrection; General Dillon is to break out of the Luxembourg, to put himself at the head of a number of conspirators, to slaughter the two committees, and to liberate the culprits." At this hypocritical and false statement, the complaisant portion of the Assembly cried out that it was horrible, and the Convention unanimously voted the decree proposed by St. Just. By virtue of this decree, the tribunal was to continue, without breaking up, the trial of Danton and his accomplices; and it was authorized to deny the privilege of pleading to such of the accused as should show any disrespect to the court, or endeavour to excite disturbance. A copy of the decree was immediately despatched. Vouland and Vadier carried it to the tribunal, where the third sitting had begun, and where the redoubled boldness of the accused threw Fouquier into the greatest embarrassment.

On the third day, in fact, the accused had resolved to renew their application for summonses. They all rose at once, and

urged Fouquier to send for the witnesses whom they had demanded. They required more. They insisted that the Convention should appoint a commission to receive the denunciations which they had to make against the scheme of dictatorship which manifested itself in the committees. Fouquier, perplexed, knew not what answer to give. At that moment a messenger came to call him out. On stepping into the adjoining room, he found Amar and Vouland, who still quite out of breath, said to him, "We have the villains fast. Here is what will relieve you from your embarrassment." With these words, they put into his hands the decree just passed at the instigation of St. Just. Fouquier took it with joy, returned to the court, begged permission to speak, and read the decree. Danton indignantly rose. "I call this audience to witness," said he, "that we have not insulted the tribunal."—"That is true," cried several voices in the hall. The whole assembly was astonished, nay even indignant, at the denial of justice to the accused. The emotion was general. The tribunal was intimidated. "The truth," added Danton, "will one day be known. — I see great calamities ready to burst upon France. — There is the dictatorship. It exhibits itself without veil or disguise." Camille, on hearing what was said concerning the Luxembourg, Dillon, and his wife, exclaimed in despair, "The villains! not content with murdering me, they are determined to murder my wife!" Danton perceived at the farther end of the hall and in the corridor Amar and Vouland, who were lurking about, to judge of the effect produced by the decree. He shook his fist at them. "Look," said he, "at those cowardly assassins; they follow us; they will not leave us so long as we are alive!" Vadier and Vouland sneaked off in affright. The tribunal, instead of replying, put an end to the sitting.

The next was the fourth day, and the jury was empowered to put an end to the pleadings by declaring itself sufficiently informed. Accordingly, without giving the accused time to defend themselves, the jury demanded the closing of the proceedings. Camille was furious. He declared to the jury that they were murderers, and called the people to witness this iniquity. He and his companions in misfortune were then taken out of the hall. He resisted, and was dragged away by force. Meanwhile, Vadier and Vouland talked warmly to the jurors, who, however, needed no exciting. Herman the president, and Fouquier followed them into their hall. Herman had the audacity to tell them that a letter going abroad had been intercepted, proving that Danton was implicated with the coalition. Three or four of the jurors only durst support the accused, but they were overborne by the majority. Trinchard, the foreman of the jury, returned full of a ferocious joy, and, with an exulting air, pronounced the unjust condemnation.

The court would not run the risk of a new explosion of the

condemned, by bringing them back from the prison to the hall of the tribunal to hear their sentence: a clerk, therefore, went down to read it to them. They sent him away without suffering him to finish, desiring to be led to death immediately. When the sentence was once passed, Danton, before boiling with indignation, became calm, and displayed all his former contempt for his adversaries. Camille, soon appeased, shed a few tears for his wife, and, in his happy improvidence, never conceived that she, too, was threatened with death, an idea that would have rendered his last moments insupportable. Herault was gay, as usual. All the accused were firm, and Westermann proved himself worthy of the high reputation which he had acquired for intrepidity.

They were executed on the 16th of Germinal (5th of April).* The infamous rabble, paid to insult the victims, followed the carts. At this sight, Camille, filled with indignation, addressed the multitude, and poured forth a torrent of the most vehement imprecations against the cowardly and hypocritical Robespierre. The wretches employed to insult him replied by gross abuse. In the violence of his action he had torn his shirt, so that his shoulders were bare. Danton, casting a calm and contemptuous look on the mob, said to Camille, "Be quiet; take no notice of this vile rabble." On reaching the foot of the scaffold, Danton was going to embrace Herault-Sechelles, who extended his arms towards him, but was prevented by the executioner, to whom he addressed, with a smile, these terrible expressions: "What! canst thou then be more cruel than death? At any rate, thou canst not prevent our heads from embracing presently at the bottom of the basket."

Such was the end of Danton who had shed so great a lustre upon the Revolution, and been so serviceable to it. Bold, ardent, greedy of excitement and pleasure, he had eagerly thrown himself into the career of disturbance, and he was more especially qualified to shine in the days of terror.† Prompt and de-

* "Thus perished the tardy but last defenders of humanity, of moderation; the last who wished for peace between the conquerors of the Revolution, and mercy to the vanquished. After them, no voice was heard for some time against the Dictatorship of Terror. It struck its silent and reiterated blows from one end of France to the other. The Girondins had wished to prevent this violent reign, the Dantonists to stop it; all perished; and the more enemies the rulers counted, the more victims they had to despatch." — *Mignet.* E.

† "Danton's revolutionary principles were well known. To abstain from a crime, necessary or barely useful, he reputed weakness; but to prolong crimes beyond necessity, never to enjoy the reward, and ever to continue their slave, excited equally his contempt and indignation. Terror, indeed, was his system; but he thought of securing its effects with a sword suspended, not incessantly plunged into the breast of a victim. He preferred a massacre to a long succession of executions."—*Lacretelle.* E.

cisive, not to be staggered either by the difficulty or by the novelty of an extraordinary situation, he was capable of judging of the necessary means, and had neither fear nor scruple about any. He conceived that it had become necessary to put an end to the struggle between the monarchy and the revolution, and he effected the 10th of August. In presence of the Prussians, he deemed it necessary to overawe France, and to engage her in the system of the revolution. He, therefore, it is said, brought about the horrible days of September,* and, in so doing, saved a great number of victims. At the beginning of the great year 1793 when the Convention was alarmed at the sight of all Europe in arms, he uttered these remarkable words, with a full comprehension of all their depth: "A nation in revolution is more likely to conquer its neighbours than to be conquered by them." He was aware that twenty-five millions of men, whom the government should dare to set in motion, would have nothing to fear from the few hundred thousand armed by the thrones. He proposed to raise the whole population, and to make the rich pay. He devised, in short, all the revolutionary measures which left such terrible mementoes, but which saved France. This man, so mighty in action, fell in the interval between dangers into indolence and dissipation, which he had always been fond of. He sought, too, the most innocent pleasures, such pleasures as the country, an adored wife, and friends, afforded. He then forgot the vanquished, he ceased to hate them, he could even do them justice, pity, and defend them. But, during these intervals of repose, necessary for his ardent spirit, his rivals won by assiduity the renown and the influence which he had gained in the day of peril. The fanatics reproached him with his mildness and his good-nature, forgetting that, in point of political cruelty, he had equalled them all in the days of September. While he trusted to his renown, while he delayed acting from indolence, and was meditating noble plans for restoring mild laws, for limiting the days of violence to the days of danger, for separating the exterminators irrevocably steeped in blood from the men who had only yielded to circumstances, finally, for organizing France and reconciling her with Europe, he was surprised by his colleagues to whom he had relinquished the government. The latter, in striking a blow at the ultra-revolutionists, deemed it incumbent on them, that they might not appear to retrograde, to aim another at the moderates. Policy demanded victims; envy selected them, and sacrificed the most celebrated and the most dreaded man of the day. Danton fell, with his reputation and his services,

* Mercier, in his "New Picture of Paris," accuses Danton of having prepared the massacres of September, and Prudhomme devotes twenty pages of his "History of Crimes" to conversations and papers, which prove with what frightful unconcern this terrible demagogue arranged every thing for those unparalleled murders. E.

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before the formidable government which he had contributed to organize; but, at least, by his boldness, he rendered his fall for a moment doubtful.

Danton had a mind uncultivated, indeed, but great, profound, and, above all, simple and solid. It was for emergencies only that he employed it, and never for the purpose of shining: he therefore spoke little, and disdained to write. According to a contemporary, he had no pretension, not even that of guessing what he was ignorant of—a pretension so common with men of his metal. He listened to Fabre d'Eglantine, and was never tired of hearing his young and interesting friend, Camille-Desmoulins, in whose wit he delighted, and whom he had the pain to bear down in his fall. He died with his wonted fortitude, and communicated it to his young companion. Like Mirabeau, he expired proud of himself, and considering his faults and his life sufficiently covered by his great services and his last projects.

The leaders of the two parties had now been sacrificed. The remnant of these parties soon shared the same fate; and men of the most opposite sentiments were mingled and tried together, to give greater currency to the notion that they were accomplices in one and the same plot. Chaumette and Gobel appeared by the side of Arthur Dillon and Simon. The Grammonts, father and son, the Lapallus, and other members of the revolutionary army, were tried with General Beysser; lastly, Hebert's wife, formerly a nun, appeared beside the young wife of Camille-Desmoulins, scarcely twenty-three years of age, resplendent with beauty, grace, and youth. Chaumette, whom we have seen so docile and so submissive, was accused of having conspired at the commune against the government, of having starved the people, and endeavoured to urge it to insurrection by his extravagant requisitions. Gobel was considered as the accomplice of Anacharsis Clootz and of Chaumette. Arthur Dillon meant, it was said, to open the prisons of Paris, and then to slaughter the Convention and the tribunal, in order to save his friends. The members of the revolutionary army were condemned as agents of Ronsin. General Beysser, who had so powerfully contributed to save Nantes along with Canclaux, and who was suspected of federalism, was regarded as an accomplice of the ultra-revolutionists. We well know what approximation could exist between the staff of Nantes and that of Saumur. Hebert's wife was condemned as an accomplice of her husband. Seated on the same bench with the wife of Camille, she said to the latter, "You, at least, are fortunate; against you there is no charge. You will be saved." In fact, all that could be alleged against this young woman was, that she had been passionately fond of her husband, that she had hovered incessantly with her children about the prison to see their father, and to point him out to them. Both were, nevertheless, condemned, and the wives of Hebert

and Camille perished as implicated in the same conspiracy. The unfortunate Desmoulins died with a courage worthy of her husband and of her virtue.* No victim since Charlotte Corday and Madame Roland had excited deeper sympathy and more painful regret.

* "The widow of Camille-Desmoulins, young, amiable, and well-informed, during the mock process which condemned her to death as an accomplice of her husband, loathing life, and anxious to follow him, displayed a firmness of mind that was seen with admiration, even by her judges. When she heard the sentence pronounced, she exclaimed, 'I shall then, in a few hours, again meet my husband!' and then, turning to her judges, she added, 'In departing from this world, in which nothing now remains to engage my affections, I am far less the object of pity than you are.' Previous to going to the scaffold she dressed herself with uncommon attention and taste. Her head-dress was peculiarly elegant; a white gauze handkerchief, partly covering her beautiful black hair, added to the clearness and brilliancy of her complexion. Being come to the foot of the scaffold, she ascended the steps with resignation and even unaffected pleasure. She received the fatal blow without appearing to have regarded what the executioner was doing."—*Du Broca.* E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONCENTRATION OF ALL THE POWERS IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMITTEE — ABOLITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY, OF THE MINISTRIES, OF THE SECTIONARY SOCIETIES, &c. — RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF THE COMMITTEE; ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE SUPREME BEING.

THE government had just sacrificed two parties at once. The first, that of the ultra-revolutionists, was really formidable, or likely to become so; with the second, that of the new moderates, this was not the case. Its destruction, therefore, was not necessary, though it might prove serviceable, in order to remove all appearance of moderation. The committee struck it without conviction, from hypocrisy and envy. This latter was a difficult blow to strike. The whole committee hesitated, and Robespierre withdrew to his home as on a day of danger. But St. Just, supported by his courage and his jealous hatred, remained firm at his post, cheered Herman and Fouquier, affrighted the Convention, wrung from it the decree of death, and caused the sacrifice to be consummated. The last effort that any authority has to make in order to become absolute is always the most difficult; it is obliged to exert all its strength to overcome the last resistance; but, this resistance vanquished, every thing gives way, every thing falls prostrate before it; it has now but to reign without obstacle. Then it is that it runs riot, expends its strength, and ruins itself. While all mouths are closed, while submission is in every face, hatred conceals itself in the heart, and the act of accusation of the conquerors is prepared amidst their triumph.

The committee of public welfare, having successfully sacrificed the two descriptions of persons so different from each other who had presumed to oppose, or merely to find fault with, its power, had become irresistible. The winter was past. The campaign of 1794 (Germinal, year 2) was about to open with the spring. Formidable armies were to guard all the frontiers, and to cause that terrible power to be felt abroad which was so cruelly felt at home. Whoever had made a show of resistance, or of feeling any sympathy with those who had been put to death, had no alternative but to hasten to offer their submission. Legendre, who had made an effort, on the day that Danton, Lacroix, and Camille-Desmoulins were arrested,

and who had endeavoured to influence the Convention in their favour — Legendre deemed it right to lose no time in atoning for his imprudence, and in clearing himself from his friendship for the late victims. He had received several anonymous letters, the writers of which exhorted him to strike the tyrants, who, they said, had just thrown off the mask. Legendre repaired to the Jacobins on the 21st of Germinal (April 10), denounced the anonymous letters sent to him, and complained that people took him for a Seïd, into whose hands they could put a dagger. "Well, then," said he, "since I am forced to it, I declare to the people, who have always heard me speak with sincerity, that I now consider it as proved that the conspiracy, the leaders of which are no more, really existed, and that I was the puppet of the traitors. I have found proofs of this in various papers deposited with the committee of public welfare, especially in the criminal conduct of the accused before the national justice, and in the machinations of their accomplices, who wish to arm an honest man with the dagger of the murderer. Before the discovery of the plot, I was the intimate friend of Danton. I would have answered with my life for his principles and his conduct. But now I am convinced of his guilt. I am persuaded that he wished to plunge the people into a profound error. Perhaps I should have fallen into it myself, had I not been timely enlightened. I declare to the anonymous scribblers who want to persuade me to stab Robespierre, and to make me the instrument of their machinations, that I was born in the bosom of the people, that I glory in remaining there, and that I will die rather than abandon its rights. They shall not write me a single letter that I will not carry to the committee of public welfare."

The submission of Legendre was soon generally imitated. Addresses, pouring in from all parts of France, congratulated the Convention and the committee of public welfare on their energy. The number of these addresses, in every kind of style, and under the most burlesque forms, is incalculable. Each eagerly signified adherence to the acts of the government, and acknowledged their justice. Rhodez sent the following address: "Worthy representatives of a free people, it is then in vain that the sons of the Titans have lifted their proud heads; the thunderbolt has overthrown them all! What, citizens! sell its liberty for base lucre! The constitution which you have given us has shaken all thrones, struck terror into all kings. Liberty advancing with giant step, despotism crushed, superstition annihilated, the republic recovering its unity, the conspirators unveiled and punished, unfaithful representatives, base and perfidious public functionaries, falling under the axe of the law, the fetters of the slaves in the New World broken—such are your trophies! If intriguers still exist, let them tremble! let the death of the conspirators attest your triumph! As for you, representatives, live happy in the wise laws which you

have made for the welfare of all nations, and receive the tribute of our love."*

It was not from horror of sanguinary means that the committee had struck the ultra-revolutionists, but with a view to strengthen the hands of authority, and to remove the obstacles that impeded its action. Accordingly, it was afterwards seen constantly tending to a twofold aim: to render itself more and more formidable, and to concentrate power always in its own hands. Collot, who had become the spokesman of the government at the Jacobins, explained in the most energetic manner the policy of the committee. In a violent speech, in which he indicated to all the authorities the new track which they ought to pursue, and the zeal which they ought to display in their functions, he said, "The tyrants have lost their strength; their armies tremble before ours; several of the despots are already seeking to withdraw from the coalition. In this state, they have but one hope left, that of internal conspiracies. We must not cease, therefore, to keep a vigilant eye on the traitors. Like our victorious brethren on the frontiers, let us all present arms and fire all at once. While our external enemies fall beneath the strokes of our soldiers, let the internal enemies fall beneath the strokes of the people. Our cause, defended by justice and energy, shall be triumphant. Nature is this year bountiful to the republicans. She promises them a double harvest. The bursting buds proclaim the fall of the tyrants. I repeat to you, citizens, let us watch at home, while our warriors are fighting without; let the functionaries charged with the public concerns redouble their attention and zeal; let them thoroughly impress themselves with this idea, that there is perhaps not a street, not a crossing, where there is not a traitor meditating a last plot. Let this traitor find death, ay, and the speediest of deaths. If the administrators, if the public functionaries, wish to find a place in history, this is the favourable moment to think of doing so. The revolutionary tribunal has already secured for itself a distinguished place there. Let all the administrations imitate its zeal and its inexorable energy; let the revolutionary committees, in particular, redouble their vigilance and their activity; and let them firmly withstand the importunities with which they are beset, and which would hurry them into an indulgence pernicious to liberty."

St. Just presented to the Convention a formidable report on the general police of the republic. He therein repeated the fabulous history of all the conspiracies; he exhibited them as the rising of all the vices against the austere system of the republic; he said that the government, instead of relaxing, ought to strike without ceasing, until it should have sacrificed all the

* Sitting of the 26th Germinal. *Moniteur*, No. 208, of the year 2 (April, 1794).

wretches whose corruption was an obstacle to the establishment of virtue. He pronounced the customary eulogy on severity, and sought in the usual way, at that time, by figures of all kinds, to prove that the origin of the great institutions must be terrible. "What," said he, "would have become of an indulgent republic? We have opposed sword with sword, and the republic is founded. It has issued from the bosom of storms. It has this origin in common with the world arising out of chaos, and man weeping at the moment of his birth." In consequence of these maxims, St. Just proposed a general measure against the ex-nobles. It was the first of the kind that was enacted. In the preceding year, Danton had, in a moment of irritation, caused all the aristocrats to be outlawed. This measure, impracticable on account of its extent, had been changed into another, which condemned all suspected persons to provisional detention. But no direct law against the ex-nobles had yet been passed. St. Just held them forth as irreconcilable enemies of the revolution. "Do what you will," said he, "you will never be able to satisfy the enemies of the people, unless you re-establish tyranny. Let them go elsewhere in search of slavery and kings. They cannot make peace with you; you do not speak the same language; you do not understand one another. Drive them out, then! The world is not inhospitable, and with us the public welfare is the supreme law." St. Just proposed a decree banishing all the ex-nobles, all foreigners, from Paris, from the fortresses, and from the seaports, and declaring all those outlawed who should not have obeyed the decree within the space of ten days. Other clauses of this *projet* made it the duty of all the authorities to redouble their zeal and activity. The Convention applauded this proposition, as it always did, and voted it by acclamation. Collot-d'Herbois, the reporter of the decree to the Jacobins, added his own tropes to those of St. Just. "We must," said he, "make the body politic throw out the foul sweat of aristocracy. The more copiously it perspires, the more healthy it will be."

We have seen what the committee did to manifest the energy of its policy. We have now to show the course which it pursued for the still greater concentration of power. In the first place, it ordered the disbanding of the revolutionary army. That army, a contrivance of Danton, had at first been serviceable for carrying into execution the will of the Convention, when relics of federalism still existed; but, as it had become the rallying-point of all the agitators and all the adventurers, as it had served for a point of support to the late demagogues, it was necessary to disperse it. Besides, the government, being implicitly obeyed,* had

* "One only power now remained—alone, terrible, irresistible. This was the power of DEATH, wielded by a faction steeled against every feeling of humanity, dead to every principle of justice. In their iron hands order resumed its sway from the influence of terror; obedience became universal

no need of these satellites to enforce the execution of its orders. In consequence, a decree was passed for disbanding it. The committee then proposed the abolition of the different ministries. Ministers were powers still possessing too much importance beside members of the committee of public welfare. Either they left every thing to be done by the committee and in this case they were useless; or they insisted on acting themselves, and then they were important competitors. The example of Bouchotte, who, directed by Vincent, had caused the committee so much embarrassment, was pregnant with instruction. The ministries were in consequence abolished, and in their stead the twelve following commissions were instituted:

1. Commission of civil administration, police, and the tribunals.
2. Commission of public instruction.
3. Commission of agriculture and the arts.
4. Commission of commerce and articles of consumption.
5. Commission of public works.
6. Commission of public succours.
7. Commission of conveyance, posts, and public vehicles.
8. Commission of finances.
9. Commission of organization and superintendence of the land forces.
10. Commission of the navy and the colonies.
11. Commission of arms, gunpowder, and mines.
12. Commission of foreign relations.

These commissions, dependent on the committee of public welfare, were neither more nor less than twelve offices, among which the business of the administration was divided. Herman, who was president of the revolutionary tribunal at the time of Danton's trial, was rewarded for his zeal by the appointment of chief of one of these commissions. To him was given the most important of them, that of civil administration, police, and tribunals.

Other measures were adopted to effect more completely the centralization of power. According to the institution of the revolutionary committees, there was to be one for each commune or section of a commune. The rural communes being very numerous and inconsiderable, the number of committees was too great, and their functions were almost null. There was, moreover, a great inconvenience in their composition. The peasants being very revolutionary but generally illiterate, the municipal functions had devolved upon proprietors who had retired to their estates, and were not at all disposed to exercise power in the spirit of

from the extinction of hope. Silent and unresisted, they led their victims to the scaffold, dreaded alike by the soldiers, who crouched, the people, who trembled, and the victims, who suffered. The history of the world has no parallel to the horrors of that long night of suffering!"—*Alison.* E.

the government. In consequence, a vigilant eye was not kept upon the country, and especially upon the mansions. To remedy this inconvenience, the revolutionary committees were abolished and reduced to district committees. By these means the police, in becoming more concentrated, became also more active, and passed into the hands of the tradesmen of districts, who were almost all stanch Jacobins, and very jealous of the old nobility.

The Jacobins were the principal society, and the only one avowed by the government. It had invariably adopted the principles and the interests of the latter, and, like it, spoken out against the Hebertists and Dantonists. The committee of public welfare was desirous that it should absorb in itself almost all the others, and concentrate all the power of opinion, as it had concentrated in itself all the power of the government. This wish was extremely flattering to the ambition of the Jacobins, and they made the greatest efforts for its accomplishment. Since the meetings of the sections had been reduced to two a week, in order that the people might be able to attend them, and to secure the triumph of revolutionary motions, the sections had formed themselves into popular societies, and a great number of such societies had been established in Paris. There were two or three of them in each section. We have already mentioned the complaints preferred against them. It was said that the aristocrats, that is, the commercial clerks and the lawyers' clerks, dissatisfied with the requisition, the old servants of the nobility, all those, in short, who had any motive for resisting the revolutionary system, met at these societies, and there showed the opposition which they durst not manifest at the Jacobins or in the sections. The number of these secondary societies prevented any superintendence of them, and opinions which would not have dared to show themselves any where else, were sometimes expressed there. It had already been proposed to abolish them. The Jacobins had not a right to do so, neither could the government have taken such a step, without appearing to infringe the freedom of meeting and deliberating together, a freedom so highly prized at that time, and which, it was held, ought to be unlimited. On the motion of Collot, the Jacobins decided that they would not receive any more deputations from societies formed in Paris since the 10th of August, and that the correspondence with them should be discontinued. As to those which had been formed in Paris before the 10th of August, and which enjoyed the privilege of correspondence, it was decided that a report should be made upon each, to inquire whether they ought to retain that privilege. This measure particularly concerned the Cordeliers, already struck in their leaders, Ronsin, Vincent, and Hebert, and considered as suspected. Thus all the sectionary societies were condemned by this declaration; and the Cordeliers were to undergo the ordeal of a report.

It was not long before this measure produced the intended effect. All the sectionary societies, forewarned or intimidated, came one after another to the Convention and to the Jacobins, to declare their voluntary dissolution. All congratulated alike the Convention and the Jacobins, and declared that, formed for the public benefit, they voluntarily dissolved themselves, since their meetings had been deemed prejudicial to the cause which they meant to serve. From that time there were left in Paris only the parent society of the Jacobins, and in the provinces the affiliated societies. That of the Cordeliers, indeed, still subsisted beside its rival. Instituted formerly by Danton, ungrateful towards its founder, and since wholly devoted to Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, it had given a momentary uneasiness to the government, and vied with the Jacobins. The wrecks of Vincent's office and of the revolutionary army still assembled there. It could not well be dissolved; but the report was presented. This report stated that for some time past it corresponded but very rarely and very negligently with the Jacobins, and that consequently it might be said to be useless to continue to it the privilege of correspondence. It was proposed, on this occasion, to inquire whether more than one popular society was needed in Paris. Some even ventured to assert that a single centre of opinion ought to be established and placed at the Jacobins. The society passed to the order of the day on all these propositions, and did not even decide whether the privilege of correspondence should still be granted to the Cordeliers. But this once celebrated club had terminated its existence. Entirely forsaken, it was no longer of any account, and the Jacobins, with their train of affiliated societies, remained sole masters and regulators of public opinion.

After centralizing opinion, if we may be allowed the term, the next thing thought of was to give regularity to the expression of it, to render it less tumultuous and less annoying to the government. The continual observation and the denunciation of the public functionaries, magistrates, deputies, generals, administrators, had hitherto constituted the principal occupation of the Jacobins. This mania for incessantly attacking and persecuting the agents of authority, although it had its inconveniences, possessed also its advantages, whilst any doubt could be entertained of their zeal and their opinions. But now that the committee had vigorously seized the supreme power, that it watched its agents with great vigilance, and selected them in the most revolutionary spirit, it would have been prejudicial to the committee, nay even dangerous to the state, to permit the Jacobins to indulge their wonted suspicions, and to annoy functionaries for the most part closely watched and carefully chosen. It was on occasion of Generals Charbonnier and Dagobert being both calumniated, while one was gaining advantages over the Austrians, and the other expiring in the Cerdagne, oppressed with age and wounds, that

Collot-d'Herbois complained at the Jacobins of this indiscreet manner of condemning generals and functionaries of all kinds. Throwing, as usual, all blame upon the dead, he imputed this mania of denunciation to the relics of Hebert's faction, and besought the Jacobins no longer to permit these public denunciations, which, he said, wasted the valuable time of the society, and threw a stigma on the agents selected by the government. He therefore proposed that the society should appoint a committee to receive denunciations and to transmit them secretly to the committee of public welfare; and this motion was adopted. In this manner denunciations became less inconvenient and less tumultuous, and demagogue disorder began to give way to the regularity of administrative forms.

Thus then to declare in a more and more energetic manner against the enemies of the Revolution, and to centralize the administration, the police, and the public opinion, were the first concerns of the committee and the first fruits of the victory which it had gained over all the parties. Ambition began, no doubt, to interfere in its determinations much more than in the first moment of its existence, but not so much as the great mass of power which it had acquired might lead one to infer. Instituted at the commencement of 1793, and amidst urgent dangers, it owed its existence to emergency alone. Once instituted, it had gradually assumed a greater share of power, in proportion as it needed more of it for the service of the state, and it had thus attained the dictatorship itself. Such had been its position amidst that universal dissolution of all the authorities, that it could not reorganize without gaining power, and act well without indulging ambition. The last measures which it had adopted were no doubt profitable to it, but they were prudent and useful. Most of them had even been suggested to it, for in a society which is reorganizing itself, every thing comes to submit to its creative authority. But the moment was at hand when ambition was to reign paramount, and when the interest of its own power was to supersede that of the state. Such is man. He cannot long remain disinterested, and he soon adds self to the object which he is pursuing.

The committee of public welfare had still one concern to attend to, a concern which always preoccupies the founders of a new society, namely, religion. It had already paid homage to moral ideas by *making integrity, justice, and all the virtues, the order of the day;* it had now to direct its attention to religious ideas.

Let us here remark the singular progress of their systems among these sectaries. When they aimed at destroying the Girondins, they represented them as moderates, as faint republicans, talked of patriotic energy and *public welfare,* and sacrificed them to these ideas. When two new parties were formed, the one brutal, extravagant, striving to overthrow, to profane,

every thing; the other indulgent, easy, friendly to gentle manners and pleasures, they passed from ideas of patriotic energy to those of order and virtue. They no longer beheld a fatal moderation undermining the strength of the Revolution, they saw all the vices arrayed at once against the severity of the republican system. They beheld, on the one hand, anarchy rejecting all belief in God, effeminacy and corruption rejecting all idea of order, mental delirium rejecting all idea of morals. They then conceived the republic as virtue assailed by all the bad passions at once. The word virtue was every where: they placed justice and integrity upon the order of the day. It yet remained for them to proclaim the belief in God, the immortality of the soul, all the moral creeds; it yet remained for them to make a solemn declaration, to declare, in short, the religion of the state. They resolved, therefore, to pass a decree on this subject.* In this manner they should oppose order to the anarchists, faith in God to the atheists, and morals to the dissolute. Their system of virtue would be complete. They made it above all a particular point to remove from the republic the stigma of impiety, with which it was branded throughout all Europe. They resolved to say what is always said to priests who accuse you of impiety because you do not believe their dogmas—WE BELIEVE IN GOD.

They had other motives for adopting a grand measure in regard to religion. The ceremonies of reason had been abolished; festivals were required for the tenth days; and it was of importance, when attending to the moral and religious wants of the people, to think of their wants of the imagination, and to furnish them with subjects of public meetings. Besides, the moment was one of the most favourable. The republic, victorious at the conclusion of the last campaign, began to be so at the commencement of this. Instead of the great destitution of means from which it was suffering last year, it was, through the care of its government, provided with powerful military resources. From the fear of being conquered it passed to the hope of conquering. Instead of alarming insurrections, submission prevailed every where. Lastly, if, owing to the assignats and the *maximum*, there was still some restraint upon the internal distribution of productions, Nature seemed to have been pleased to load France with all her bounties, in bestowing upon her the most abundant crops. From all the provinces tidings arrived that the harvest would be double, and the corn ripe a month before the usual time. This

* "The Dictators possessed in the highest degree that fanaticism which distinguished certain social theories; just as the Fifth-monarchy men of the English revolution, to whom they may be compared, possessed that of certain religious ideas. The first desired the most absolute political equality, as the others did evangelical equality; the former aspired to the reign of virtue, as the other to the reign of the saints. In all affairs, human nature is apt to run into extremes, and produces, in a religious age, evangelical democrats—in a philosophic age, political democrats."—*Mignet*. E.

was therefore the moment for prostrating that republic, saved, victorious, and loaded with favours, at the feet of the Almighty. The occasion was grand and touching for those who believed. It was seasonable for those who merely complied with political ideas.

Let us remark one singular circumstance. Sectaries, for whom there existed no human convention that was respectable, who, from the extraordinary contempt in which they held all other nations and the esteem with which they were filled for themselves, dreaded no opinion, and were not afraid of wounding that of the world; who in matters of government had reduced every thing to just what was absolutely necessary; who had admitted no other authority but that of a few citizens temporarily elected; who had not hesitated to abolish the most ancient and the most stubborn of all religions—such sectaries paused before two ideas, morality and faith in God. After rejecting all those from which they deemed it possible to release man, they remained under the sway of the two latter, and sacrificed a party to each of them. If some of them did not believe, they nevertheless all felt a want of order among men, and, for the support of this human order, the necessity of acknowledging in the universe a general and intelligent order. This is the first time in the history of the world that the dissolution of all the authorities left society a prey to the government of purely systematic minds —for the English believed in the Christian religion—and those minds which had outstripped all the received ideas adopted, retained, the ideas of morality and faith in God. This example is unparalleled in the history of the world: it is singular, it is grand, it is beautiful: history cannot help pausing to remark it.

Robespierre was reporter on this solemn occasion; and to him alone it belonged to be so, according to the distribution of the parts which had been made among the members of the committee. Prieur,* Robert Lindet, and Carnot, silently superintended the administrative and the war departments. Barrère made most of the reports, particularly those which related to the operations of the armies, and all those in general which it was necessary to make extempore. Collot-d'Herbois, the declaimer, was despatched to the clubs and the popular meetings, to convey to them the messages of the committee. Couthon, though paralytic, likewise went every where, harangued the Convention, the Jacobins, the people, and possessed the art of exciting interest by his infirmities, and by the paternal tone which he

* "Prieur was originally a barrister at Chalons. In 1792 he was deputed to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death, and was afterwards appointed a member of the committee of public safety. In 1794, after the fall of the Mountain, he was appointed president of the Convention. Having been engaged in the insurrection of 1795, he concealed himself for some time, and was pardoned in the following year. Prieur was a humane man, but not remarkable for ability."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

assumed in saying the most violent things. Billaud, less excitable, attended to the correspondence, and sometimes discussed questions of general policy. St. Just, young, daring, and active, went to and fro between the fields of battle and the committee; and, when he had impressed terror and energy on the armies, he returned to make murderous reports against the parties whom it was requisite to send to death.* Lastly Robespierre, the head of them all, consulted on all matters, spoke only on important occasions. For him were reserved the high moral and political questions, as more worthy of his talents and his virtue. The duty of reporter on the question which was about to be discussed belonged to him by right. None had spoken out more decidedly against atheism, none was so venerated, none had so high a reputation for purity and virtue, none, in short, was so well qualified by his ascendency and his dogmatism for this sort of pontificate.

Never had so fair an occasion offered for imitating Rousseau, whose opinions he professed and whose style he made his continual study. The talents of Robespierre had been singularly developed during the long struggles of the Revolution. That cold and heavy being began to speak extempore; and when he wrote, it was with purity, brilliancy, and energy. In his style was to be found somewhat of the poignant and gloomy humour of Rousseau, but he had not been able to borrow either the grand ideas or the generous and impassioned soul of the author of *Emile*.

On the 18th of Floreal (May 7, 1794) he appeared in the tribune, with a speech which he had composed with great care. Profound attention was paid to him. "Citizens," said he, in his exordium, "it is in prosperity that nations, like individuals, should pause to reflect and listen, in the silence of the passions, to the voice of wisdom." He then developed at length the system adopted. The republic, according to him, was virtue; and all the adversaries which it had encountered were but vices of all kinds, excited against it and paid by kings. The anarchists, the corrupt men, the atheists, had been but the agents of Pitt. "The tyrants," added he, "satisfied with the hardihood of their emissaries, had been anxious to exhibit to the view of their subjects the extravagances which they had purchased, and, affecting to believe that they characterized the whole French nation, they seemed to say to them, 'What will you gain by shaking off our yoke? The republicans, you see, are no better than ourselves!'" Brissot, Danton, Hebert, figured by turns in Robespierre's speech; and, while he was launching out into declamations of hatred against the pretended enemies of virtue—

* In one of these "murderous reports" St. Just made use of the following atrocious remark: "The vessel of the Revolution can only arrive safely in port by ploughing its way boldly through a red sea of blood." E.

declamations already extremely trite—he excited but little enthusiasm. Presently, relinquishing this portion of the subject, he rose to ideas truly grand and moral, and expressed with talent. He then obtained universal acclamations. He justly observed that it was not as the authors of systems that the representatives of the nation ought to discourage atheism and to proclaim deism, but as legislators seeking what principles are most suitable to man in a state of society. "What signify to you, O legislators!" he exclaims—"what signify to you the various hypotheses by which certain philosophers explain the phenomena of Nature? You can leave all these subjects to their everlasting disputes. Neither is it as metaphysicians nor as theologians that you ought to view them. In the eyes of the legislator, all that is beneficial to the world and good in practice is truth. The idea of the Supreme Being and of the immortality of the soul is a continual recall to justice; it is therefore social and republican. Who then," exclaims Robespierre, "hath given thee the mission to proclaim to the people that the Deity hath no existence? O thou who art in love with this steril doctrine, and wast never in love with thy country, what advantage dost thou find in persuading man that a blind power presides over his destinies and strikes at random guilt and virtue? That his spirit is but a breath which is extinguished at the threshold of the tomb? Will the idea of his annihilation inspire purer and more exalted sentiments than that of his immortality? Will it inspire him with more respect for his fellow-creatures and for himself, more devotedness to his country, more courage to defy tyranny, more contempt of death and of sensual pleasure? Ye, who mourn a virtuous friend, who love to think that the better part of him has escaped death—ye who weep over the coffin of a son, or of a wife—are ye consoled by him who tells you that nothing but vile dust is left of either? Unfortunate mortal, who expirest by the steel of the assassin, thy last sigh is an appeal to eternal justice! Innocence on the scaffold makes the tyrant turn pale in his car of triumph. Would it possess this ascendency, if the grave equalled the oppressor and the oppressed?"*

Robespierre, still confining himself to the political side of the question, adds these remarkable observations. "Let us," said he, "here take a lesson from history. Take notice, I beseech you, how the men who have exercised an influence on the destinies of states have been led into one or the other of two opposite systems by their personal character and by the very nature of

* At the time when Robespierre was indulging in all this specious declamation, he was making every effort to bring to maturity a sanguinary despotism unparalleled in the annals of the world. Not less than thirty innocent individuals were daily led to the scaffold, at the very period when this canting demagogue was solemnly and sentimentally proclaiming the last sigh of the murdered victim to be "an appeal to eternal justice!" E.

their political views. Observe with what profound art Cæsar, pleading in the Roman senate in behalf of the accomplices of Catiline, deviates into a digression against the dogma of the immortality of the soul, so well calculated do these ideas appear to him to extinguish in the hearts of the judges the energy of virtue, so intimately does the cause of crime seem to be connected with that of atheism. Cicero, on the contrary, invoked the sword of the law and the thunderbolts of the gods against the traitors. Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, supping with his companions in arms, the moment before executing the most heroic design that human virtue ever conceived, invited them for the next day to another banquet in a new life. Cato did not hesitate between Epicurus and Zeno. Brutus and the illustrious conspirators who shared his dangers and his glory, belonged also to that sublime sect of the stoics, which had such lofty ideas of the dignity of man, which carried the enthusiasm of virtue to such a height, and which was extravagant in heroism only. Stoicism brought forth rivals of Brutus and of Cato, even in those frightful ages which succeeded the loss of Roman liberty. Stoicism saved the honour of human nature, degraded by the vices of the successors of Cæsar, and still more by the patience of the people."

On the subject of atheism, Robespierre expresses himself in a singular manner concerning the Encyclopedists: "In political matters," said he, "that sect always remained below the rights of the people; in point of morality, it went far beyond the destruction of religious prejudices: its leaders sometimes declaimed against despotism, and they were pensioned by despots; sometimes they wrote books against the court, at others dedications to kings, speeches for courtiers, and madrigals for courtezans. They were proud in their works and cringing in the antechambers. This sect propagated with great zeal the opinion of materialism, which prevailed among the great and among the *beaux esprits;* to it we owe in part that kind of practical philosophy, which, reducing selfishness to a system, considers human society as a warfare of trickery, success as the rule of right and wrong, integrity as a matter of taste or decorum, the world as the patrimony of clever scoundrels.

"Among those who, at the time of which I am speaking, distinguished themselves in the career of letters and philosophy, one man, by the loftiness of his character, proved himself worthy of the office of preceptor of mankind. He attacked tyranny with frankness; he spoke with enthusiasm of the Deity; his manly and straightforward eloquence described, in words that burn, the charms of virtue; and defended those consolatory dogmas which reason furnishes for the support of the human heart. The purity of his doctrine derived from nature and from a profound hatred of vice, as well as his invincible contempt for the intriguing sophists who usurped

the name of philosophers, drew upon him the enmity and the persecution of his rivals and of his false friends. Ah! if he had witnessed this Revolution of which he was the forerunner, who can doubt that his generous soul would have embraced with transport the cause of liberty and equality!"*

Robespierre then strove to counteract the idea that, in proclaiming the worship of the Supreme Being, the government was labouring for the benefit of the priests. "What is there in common between the priests and God? The priests are to morality what quacks are to medicine. How different is the God of Nature from the God of the priests! I know nothing that so nearly resembles atheism as the religions which they have framed. By grossly misrepresenting the Supreme Being, they have annihilated belief in him as far as lay in their power. They made him at one time a globe of fire, at another an ox, sometimes a tree, sometimes a man, sometimes a king. The priests have created a God after their own image; they have made him jealous, capricious, greedy, cruel, and implacable; they have treated him as the mayors of the palace formerly treated the descendants of Clovis, in order to reign in his name and to put themselves in his place; they have confined him in heaven as in a palace, and have called him to earth only to demand of him for their own interest tithes, wealth, honours, pleasures, and power. The real temple of the Supreme Being is the universe; his worship, virtue; his festivals, the joy of a great nation, assembled in his presence to knit closer the bonds of universal fraternity, and to pay him the homage of intelligent and pure hearts."

Robespierre then said that the people needed festivals. "Man," he observed "is the grandest object that exists in nature, and the most magnificent of all sights is that of a great people assembled together." In consequence, he proposed plans for public meetings on all the Decadis. He finished his report amidst the warmest applause; and proposed the following decree, which was adopted by acclamation:

"Art. 1. The French people acknowledges the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.

"Art. 2. It acknowledges that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man."

Other articles purported that festivals should be instituted, in order to remind man of the Deity and of the dignity of his own nature. They were to borrow their names from the events of the Revolution, or from the virtues most beneficial to man. Besides the festivals of the 14th of July, the 10th of August, the 21st of January, and the 31st of May, the republic was to celebrate on all the Decadis the following festivals: to the Supreme Being—to the human race—to the French people—to

* Robespierre here alludes to Rousseau, of whose sickly philosophy he was throughout life an ardent admirer. E.

the benefactors of mankind—to the martyrs of liberty—to liberty and equality—to the republic—to the liberty of the world—to the love of country—to hatred of tyrants and traitors—to truth—to justice—to modesty—to glory—to friendship—to frugality—to courage—to good faith—to heroism—to disinterestedness—to stoicism—to love—to conjugal fidelity—to paternal affection—to filial piety—to infancy—to youth—to manhood—to old age—to misfortune—to agriculture—to industry—to our ancestors—to posterity—to happiness.

A solemn festival was ordered for the 20th of Prairial, and the plan of it was committed to David. It is proper to add that, in this decree, freedom of religion was anew proclaimed.

No sooner was this report finished, than it was sent to be printed. On the same day,,the commune and the Jacobins, demanding that it should be read, received it with applause, and deliberated upon going in a body to the Convention to present their thanks for the *sublime* decree which it had just passed. It had been remarked that the Jacobins had been silent after the immolation of the two parties, and had not gone to congratulate the committee and the Convention. A member had noticed this, and said that it was a fit occasion for proving the union of the Jacobins with a government which displayed such admirable conduct. An address was accordingly drawn up and presented to the Convention by a deputation of the Jacobins. That address concluded thus: "The Jacobins come this day to thank you for the solemn decree that you have just issued; they will come and join you in the celebration of that great day on which the festival of the Supreme Being shall assemble the virtuous citizens throughout all France to sing the hymn of virtue." The president made a pompous reply to the deputation. "It is worthy," said he, "of a society which fills the world with its renown, which enjoys so great an influence upon the public opinion, which has associated at all times with all the most courageous of the defenders of the rights of man, to come to the temple of the laws to pay homage to the Supreme Being."

The president proceeded, and, after a very long harangue on the same subject, called upon Couthon to speak. The latter made a violent speech against atheists and corrupt men, and pronounced a pompous eulogy on the society. He proposed on that solemn day of joy and gratitude to do the Jacobins a justice which had long been due to them, namely, to declare that, ever since the commencement of the Revolution, they had not ceased to deserve well of the country. This suggestion was adopted amidst thunders of applause. The Assembly broke up in transports of joy, nay, indeed, in a sort of intoxication.

If the Convention had received numerous addresses after the death of the Hebertists and the Dantonists, it received many more after the decree proclaiming the belief in the Supreme Being. The contagion of ideas and words spreads with extra-

ordinary rapidity among the French. Among a prompt and communicative people the idea that engages some few minds soon engages the attention of the public generally; the word that is in some mouths is soon in all. Addresses poured in from all parts, congratulating the Convention on its sublime decrees, thanking it for having established virtue, proclaimed the worship of the Supreme Being, and restored hope to man. All the sections came, one after another, to express similar sentiments. The section of Marat, appearing at the bar, addressed the Mountain in these words: "O beneficent Mountain! protecting Sinai! accept also our expressions of gratitude and congratulation for all the sublime decrees which thou art daily issuing for the happiness of mankind. From thy boiling bosom darted the salutary thunderbolt, which, in crushing atheism, gives us genuine republicans the consolatory idea of living free, in the sight of the Supreme Being, and in expectation of the immortality of the soul. *The Convention for ever! the Republic for ever! the Mountain for ever!*" All the addresses besought the Convention anew to retain the supreme power. There was one even which called upon it to sit till the reign of virtue should be established in the republic upon imperishable foundations.

From that day, the words *Virtue* and *Supreme Being* were in every mouth. Instead of the inscription, To REASON, placed upon the fronts of the churches, there was now inscribed, To THE SUPREME BEING. The remains of Rousseau were removed to the Pantheon. His widow was presented to the Convention, and a pension settled upon her.

Thus the committee of public welfare, triumphant over all the different parties, invested with all the powers, placed at the head of an enthusiastic and victorious nation, proclaiming the reign of virtue and the worship of the Supreme Being, was at the height of its authority, and at the last term of its systems.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1794 (YEAR II)—GENERAL PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—PLANS OF THE ALLIES AND OF THE FRENCH—OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN—OCCUPATION OF THE PYRENEES AND OF THE ALPS—OPERATIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS; ACTIONS ON THE SAMBRE AND THE LYS; BATTLE OF TURCOING—OCCURRENCES IN THE COLONIES—SEA-FIGHT.

In Europe and in France the winter had been spent in making preparations for a new campaign. England was still the soul of the coalition, and urged the continental powers to advance and to destroy on the banks of the Seine a revolution that alarmed her, and a rival who was hateful to her. The implacable son of Chatham had this year made immense efforts to crush France. It was, however, not without opposition that he had obtained from the English parliament means proportionate to his vast projects.—Lord Stanhope in the Upper House, Fox and Sheridan* in the Lower, were still hostile to the system of war. They refused all sacrifices demanded by the ministers. They were for granting only just what was necessary for the defence of the coast, and above all they would not suffer this war to be termed *just and necessary*: it was, in their opinion, unjust, ruinous, and punished with just reverses. The pretended motives deduced from the opening of the Scheldt, the dangers of Holland, and the necessity of defending the British constitution, were false. Holland had not been endangered by the opening of the Scheldt, and the British constitution was not threatened. The aim of ministers was to destroy a people who had determined to be free, and to keep continually increasing their personal influence and authority, upon pretext of resisting the machinations of the French Jacobins. This struggle had been maintained by unfair means. Civil war and massacre had been fomented, but a brave and generous nation had frustrated the attempts of its adversaries by unexampled courage and efforts. Stanhope,

* Fox and Sheridan observed that "the conduct of government since the war commenced, had been a total departure from the principles of moderation on which they had so much prided themselves before it broke out. They then used language which breathed only the strictest neutrality, and this continued even after the King had been dethroned, and many of the worst atrocities of the Revolution had been perpetrated; but now, even though they did not altogether reject negotiation, they issued declarations evidently calculated to render it impossible, and shake all faith in the national integrity."—*Parliamentary History*. E.

Fox, and Sheridan, concluded that such a war was disgraceful and ruinous to England. They were mistaken on one point. The English Opposition may frequently reproach ministers with waging unjust wars, but never disadvantageous ones.* If the war carried on against France had no motive of justice, it had excellent motives of policy, as we shall presently see, and the Opposition, misled by generous sentiments, overlooked the advantages that were about to result from it to England.

Pitt affected alarm at the threats of invasion uttered in the tribune of the Convention. He pretended that country-people in Kent had said, "The French are coming to bring us the rights of man." He made this language (paid for, it is said, by himself) a pretext for asserting that the constitution was threatened; he had denounced the constitutional societies in England, which had become rather more active, after the example set them by the clubs of France; and he insisted that, under pretence of a parliamentary reform, their design was to establish a Convention. In consequence, he demanded the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, the seizure of the papers of those societies, and the institution of proceedings against some of their members.† He demanded, moreover, the privilege of enrolling volunteers, and of maintaining them by means of donations or subscriptions, of increasing the force of the army and navy, and of raising a corps of forty thousand foreigners, French emigrants and others. The Opposition made a spirited resistance. It asserted that there was nothing to warrant the suspension of the most valuable of the liberties of Englishmen; that the accused societies deliberated in public; that their wishes, openly expressed, could not be conspiracies, and that they were the wishes of all England, since they were confined to parliamentary reform; that the immoderate increase of the land forces was pregnant with danger to the English people; that, if the volunteers could be armed by subscription, it would become allowable for the minister to raise armies without the sanction of parliament; that the maintenance of so great a number of foreigners would be ruinous, and that it had no other object than to pay Frenchmen for being traitors to their country. In spite of the remonstrances of the Opposition, which had never been either more eloquent or less numerous, for it comprehended no more than thirty or forty members, Pitt obtained all that he desired, and carried all the bills which he had presented.‡

* M. Thiers seems to have forgotten Lord North's "disadvantageous" American war, which cost England so much blood and treasure, and was attended with such humiliating results. E.

† An allusion to the various prosecutions of the reformers which took place about this time in Scotland, and to the celebrated trial of Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, in England, for treason. E.

‡ "The House of Commons passed the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act by a majority of 261 to 42. In the House of Lords it was adopted without a division."—*Annual Register*. E.

As soon as these demands were granted, he caused the militia to be doubled; he increased the land forces to sixty thousand men, and the naval forces to eighty thousand; he organized fresh corps of emigrants, and brought to trial several members of the constitutional societies. An English jury, a more solid guarantee than the parliament, acquitted the accused; but this was of little consequence to Pitt, who had in his hands all the means of repressing the slightest political movement, and of wielding a colossal power in Europe.

This was the moment for profiting by this general war to crush France, to ruin her navy for ever, and to take her colonies from her—a much more sure and enviable result in the estimation of Pitt than the repression of certain political and religious doctrines. He had succeeded in the preceding year in arming against France the two maritime powers which should always have continued in alliance with her—Spain and Holland; he was anxious to keep them in their political error, and to turn it to the best account against the French navy. England was able to send out of her ports at least one hundred sail of the line, Spain forty, and Holland twenty, exclusively of a multitude of frigates. How was France, with the fifty or sixty ships left her since the conflagration at Toulon, to cope with such a force? Thus, though no naval action had yet been fought, the English flag was paramount in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic Ocean, and in the Indian Seas. In the Mediterranean, the English squadrons threatened the Italian powers which were desirous of remaining neuter, blockaded Corsica with a view to wrest that island from us, and awaited a favourable moment for landing troops and stores in La Vendée. In America, they surrounded our Antilles, and sought to profit by the terrible dissensions prevailing between the whites, the mulattoes, and the blacks, to gain possession of them. In the Indian seas, they completed the establishment of British power and the ruin of Pondicherry. With another campaign our commerce would be destroyed, whatever might be the fortune of arms on the continent. Thus nothing could be more politic than the war waged by Pitt with France, and the Opposition was wrong to find fault with it on the score of advantages. It would have been right in one case only, and that case has not yet occurred; if her debt, continually increasing and now become enormous, is really beyond her wealth, and destined some day to overwhelm her, England will have exceeded her means, and will have done wrong in struggling for an empire which will have cost her her strength. But this is a mystery of the future.

Pitt hesitated at no violence to augment his means and to aggravate the calamities of France. The Americans, happy under Washington, freely traversed the seas, and began to engage in that vast carrying-trade which has enriched them during the long wars of the continent. Pitt subjected their vessels to im-

pressment. The British squadrons stopped American ships, and took away men belonging to their crews. More than five hundred vessels had already undergone this violence, and it was the subject of warm remonstrances on the part of the American government, but they were not listened to. This was not all. By favour of the neutrality, the Americans, the Danes, the Swedes, frequented our ports, bringing thither succours in corn, which the dearth rendered extremely valuable, and many articles necessary for the navy; and took away in exchange the wines and other productions with which the soil of France furnishes the world. Owing to this intermediate agency of neutrals, commerce was not entirely interrupted, and the most urgent wants were supplied. England, considering France as a besieged place, which must be famished and reduced to extremity, meditated the infraction of these rights of neutrals, and addressed notes full of sophistry to the northern courts, in order to enforce a violation of the right of nations.

While England was employing these means of all kinds, she had still forty thousand men in the Netherlands, under the command of the Duke of York. Lord Moira, who had been unable to reach Granville in time, was lying at Jersey with his squadron and a land force of ten thousand men. Lastly, the English treasury held funds at the disposal of all the belligerent powers.

On the continent, the zeal was not so great. The powers which had not the same interest in the war as England, and which engaged in it for pretended principles alone, prosecuted it neither with the same ardour nor with the same activity. England strove to rouse the general zeal. She still held Holland under her yoke by means of the Prince of Orange, and obliged her to furnish her contingent to the allied army of the North. Thus that unhappy nation had its ships and its regiments in the service of its most formidable enemy, and against its most steadfast ally. Prussia, notwithstanding them ysticism of her king, had in a great measure shaken off the illusions with which she had been fed for two years past. The retreat of Champagne, in 1792, and that of the Vosges, in 1793, had nothing encouraging for her. Frederick William, who had exhausted his exchequer, and weakened his army in a war which could not have any favourable result for his kingdom, and which could prove serviceable at most to the house of Austria, would have been glad to relinquish it. An object, moreover, of much greater interest to him called him northward; namely Poland, which was in motion, and the dissevered members of which were tending to reunite. England, surprising him amidst this indecision, prevailed upon him to continue the war by the all-powerful means of her gold. She concluded at the Hague, in her name and in that of Holland, a treaty by which Prussia engaged to furnish sixty-two thousand four hundred men for the service of the coalition. This army was to be under a Prussian

commander, and all the conquests that it should make were to belong jointly to the two maritime powers—England and Holland. In return, those two powers promised to furnish the King of Prussia with fifty thousand pounds sterling per month for the maintenance of his troops, and to pay him besides for bread and forage. Over and above this sum, they granted three hundred thousand pounds, to defray the first expenses of taking the field, and one hundred thousand for the return to the Prussian states. At this price Prussia continued the impolitic war which she had begun.*

The house of Austria had no longer any catastrophe to avert in France, since the princess whom she had given to Louis XVI. had expired on the scaffold. That power had less to fear from the Revolution than any other country, since the political discussions of the last thirty years have not yet awakened the public mind in her dominions; it was therefore merely revenge to fulfil an engagement, a wish to gain some fortresses in the Netherlands, perhaps too, but this must have been vague, the silly hope of having a share of our provinces, that induced Austria to continue the war. She carried it on with more ardour than Prussia, but not with much more real activity; for she merely completed and reorganized her regiments without increasing their number. A great part of her troops was in Poland, for she had, like Prussia, a powerful motive for looking back, and for thinking of the Vistula as much as of the Rhine. Gallicia occupied her attention not less than the Netherlands and Alsace.

Sweden and Denmark maintained a wise neutrality, and replied to the sophistries of England that the public right was immutable, that there was no reason for violating it towards France, and for extending to a whole country the laws of blockade, laws applicable only to a besieged place; that Danish and Swedish vessels were well received in France; that they found there not barbarians, as the French were called, but a government which did justice to the demands of commercial foreigners, and which paid all due respect to the nations with which it was at peace; that there was therefore no reason for breaking off an advantageous intercourse with it. In consequence, though Catherine, quite favourable to the plans of the English, seemed to decide against the rights of neutral nations, Sweden and Denmark persisted in their resolutions, preserved a prudent and firm neutrality, and concluded a treaty by which both engaged to maintain the rights of neutrals, and to enforce the observance of a

* "The discontent of the Prussian troops was loudly proclaimed when it transpired that they were to be transferred to the pay of Great Britain; and they openly murmured at the disgrace of having the soldiers of the great Frederick sold, like mercenaries, to a foreign power. The event soon demonstrated that the succours stipulated from Prussia would prove of the most inefficient description."—*Alison.* E.

clause in the treaty of 1780, which closed the Baltic against the armed ships of such powers as had no port in that sea. France, therefore, had ground to hope that she should still receive corn from the north and the timber and hemp requisite for her navy.

Russia, continuing to affect much indignation at the French Revolution, and giving great hopes to the emigrants, thought of nothing but Poland, and entered so far into the policy of the English merely to obtain their adhesion to hers. This accounts for the silence of England on an event of not less importance than the sweeping of a kingdom from the political stage. At this moment of general spoliation, when England was reaping so large a share of advantages in the south of Europe and in every sea, it would not have become her to talk the language of justice to the copartitioners of Poland. Thus the coalition, which accused France of having fallen into barbarism, was committing in the North the most impudent robbery that policy ever engaged in, meditating a similar procedure against France, and contributing to destroy for ever the liberty of the seas.

The German princes followed the movements of the house of Austria. Switzerland, protected by her mountains, and freed by her institutions from engaging in a crusade on behalf of monarchies, persisted in not espousing either party, and covered by her neutrality the eastern provinces, the least defended of all France. She pursued the same course upon the continent which the Americans, the Swedes, and the Danes, followed at sea. She rendered the same services to French commerce, and reaped the same benefit from her conduct. She supplied us with the horses necessary for our armies and with cattle, of which we had been deficient since the war had ravaged the Vosges and La Vendée; she exported the produce of our manufactures, and thus became the intermediate agent of a most lucrative traffic. Piedmont continued the war, no doubt, with regret, but she could not consent to lay down her arms, so long as she should lose two provinces, Savoy and Nice, at this sanguinary and ill-played game. The Italian powers wished to be neuter, but they were exceedingly annoyed on account of this intention. The republic of Genoa had seen the English resort to an unworthy procedure in her port, and commit a real attack upon the right of nations. They had seized a French frigate, lying there under shelter of the Genoese neutrality, and had slaughtered the crew. Tuscany had been obliged to dismiss the French resident. Naples, which had recognised the republic when the French squadrons threatened her coasts, made great demonstrations against her, since the English flag was unfurled in the Mediterranean, and promised to succour Piedmont with eighteen thousand men. Rome, fortunately powerless, cursed us, and had allowed Basseville, the French agent, to be murdered within its walls. Lastly Venice, though far from feeling flattered by the demagogue lan-

guage of France, would not on any account engage herself in a war, and hoped, by favour of her distant position, to preserve her neutrality. Corsica was on the point of being wrested from us, since Paoli had declared for the English.* The only places that we had yet left there, were Bastia and Calvi.

Spain, the most innocent of our enemies, continued an impolitic war against us, and persisted in committing the same blunder as Holland. The duties which the thrones pretended to have then to perform against France, the victories of Ricardos, and the English influence, decided her to try another campaign, though she was greatly exhausted, in want of soldiers, and still more of money. The celebrated Alcudia caused d'Aranda to be disgraced for having advised peace.

Politics, therefore, had changed but little since the preceding year. Interests, errors, blunders, and crimes, were the same in 1794 as in 1793. England alone had increased her forces. The allies still had in the Netherlands one hundred and fifty thousand men, Austrians, Germans, Dutch, and English. Twenty-five or thirty thousand Austrians were at Luxemburg; sixty-five thousand Prussians and Saxons in the environs of Mayence. Fifty thousand Austrians, intermixed with some emigrants, lined the Rhine from Mannheim to Basle. The Piedmontese army still consisted of forty thousand men and seven or eight thousand Austrian auxiliaries. Spain had made some levies to recruit her battalions, and demanded some pecuniary aid of her clergy, but her army was not more considerable than in the preceding year, being still limited to about sixty thousand men, divided between the eastern and western Pyrenees.

It was in the North that our enemies proposed to strike the most decisive blows against us by supporting themselves upon Condé, Valenciennes, and Le Quesnoy. The celebrated Mack† had drawn up in London a plan from which great results were expected. This time the German tactician had been rather more bold, and he had introduced into his plan a march to Paris. Unluckily it was rather too late for any daring attempt; for the French could no longer be taken by surprise, and their forces were immense. The plan consisted in taking another fortress, that of Landrecies, collecting in force at that point, bringing the Prussians from the Vosges towards the Sambre, and march-

* "The crown of Corsica, which had been offered by Paoli and the aristocratical party, to the King of England, was accepted, and efforts immediately made to confer upon the inhabitants a constitution similar to that of Great Britain."—*Annual Register.* E.

† "Bonaparte speaking to me of him one day, said, 'Mack is a man of the lowest mediocrity I ever saw in my life; he is full of self-sufficiency and conceit, and believes himself equal to any thing. He has no talent. I should like to see him opposed some day to one of our good generals; we should then see fine work! He is a boaster, and that is all. He is really one of the most silly men existing; and besides that, he is unlucky.'"—*Bourrienne.* E.

ing forward, leaving two corps on the wings, one in Flanders, the other on the Sambre. At the same time Lord Moira was to land troops in La Vendée, and to increase our dangers by a double march upon Paris.

To take Landrecies, when in possession of Valenciennes, Condé, and Le Quesnoy, was a puerile conceit; to cover the communications towards the Sambre was most judicious; but to place a corps to guard Flanders was absolutely useless, when the intention was to form a powerful invading mass; to bring the Prussians upon the Sambre was a questionable proceeding, as we shall presently see; lastly, to make a diversion in La Vendée was too late by a year, for the great Vendée had perished. We shall soon perceive, from the comparison of the project with the event, the vanity of all these plans drawn up in London.*

The coalition had not, we say, brought into play great resources. There were at this moment only three really active powers in Europe—England, Russia, and France. The reason of this is simple. England was anxious to make herself mistress of the seas, Russia to secure Poland, and France to save her existence and her liberty. There was no natural energy except in these great powers; there was no purpose noble but that of France; and in behalf of this interest she made the greatest efforts that history has ever recorded.

The permanent requisition, decreed in the month of August in the preceding year, had already supplied the armies with reinforcements and contributed to the successes with which the campaign concluded; but this important measure was not destined to produce its full effect till the ensuing campaign. Owing to this extraordinary movement, twelve hundred thousand men had left their homes, and covered the frontiers or filled the depots of the interior. The brigading of these fresh troops had been commenced. One battalion of the line was incorporated with two battalions of the new levy, and excellent regiments were thus formed. On this plan, seven hundred thousand men had been organized, and they were distributed on the frontiers and in the fortresses. There were, including the garrisons, two hundred and fifty thousand in the North; forty thousand in the Ardennes; two hundred thousand on the Rhine and the Moselle; one hundred thousand at the foot of the Alps; one hundred and twenty thousand at the Pyrenees; and eighty thousand between Cherbourg and La Rochelle. The means for equipping these forces had been neither less prompt nor less extraordinary than those for assembling them. The manufactures of arms established in Paris and in the provinces had soon attained the degree of activity which

* Those who wish to read the best political and military discussion on this subject are referred to the critical memoir on that campaign written by General Jomini, and appended to his great History of the Wars of the Revolution. E.

was intended to be given to them, and produced great quantities of cannon, swords, and muskets. The committee of public welfare, skilfully turning the French character to account, had contrived to bring into vogue the manufacture of saltpetre. In the preceding year it had already ordered an examination of all cellars for the purpose of extracting from them the mould impregnated with saltpetre. It soon adopted a still better method. It drew up directions, a model of simplicity and clearness, to teach the citizens how to lixiviate the mould of cellars. It also took into its pay a number of operative chemists to instruct them in the manipulation. The practice soon became generally introduced. People imparted to others the instructions which they had received, and each house furnished some pounds of this useful salt. Some of the quarters of Paris assembled for the purpose of carrying with pomp to the Convention the saltpetre which they had fabricated. A festival was instituted, on which each came to deposit his offering on the altar of the country. Emblematic forms were given to this salt; all sorts of epithets were lavished upon it: some called it the *avenging* salt, others, the *liberating* salt. The people amused themselves with it, but produced considerable quantities; and the government had attained its object. Some inconveniences naturally arose out of all this. The cellars were dug up, and the mould, after it had been lixiviated, lay in the streets, which it encumbered and spoiled. An ordinance of the committee of public welfare put an end to this nuisance, and the lixiviated earth was replaced in the cellars. Saline matters ran short: the committee ordered that all the herbage, not employed either as food for cattle or for domestic or rural purposes, should be immediately burned, in order to be employed in the making of saltpetre, or converted into saline substances.

Government had the art to introduce another fashion that was not less advantageous. It was easier to raise men and to manufacture arms than to find horses, of which the artillery and the cavalry were deficient. The war had rendered them scarce, and, owing to the demand and the general rise in the prices of all commodities, they were very dear. It was absolutely necessary to recur to the grand expedient of requisitions, that is to say, to take by force what an indispensable necessity demanded. In each canton, one horse out of every twenty-five was taken and paid for at the rate of nine hundred francs. Mighty, however, as force may be, good-will is much more effective. At the suggestion of the committee, a horse-soldier, fully equipped, was offered to it by the Jacobins. The example was then universally followed. Communes, clubs, sections, were eager to offer to the republic what were called *Jacobin horsemen*, completely mounted and equipped.

There were now soldiers, but officers were still wanting. The committee acted in this respect with its accustomed promptitude

"The Revolution," said Barrère, "must accelerate all things for the supply of its wants. The Revolution is to the human mind what the sun of Africa is to vegetation." The school of Mars was re-established; young men, selected from all the provinces, repaired on foot, and in military order, to Paris. Encamped in tents on the plain of Sablons, they repaired thither to acquire rapid instruction in all the departments of the art of war, and then to be distributed among the armies.

Efforts equally energetic were made to recompose our navy. It consisted, in 1789, of fifty sail of the line and as many frigates. The disorders of the Revolution, and the disaster of Toulon, had reduced it to about fifty vessels, only thirty of which, at most, were in a fit state to be sent to sea. Men and officers were what they stood most in need of. The navy required experienced men, and all the experienced men were incompatible with the Revolution. The reform effected in the staffs of the land forces was therefore still more inevitable in the staffs of the naval forces, and could not fail to cause a much greater disorganization in the latter. The two ministers, Monge and d'Albarade, had succumbed under these difficulties and been dismissed. The committee resolved, in this instance also, to have recourse to extraordinary means. Jean-Bon-St.-André, and Prieur of La Marne, were sent to Brest with the usual powers of commissoners of the Convention. The Brest squadron, after arduously cruising for four months off the west coast to prevent communication between the Vendeans and the English, had mutinied in consequence of its long hardships. No sooner had it returned than Admiral Morard de Gales was arrested by the representatives, and rendered responsible for the disorderly conduct of the squadron. The crews were entirely decomposed and reorganized in the prompt and violent manner of the Jacobins. Peasants, who had never been at sea, were put on board the ships of the republic to manœuvre against veteran English sailors. Inferior officers were raised to the highest ranks, and Captain Villaret-Joyeuse* was promoted to the command of the squadron. In a month, a fleet of thirty ships was ready to sail: it left the port full of enthusiasm, and amidst the acclamations of the people of Brest; not, indeed, to defy the formidable squadrons of England, Holland, and Spain, but to protect a convoy of two hundred sail, bringing a considerable quantity of corn

* "Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse, a French vice-admiral, served at first in the infantry. An affair of honour in which he killed his adversary obliged him to quit his corps, and he went to Brest, entered into the navy, and made himself known as a brave and intelligent officer. In 1789 he declared for the Revolution, and from 1793 to 1796 was employed at the head of the French fleets but was generally unsuccessful. In 1797 he quitted the navy and was deputed to the council of Five Hundred where he spoke against the Terrorists. In the year 1802 he was appointed captain-general of Martinique, and in 1805 was decorated with the red ribbon."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

from America, and ready to fight to the last extremity if the safety of the convoy required it. Meanwhile, Toulon was the theatre of not less rapid creations. The ships which had escaped the flames were repaired, and new ones built. The expenses were levied upon the property of the Toulonese who had contributed to surrender their port to the enemy. For want of the large ships which were under repair, a multitude of privateers covered the sea, and made valuable prizes. A bold and courageous nation, which lacks the means of carrying on war upon a large scale, may always resort to petty warfare, and therein exert its intelligence and its valour; by land, it wages the war of partisans, at sea, that of privateers. According to the report of Lord Stanhope, we had taken, from 1793 to 1794, four hundred and ten vessels, whereas the English had taken from us only three hundred and sixteen. The government then did not renounce the task of re-establishing even the naval portion of our forces.

Such prodigious efforts could not fail to produce their fruit, and we were about to reap, in 1794, the benefit of our exertions in 1793.

The campaign first opened on the Pyrenees and on the Alps. Far from being active on the western, it was destined to be much more so on the eastern Pyrenees, where the Spaniards had conquered the line of the Tech, and still occupied the famous camp of Boulou. Ricardos was dead, and that famous general had been succeeded by one of his lieutenants, the Count de la Union, an excellent soldier, but an indifferent commander. Not having yet received the fresh reinforcements which he expected, La Union thought of nothing further than keeping Boulou. The French were commanded by the brave Dugommier, who had retaken Toulon. Part of the *matériel* and of the troops employed in that service had been sent before Perpignan, while the new levies were training in the rear. Dugommier was enabled to bring thirty-five thousand men into line, and to profit by the wretched state in which the Spaniards then were. Dagobert, still enthusiastic in spite of his age, proposed a plan of invasion by the Cerdagne, which, carrying the French beyond the Pyrenees and upon the rear of the Spanish army, would have obliged the latter to fall back. It was deemed preferable to attempt, in the first instance, an attack on the camp of Boulou, and Dagobert, who was with his division in the Cerdagne, was directed to await the result of that attack. The camp of Boulou, situated on the banks of the Tech, and with its back to the Pyrenees, had for outlet the causeway of Bellegarde, which forms the high-road between France and Spain. Dugommier, instead of attacking the enemy's positions, which were extremely well fortified, in front, strove by some means to penetrate between Boulou and the causeway of Bellegarde, so as to reduce the Spanish camp. His plan was completely successful. La Union had pushed the bulk of his forces to Ceret, and left the heights of St. Christophe,

which command the Boulou insufficiently guarded. Dugommier crossed the Tech, despatched part of his troops towards St. Christophe, and attacked with the rest the front of the Spanish positions, and, after a brisk action, remained master of the heights. From that moment the camp ceased to be tenable. The enemy was obliged to retreat by the causeway of Bellegarde; but Dugommier took possession of it, and left the Spaniards only a narrow and difficult track across the Col de Porteil. Their retreat soon became a rout. Being charged briskly and opportunely, they fled in confusion, leaving us fifteen hundred prisoners, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, eight hundred mules laden with their baggage, and camp effects for twenty thousand men. This victory, gained in the middle of Floreal (the beginning of May), made us masters of the Tech and carried us beyond the Pyrenees. Dugommier immediately blockaded Collioure, Port-Vendre, and St. Elme, with the intention of retaking them from the Spaniards. At the moment of this important victory, the brave Dagobert, attacked by a fever, closed his long and glorious career. This noble veteran, aged seventy-six years, carried with him the regret and the admiration of the army.

Nothing could be more brilliant than the opening of the campaign in the eastern Pyrenees. In the western we took the valley of Bastan, and these triumphs over the Spaniards, whom we had not yet conquered, occasioned universal joy.

Towards the Alps, we had yet to establish our line of defence on the great chain. Towards Savoy, we had, in the preceding year, driven back the Piedmontese into the valleys of Piedmont, but we had to take the posts of the Little St. Bernard and of Mont Cenis. Towards Nice, the army of Italy was still encamped in sight of Saorgio, without being able to force the formidable camp of the Fourches. General Dugommier had been succeeded by old Dumerbion, a brave officer, but almost always ill with the gout. Fortunately, he suffered himself to be entirely directed by young Bonaparte, who in the preceding year had decided the reduction of Toulon, by recommending the attack of Little Gibraltar. This service had gained Bonaparte the rank of general of brigade and high consideration in the army.* After

* The following is the Duchess d'Abrantes's vivid and interesting description of Bonaparte's personal appearance at this period of his career, when he had just been appointed general of brigade: "When Napoleon came to see us after our return to Paris, his appearance made an impression on me which I shall never forget. At this period of his life he was decidedly ugly; he afterwards underwent a total change. I do not speak of the illusive charm which his glory spread around him, but I mean to say that a gradual physical change took place in him in the space of seven years. His emaciated thinness was converted into a fulness of face, and his complexion, which had been yellow and apparently unhealthy, became clear and comparatively fresh; his features which were angular and sharp, became round and filled out. As to his smile, it was always agreeable. The mode of dressing his

reconnoitring the enemy's positions, and ascertaining the impossibility of carrying the camp of the Fourches, he was struck by an idea not less happy than that which, in the preceding year, had restored Toulon to the republic. Saorgio is situated in the valley of the Roya. Parallel with this valley is that of Oneglia, in which runs the Taggia. Bonaparte conceived the idea of throwing a division of fifteen thousand men into the valley of Oneglia, making this division ascend to the sources of the Tanaro, then pushing it forward to Mount Tanarello, which borders the upper Roya, and thus intercepting the causeway of Saorgio, between the camp of the Fourches and the Col di Tenda. The camp of the Fourches, cut off by these means from the high Alps, must necessarily fall. This plan was liable but to one objection, namely that it obliged the army to encroach on the territory of Genoa. But the republic had no need to make any scruple of this, for in the preceding year two thousand Piedmontese had passed through the Genoese territory and embarked at Oneglia for Toulon; besides, the outrage committed by the English on the frigate La Modeste, in the very port of Genoa, was the most signal violation of a neutral country. There was, moreover, an important advantage in extending the right of the army of Italy to Oneglia, which consisted in covering part of the Riviera of Genoa, in driving the privateers from the little harbour of Oneglia where they were accustomed to take refuge, and thus giving security to the commerce of Genoa with the south of France. This commerce, which was carried on by coasters, was exceedingly annoyed by English cruisers and squadrons, and it was important to protect it, because it contributed to supply the South with grain. There could, therefore, be no hesitation in adopting the plan of Bonaparte. The representatives applied to the committee of public welfare for the necessary authority, and the execution of this plan was immediately ordered.

On the 17th of Germinal (April 6) a division of fourteen thousand men, divided into five brigades, crossed the Roya. Gene-

hair which had such a droll appearance as we see it in the prints of the passage of the bridge of Arcole, was then comparatively simple; for the young men of fashion, whom he used to rail at so loudly at that time, wore their hair very long. But he was very careless of his personal appearance; and his hair, which was ill-combed and ill-powdered, gave him the look of a sloven. His little hands too underwent a great metamorphosis. When I first saw him, they were thin, long, and dark; but he was subsequently vain of their beauty, and with good reason. In short, when I recollect Napoleon at the commencement of 1794, with a shabby round hat drawn over his forehead, and his ill-powdered hair hanging over the collar of his gray great-coat, which afterwards became as celebrated as the white plume of Henry IV., without gloves, because he used to say they were a useless luxury, with boots ill-made and ill-blacked with his thinness and his sallow complexion—in fine, when I recollect him at that time, and think what he was afterwards, I do not see the same man in the two pictures." E.

ral Massena* proceeded towards Mount Tanaro, and Bonaparte, with three brigades, marched to Oneglia, drove out an Austrian division, and entered the town. He found in Oneglia twelve pieces of cannon, and cleared the port of all the privateers which infested those parts. While Massena was ascending the Tanaro to Tanarello, Bonaparte continued his movement, and proceeded from Oneglia to Ormea in the valley of the Tanaro. He entered it on the 28th of Germinal (April 15), and there found some muskets, twenty pieces of cannon, and magazines full of cloth for the clothing of the troops. As soon as the French brigades had joined in the valley of the Tanaro, they marched for the upper Roya, to execute the prescribed movement on the left of

* "André Massena, Duke of Rivoli and Prince of Esslingen, Marshal of France, was born in 1758 at Nice, and rose from a common soldier to the rank of commander. In 1792, when the warriors of the republic had ascended Mount Cenis, he joined their ranks; distinguished himself by courage and sagacity; and in 1793 was made general of brigade. In the ensuing year he took the command of the right wing of the Italian army. He was the constant companion in arms of Bonaparte, who used to call him the spoiled child of victory. In 1799 Massena displayed great ability as commander-in-chief in Switzerland. After he had reconquered the Helvetian and Rhætian Alps, he was sent to Italy to check the victorious career of the Austrians. He hastened with the small force he could muster to the support of Genoa, the defence of which is among his most remarkable achievements. In 1804 he was created marshal of the empire, and the year after, received the chief command in Italy, where he lost the battle of Caldiero. After the peace of Tilsit, war having broken out in Spain, Massena took the field with the title of Duke of Rivoli; but in 1809 he was recalled to Germany. At Esslingen his firmness saved the French army from total destruction, and Napoleon rewarded him with the dignity of prince of that place. After the peace he hastened to Spain, but, being unsuccessful against Wellington, was recalled. In 1814 Massena commanded at Toulon, declared for Louis XVIII. On the landing of Bonaparte in 1815, he joined him, was created a peer, and commander of the national guard at Paris. He lived afterwards in retirement, and his death was hastened by chagrin at the conduct of the Royalists. He died in the year 1817."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

"Massena, said Napoleon, was a man of superior talent. He generally however made bad dispositions previously to a battle; and it was not until the dead began to fall about him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, and of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, Massena was himself, and gave his orders and made his dispositions with the greatest sang-froid and judgment. It was truly said of him, that he never began to act with skill, until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often that if he would discontinue his peculations, I would make him a present of eight hundred thousand, or a million, of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was rapacious; and had not his bright parts been sullied by avarice, he would have been a great man."—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

"Massena was a very superior man, but, by a strange peculiarity of temperament, he possessed the desired equilibrium only in the midst of the greatest dangers."—*Las Cases.* E.

the Piedmontese. General Dumerbion attacked the Piedmontese positions in front, while Massena fell upon their flanks and their rear. After several very brisk actions, the Piedmontese abandoned Saorgio, and fell back on the Col di Tenda. They presently abandoned the Col di Tenda itself, and fled to Limona beyond the great chain.

During these occurrences in the valley of the Roya, the valleys of the Tinea and the Vesubia were scoured by the left of the army of Italy, and soon afterwards the army of the high Alps, piqued with emulation, took by main force the St. Bernard and Mont Cenis. Thus, from the middle of Floreal (the beginning of May), we were victorious on the whole chain of the Alps, and occupied the whole tract from the first hills of the Apennines to Mont Blanc. Our right, supported at Ormea, extended almost to the gates of Genoa, covered great part of the Riviera di Ponente, and thus protected commerce from the piracies by which it had been previously annoyed. We had taken three or four thousand prisoners, fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, a great quantity of clothing, and two fortresses. Our commencement, therefore, was as fortunate at the Alps as at the Pyrenees, since on both points it gave us a frontier and part of the resources of the enemy.

The campaign opened rather later on the great theatre of the war, that is, in the North. There, five hundred thousand men were coming into collision from the Vosges to the sea. The French still had their principal force about Lille, Guise, and Maubeuge. Pichegru had become their general. Commanding the army of the Rhine in the preceding year, he had contrived to appropriate to himself the honour of raising the blockade of Landau, which belonged to young Hoche. He had wormed himself into the confidence of St. Just, while Hoche was thrown into prison, and had obtained the command of the army of the North. Jourdan, esteemed as a discreet general, had not been considered as sufficiently energetic to retain the chief command of the North, and had succeeded Hoche at the army of the Moselle, as Michaud had done Pichegru at that of the Rhine. Carnot still presided over the military operations and directed them from his office. St. Just and Lebas had been sent to Guise, to rouse the energy of the army.

The nature of the localities required a very simple plan of operations and one which was likely to have very speedy and very extensive results. It consisted in directing the great mass of the French forces upon the Meuse, towards Namur, and thus threatening the communications of the Austrians. There was the key of the theatre of the war, and there it always will be, while war shall be carried on in the Netherlands against Austrians coming from the Rhine. Any diversion made in Flanders would be an imprudence; for, if the wing thrown into Flanders were strong enough to make head against the allies, it would only

contribute to repel them in front without compromising their retreat; and, if it were not considerable enough to obtain decisive results, the allies would only have occasion to let it advance into West Flanders, and might then enclose and drive it back to the sea. Pichegru, with acquirements, intelligence, and abundance of resolution, but a very moderate military genius, formed a wrong notion of the position; and Carnot, prepossessed with his plan of the preceding year, persisted in attacking the enemy directly in the centre, and in harassing him on both his wings. Of course the principal mass was to act from Guise upon the centres of the allies, while two strong divisions, the one operating upon the Lys the other upon the Sambre, were to make a double diversion. Such was the plan opposed to the offensive plan of Mack.

Coburg was still commander-in-chief of the allies. The Emperor of Germany had gone in person to the Netherlands to excite his army, and above all to put an end by his presence to the dissensions which were every moment arising among the allied generals. Coburg collected a mass of about one hundred thousand men in the plains of the Cateau, to blockade Landrecies. This was the first act with which the allies meant to commence, till they could obtain the march of the Prussians from the Moselle upon the Sambre.

The movements began about the end of Germinal. The hostile mass, after repulsing the French divisions which had dispersed before it, established itself around Landrecies. The Duke of York was placed in observation near Cambray, and Coburg towards Guise. By the movement which the allies had just made, the French divisions of the centre, driven backward, were separated from the divisions of Maubeuge, which formed the right wing. On the 2nd of Floreal (April 21), an attempt was made to rejoin these Maubeuge divisions. A sanguinary action was fought on the Helpe. Our columns, still too much divided, were repulsed at all points, and driven back to the positions from which they had started.

A new but general attack on the centre and on both wings was resolved upon. Desjardins's division, which was towards Maubeuge, was to make a movement in order to join Charbonnier's division, which was coming from the Ardennes. In the centre, seven columns were to act at once and concentrically on the whole hostile mass grouped around Landrecies. Lastly, on the left, Souham and Moreau,* starting from Lille with two divi-

* "Jean Victor Moreau, one of the oldest and most celebrated generals of the French republic, was born in Bretagne in 1763. His father intended him for the law, but he fled from his studies, and enlisted in a regiment before he had attained his eighteenth year. In 1789 he joined the army of the North, and subsequently favoured the Girondins, whose fall greatly affected him, and it was with much repugnance that he accepted the constitution of 1793, when proposed to the army. In 1794 he was appointed general of

sions, forming a total of fifty thousand men, were ordered to advance into Flanders and to take Menin and Courtrai before the face of Clairfayt. The left of the French army operated

division, and commanded the right wing of Pichegru's army. He was soon after named commander-in-chief of the troops on the Rhine, and commenced that course of operations which terminated in the celebrated retreat from the extremity of Germany to the French frontier, in the face of a superior enemy, by which his skill as a consummate tactician was so much exalted. In 1798 Moreau was sent to command the army in Italy, but, after some brilliant successes, was compelled to give way to the Russians under Suwarrow. After Napoleon's return from Egypt, Moreau was appointed to the command of the armies of the Danube and Rhine, and gained the decisive victory of Hohenlinden. He was afterwards accused of participating in the conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges, and sentenced to banishment, whereupon he went to America and lived in retirement till 1813, when he joined the allied armies, and was killed in the battle of Dresden which was fought in that year."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

The following is a contemporary account of the death of this celebrated general, whose military fame once rivalled that of Bonaparte. It is extracted from a letter written by a British officer, and dated Toplitz, Sept. 4, 1813: "General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery to which two French ones were answering, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but, immediately after the first agony was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which however was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after just binding up his wounds, to remove him further off to the emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him he must deprive him of the other leg, he observed, in the calmest manner, that had he known that before, he would have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him, was covered with wet straw, and a cloak drenched with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. He was brought however safely to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference which took place between him and three or four of the allied generals completely exhausted him. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and died at six o'clock yesterday morning." E.

"'Moreau,' observed the Emperor, 'possesses many good qualities. His bravery is undoubted, but he has more courage than energy; he is indolent and effeminate. When with the army, he lived like a pacha; he smoked, was almost constantly in bed, and gave himself up to the pleasures of the table. His dispositions are naturally good; but he is too lazy for study. He does not read, and since he has been tied to his wife's apron-strings, he is fit for nothing. He sees only with the eyes of his wife and her mother, who have had a hand in all his plots against me; and yet, strange to say, it was by my advice that he entered into this union. You must remember, Bourrienne, my observing to you more than two years ago, that Moreau would one day strike his head against the gate of the Tuileries. Had he remained faithful to me, I would have conferred on him the title of First Marshal of the Empire.'"—*Bourrienne.* E.

"I mentioned," says Barry O'Meara, "Moreau's famous retreat through Germany, and asked him if he had not displayed great military talents in it. 'That retreat,' replied Napoleon, 'was the greatest blunder that ever Moreau committed. The Directory were jealous of me, and wanted to divide, if possible, the military reputation; and as they could not give Moreau credit

without impediment, for Prince Kaunitz, with the division which he had on the Sambre, could not prevent the junction of Charbonnier and Desjardins. The columns of the centre broke up on the 7th of Floreal (April 26), and marched from seven different points on the Austrian army. This system of simultaneous and disjointed attacks, which had succeeded so ill with us last year, was not more successful on this occasion. These columns, too far apart, could not support each other, and gained no decisive advantage at any point. One of them, indeed, that of General Chappuis, was entirely defeated. This general, who had marched from Cambray, found himself opposed to the Duke of York, who, as we have stated, was covering Landrecies on that side. He scattered his troops on different points, and arrived before the intrenched positions of Trois-Ville with an inadequate force. Overwhelmed by the fire of the English, charged in flank by the cavalry, he was put to the rout, and his dispersed division returned pell-mell to Cambray. These checks were owing less to the troops than to the injudicious manner in which the operations were directed. Our young soldiers, staggered at times by a fire to which they were not yet accustomed, were nevertheless easy to lead and to be carried to the attack, and they frequently displayed extraordinary ardour and enthusiasm.

While the attempt on the centre had proved so unavailing, the diversion operating in Flanders against Clairfayt had completely succeeded. Souham and Moreau had started from Lille and proceeded to Menin and Courtray on the 7th of Floreal (April 26). It is well known that those two fortresses are situated, one beyond the Lys, the other on its banks. Moreau invested the first, Souham took the second. Clairfayt, mistaken respecting the march of the French, sought them where they were not; but, being soon apprized of the investment of Menin and the capture of Courtray, he endeavoured to make us fall back by threatening our communications with Lille. On the 9th of Floreal (April 28), he accordingly advanced to Moucroen with eighteen thousand men, and imprudently exposed himself to the

for a victory, they did for a retreat, which they caused to be extolled in the highest terms, though even the Austrian generals condemned him for having performed it. Moreau was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. Calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to give orders in the heat of action, than to make dispositions prior to it. His death was not a little curious. In the battle before Dresden, I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, at the distance of about a hundred yards, I observed a group of persons on horseback. Concluding that they were watching my manœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called out to a captain of artillery, Throw a dozen bullets at once into that group; perhaps there are some little generals in it. It was done instantly, and one of the balls mortally wounded Moreau. A moment before, the Emperor Alexander had been speaking to him.'"—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

attack of fifty thousand French troops, who might have crushed him while falling back. Moreau and Souham, bringing up immediately a part of their forces towards their threatened communications, marched upon Moucroen and resolved to give battle to Clairfayt. He was intrenched in a position accessible only by five narrow defiles, defended by a formidable artillery. On the 10th of Floreal (April 29) the attack was ordered. Our young soldiers, most of whom saw fire for the first time, at first gave way; but generals and officers braved all dangers to rally them: they succeeded, and the positions were carried. Clairfayt lost twelve hundred prisoners, eighty-four of whom were officers, thirty-three pieces of cannon, four pair of colours, and five hundred muskets. This was our first victory in the north, and it served in an extraordinary degree to heighten the courage of the army. Menin was taken immediately afterwards. A division of emigrants which was shut up in the place, escaped by gallantly cutting their way sword in hand.

The success of the left and the reverse of the centre determined Pichegru and Carnot to abandon the centre entirely, and to act exclusively on the wings. Pichegru sent General Bonnaud with twenty thousand men to Sanghien, near Lille, to secure the communications of Moreau and Souham. He left at Guise only twenty thousand men under General Ferrand, and detached the rest towards Maubeuge, to join Desjardins's and Charbonnier's divisions. These united forces made the right wing, destined to act upon the Sambre, amount to fifty-six thousand men. Carnot, judging much more correctly than Pichegru of the state of affairs, gave an order which decided the issue of the campaign. Beginning to perceive that the point on which the allies might be struck to the greatest advantage was the Sambre and the Meuse, and that, if beaten on that line, they would be separated from their base, he ordered Jourdan to assemble fifteen thousand men from the army of the Rhine, to leave on the western slope of the Vosges as many troops as were indispensable for covering that frontier, then to quit the Moselle with forty-five thousand men, and proceed by forced marches for the Sambre. Jourdan's army, united to that of Maubeuge, was to form a mass of ninety or one hundred thousand men, and to effect the defeat of the allies on the decisive point. This order, the most brilliant of the whole campaign, that to which all its results are to be attributed, was issued on the 11th of Floreal (April 30), from the office of the committee of public welfare.

Coburg had meanwhile taken Landrecies. Regarding the defeat of Clairfayt as less important than it really was, he detached the Duke of York towards Lamain, between Tournay and Lille.

Clairfayt had proceeded into West Flanders, between the advanced left of the French and the sea: thus he was farther than ever from the grand army and from the succour which the

Duke of York was bringing him. The French, *en échelon*, at Lille, Menin, and Courtray, formed in advanced column in Flanders. Clairfayt, having arrived at Thielt, was between the sea and this column; and the Duke of York, posted at Lamain, before Tournay, was between this column and the grand allied army. Clairfayt determined to make an attempt on Tournay, and attacked it on the 21st of Floreal (May 10). Souham was at this moment in rear of Courtray. He promptly made his dispositions, returned to Courtray to the succour of Vandamme, and, while preparing a sortie, he detached Macdonald* and Malbranck upon Menin, with orders to cross the Lys there and to turn Clairfayt. The action took place on the 22nd (May 11). Clairfayt had made the best dispositions on the causeway of Bruges and in the suburbs; but our young recruits boldly braved the fire from the houses and the batteries, and, after an obstinate conflict, obliged Clairfayt to retire. Four thousand men belonging to both sides covered the field of battle; and if, instead of turning the enemy on the side next to Menin, he had been turned on the opposite side, his retreat upon Flanders might have been cut off.

This was the second time that Clairfayt had been beaten by our victorious left wing. Our right wing, on the Sambre, was not so fortunate. Commanded by several generals, who held a council of war with St. Just and Lebas, the representatives, it was not so judiciously directed as the two divisions under Souham and Moreau. Kleber and Marceau, who had been removed to it from La Vendée, were capable of conducting it to victory, but their opinions were not attended to. The movement prescribed to this right wing was to pass the Sambre and to march upon Mons. A first passage was attempted on the 20th

* "Marshal Macdonald is the son of a Highland gentleman of the Clanronald sept, who was among the first to join the Pretender in 1745, and, after the battle of Culloden, escaped to France, where he settled. His son was born in 1765, and entered as lieutenant into the Irish regiment of Dillon. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he embraced its principles, but with moderation. At the battle of Jemappes he behaved with great gallantry, and led the van of the army of the North as general of brigade. On the 18th Brumaire he took part with Bonaparte, but his favour with the First Consul ceased in 1803, and he remained in obscurity till the year 1809, when he was offered a command in the army, and at the battle of Wagram exhibited such skill and intrepidity that the emperor created him a marshal on the field, and said to him, 'Henceforth, Macdonald, let us be friends.' In Spain and Russia, the marshal (now created Duke of Tarentum) equalled the best of Napoleon's generals. He was also at Lutzen and Bautzen, and rendered signal services at Leipsic. Macdonald faithfully adhered to the Emperor until his abdication at Fontainebleau. The new government made him a peer of France, and loaded him with honours. On the return of Bonaparte from Elba, Macdonald endeavoured to make head against him, but in vain; and accordingly he accompanied Louis to the frontiers of the kingdom. The marshal is still living, and inhabits in Paris the splendid hotel of the Legion of Honour. He has daughters, but no son to inherit his title."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte.* E.

of Floreal (May 9), but, the necessary dispositions not having been made on the other bank, the army could not maintain itself there, and was obliged to recross the Sambre in disorder. On the 22nd, St. Just resolved to make a second attempt notwithstanding the failure of the first. It would have been much better to await the arrival of Jourdan, who, with his forty-five thousand men, must have rendered the success of the right wing infallible. But St. Just would not admit of hesitation or delay; and the generals were forced to obey this terrible proconsul. The new passage was not more lucky than the first. The French army crossed the Sambre a second time; but, again attacked on the other bank, before it was firmly established there, it would have been undone but for the intrepidity of Marceau and the firmness of Kleber.

Thus for a month past the contending parties had been fighting from Maubeuge to the sea with incredible obstinacy and without any decisive results. Successful on the left, we were foiled on the right; but our troops acquired discipline, and the bold and skilful movement prescribed to Jourdan led the way to important results.

Mack's plan had become impracticable. The Prussian General Möllendorf refused to march to the Sambre, observing that he had no orders to that effect from his court. The English negotiators had been demanding explanations of the Prussian cabinet relative to the treaty of the Hague, and meanwhile Coburg, threatened on one of his wings, had been obliged to dissolve his centre after the example of Pichegru. He had reinforced Kaunitz towards the Sambre, and had moved the main body of his army towards Flanders, to the environs of Tournay. A decisive action was, therefore, about to take place on the left, for the moment was at hand when mighty masses must come into collision and fight one another.

A plan, called *the plan of destruction,* was at this moment conceived at the Austrian head-quarters. Its object was to separate the French army from Lille, to surround and to annihilate it. Such an operation was possible, for the allies could bring nearly one hundred thousand men into action against seventy thousand; but they made singular dispositions for attaining this object. The French were still distributed in the following manner: Souham and Moreau at Menin and Courtray with fifty thousand men, and Bonnaud in the environs of Lille with twenty thousand. The allies were still divided upon the two flanks of this advanced line; Clairfayt's division on the left in West Flanders, and the mass of the allies on the right towards Tournay. The allies resolved to make a concentric effort on Turcoing, which separates Menin and Courtray from Lille. Clairfayt was to march thither from West Flanders, passing through Werwick and Lincelles. Generals de Busch, Otto, and the Duke of York, were ordered to march upon the

same point from the opposite side, that is from Tournay. De Busch was to proceed to Moucroen, Otto to Turcoing itself, and the Duke of York, advancing to Roubaix and Mouvaux, was to form a junction with Clairfayt. By this latter junction, Souham and Moreau would be cut off from Lille. General Kinsky and the Archduke Charles, with two strong columns, were directed to drive Bonnaud back into Lille. These dispositions, in order to succeed, would have required a combination of movements which was impossible. Most of these corps were to start from extremely distant points, and Clairfayt had to march through the French army.

These movements were to be executed on the 20th of Floreal (May 17). Pichegru had gone at that moment to the left wing of the Sambre, to repair the checks which that wing had experienced. Souham and Moreau directed the army in the absence of Pichegru. The first intimation of the designs of the allies was given them by the march of Clairfayt upon Werwick. They instantly moved towards that quarter; but, on learning that the main army of the enemy was approaching on the opposite side and threatening their communications, they formed a prompt and judicious resolution, namely to make an attempt on Turcoing, with a view to possess themselves of this decisive position between Menin and Lille. Moreau remained with Vandamme's division before Clairfayt, in order to retard his march, and Souham marched upon Turcoing with forty-five thousand men. The communications with Lille were not yet interrupted; the French general could therefore send orders to Bonnaud to advance on his side to Turcoing, and to make a powerful effort to maintain the communication between that position and Lille.

The dispositions of the French generals were attended with complete success. Clairfayt could advance but slowly; retarded at Werwick, he could not reach Lincelles on the prescribed day. General de Busch had at first possessed himself of Moucroen, but had afterwards received a slight check, and Otto, having divided his troops to succour him, had not left a sufficient force at Turcoing; lastly, the Duke of York had advanced to Roubaix and Mouvaux, without seeing any thing of Clairfayt or being able to connect himself with him. Kinsky and the Archduke Charles had not arrived near Lille till late in the day on the 28th (May 17). Next morning the 29th (May 18), Souham marched briskly upon Turcoing, defeating all that came in his way, and made himself master of that important position. Bonnaud, on his part, marching from Lille upon the Duke of York, who was to interpose between Turcoing and Lille, found him spread out upon an extended line. The English, though taken unawares, attempted to resist, but our young recruits, marching with ardour, obliged them to give way, and, throwing away their arms, to betake themselves to flight. The rout was such that the Duke of York, riding off at full gallop, owed his escape

solely to the swiftness of his horse. From that moment the confusion among the allies became general, and from the heights of Templeuve the Emperor of Austria witnessed the flight of his whole army. Meanwhile the Archduke Charles, ill supplied with intelligence and ill placed, was inactive below Lille, and Clairfayt, stopped towards the Lys, was compelled to retreat.* Such was the issue of this *plan of destruction.* It gave us several thousand prisoners, a great quantity of *matériel,* and the glory of a great victory, gained with seventy thousand men over nearly one hundred thousand.

Pichegru arrived when the battle was won. All the allied corps fell back upon Tournay, and Clairfayt, returning to Flanders, resumed his position at Thielt. Pichegru did not make the best use of this important victory. The allies were grouped near Tournay, having their right supported on the Scheldt. The French general resolved to intercept a quantity of forage coming up the Scheldt for them, and made his whole army fight for this puerile object. Approaching the Scheldt, he closely pressed the allies in their semicircular position of Tournay. Presently, all his corps were successively engaged on this semicircle. The action was hottest at Pont-a-Chin, along the Scheldt. For twelve hours there was a most frightful carnage, and without any possible result. From seven to eight thousand men perished on both sides. The French army fell back, after burning some boats, and losing in part that superiority which the battle of Turcoing had gained it.†

We might, nevertheless, consider ourselves as victorious in Flanders, and the necessity to which Coburg was reduced of sending succours elsewhere soon rendered our superiority there more decided. On the Sambre, St. Just had determined to effect a third passage, and to invest Charleroi; but Kaunitz, being reinforced, had caused the siege to be raised at the moment when, fortunately, Jourdan arrived with the whole army of the Moselle. From that moment, ninety thousand men were about to act on the real line of operations, and to put an end to the fluctuations of victory. On the Rhine nothing of im-

* "So sudden was the rout, that the Duke of York himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse, a circumstance which he had the candour to admit in his official despatch. Such was the defect of the combinations of Prince Coburg, that, at the time when his central columns were overwhelmed, the two columns on the left, amounting to not less than thirty thousand men, under the Archduke Charles and Kinsky, remained in a state of absolute inaction; and Clairfayt, who came up too late to take any active part in the engagement, was obliged to retire. In this action, where the allies lost three thousand men and sixty pieces of cannon, the superiority of the French generalship was very apparent."—*Alison.* E.

† "The Emperor Francis of Austria was on horseback for twelve hours during this sanguinary battle, constantly traversing the ranks, and exhorting his troops to keep up their spirits,—'Courage, my friends,' said he, when they appeared about to droop and give way, 'let us make but a few more efforts, and the day is our own."—*Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg.* E.

portance had occurred; General Möllendorff, profiting by the diminution of our forces on that point, had merely taken from us the post of Kaiserslautern, but had returned to his former inactivity immediately after this advantage. Thus, from the month of Prairial (the end of May), and along the whole line of the north, we had not only withstood the coalition, but triumphed in several actions. We had gained one great victory, and we were advancing on the two wings into Flanders and on the Sambre. The loss of Landrecies was nothing compared with such advantages and with those which our present situation assured to us.

The war of La Vendée was not entirely finished by the rout of Savenay. Three chiefs had escaped: Laroche-Jacquelein, Stofflet, and Marigny. Besides these three chiefs, Charette, who, instead of crossing the Loire, had taken the island of Noirmoutier, remained in Lower Vendée. This war was however confined to mere skirmishes, and was not of a nature to give the republic any uneasiness. General Turreau had been appointed to the command of the West. He had divided the disposable army into moveable columns, which scoured the country, directing their course concentrically to one and the same point. They fought the fugitive bands when they fell in with them, and when they had not to fight, they executed the decree of the Convention. They burned the forests and the villages, and carried away the inhabitants, and removed them to other situations. Several actions had taken place, but they had not been productive of any great results. Haxo, after retaking the isles of Noirmoutier and Bouin from Charette, had several times hoped to take him too; but this daring partisan had always escaped, and appeared again soon after the combat with a perseverance not less admirable than his address. This unhappy war was thenceforward only a war of devastation. General Turreau* had been constrained to adopt a cruel measure, namely, to order the inhabitants of the villages to quit the country, upon pain of being treated as enemies if they remained in it. This measure compelled them either to quit the soil on which they had all the means of existence, or to submit to military executions.† Such are the inevitable miseries of civil wars.

* "General Turreau was the faithful servant of the Convention in its bloodiest days, and the faithful servant of Bonaparte after his return from Elba. He hated the old government, and he hated the Bourbons, whatever government they might establish. He was a man capable of forming military arrangements, and merciless enough to act upon any system however barbarous."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

† "The poor Vendean royalists were now reduced frequently to live on alms, and forced every two or three days to shift their quarters, in the middle of the night, from one wretched cabin to another. Such was the vindictive rigour of the republican party, that the most unrelaxing search was made for fugitives of all descriptions; and every adherent of the insurgent faction who fell into their hands was barbarously murdered, without the least regard to age, sex, or individual innocence. While skulking about in this state of

Bretagne had become the theatre of a new kind of war, that of the Chouans.* That province had already shown some disposition to imitate La Vendée, but, as the propensity to insurrection was not so general, some individuals only, taking advantage of the nature of particular situations, had engaged in separate acts of robbery and plunder. The wrecks of the Vendean column, which had proceeded into Bretagne, had soon afterwards increased the number of these partisans. They had formed their principal establishment in the forest of Perche, and scoured the country in bands of forty or fifty, sometimes attacking the gendarmerie, levying contributions on small communes, and committing these disorders in the name of the royal and Catholic cause. But the real war was over, and no more could now be done than deplore the particular calamities by which these wretched provinces were afflicted.

In the colonies and at sea, the war was not less active than on the continent. The wealthy settlement of St. Domingo had been the theatre of the greatest horrors recorded in history. The white population had embraced with enthusiasm the cause of the Revolution, which they thought must lead to their independence of the mother country. The mulattoes had embraced it not less cordially, but they hoped for something more than the political independence of the colony, and aspired to the rights of citizenship, which had always been refused them. The Constituent Assembly had recognised the rights of the mulattoes; but the whites, who wanted to keep the Revolution to themselves, had then revolted, and a civil war had commenced between the old race of free men, and those who had been just enfranchised.

Taking advantage of this war, the blacks had appeared upon

peril, they had occasional rencounters with some of their former companions whom similar misfortunes had driven upon similar schemes of concealment. In particular, a party of Vendean fugitives twice saw the daring Marigny, who had wandered over the whole country, and, notwithstanding his gigantic form and remarkable features, had contrived so to disguise himself, as to avoid all detection. He could counterfeit all ages and dialects, and speak in perfection the *patois* of every village. He appeared before them in the character of an itinerant dealer in poultry, and retired unsuspected by all but one or two of his old companions in arms."—*Edinburgh Review.* E.

* "The Chouans were four brothers, who were originally smugglers, and named Cottereau, that of Chouan, which was given them, being merely a corruption of *chat-huant* (screech-owl), because they imitated its cry in order to recognise each other in the woods at night. In 1793 they collected troops near Laval, which took their name, and soon afterwards, being reinforced by some remains of the Vendean army, they made war under the command of the Count de Puisaye, in the name of Louis XVIII. Three of the four brothers fell in battle, one of whom was John, celebrated for his courage and physical strength. The Chouans, after the total defeat of La Vendée, made peace with the Directory; but, about the end of 1799, revived with more energy than ever. Scattered through the country, and almost always invisible, they attacked the patriot posts, but disappeared before considerable bodies of men. Bonaparte put them down effectually in the year 1800."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

the stage, and fire and blood proclaimed their presence. They murdered their masters and burned their property.* From this moment the colony became the theatre of the most horrible confusion. Each party reproached the other with the new enemy that had just started up, and accused its adversary of having supplied him with arms. The negroes, without yet siding with either, ravaged the country. Excited, however, by the emissaries of the Spanish party, it was not long before they pretended to espouse the royal cause. To add to the confusion, the English had interfered. One part of the whites had applied to them in a moment of danger, and had delivered to them the very important fort of St. Nicholas. Santhonax,† the commissioner, assisted principally by the mulattoes and part of the whites, had opposed the invasion of the English, which he could at last find but one expedient for repelling, and that was, to recognise the

* "At midnight on the 30th of October, 1791, the insurrection of the blacks of St. Domingo broke forth. In an instant twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the machinery, the farm-houses, were reduced to ashes; and the unfortunate proprietors were hunted down, murdered, or thrown into the flames, by the infuriated negroes. The horrors of a servile war universally appeared. The unchained African signalized his ingenuity by the discovery of new and unheard-of modes of torture. An unhappy planter was sawed asunder between two boards. The horrors inflicted on the women exceeded any thing known, even in the annals of Christian ferocity. The indulgent master was sacrificed equally with the inhuman. On all alike, young and old, rich and poor, the wrongs of an oppressed race were indiscriminately wreaked. Crowds of slaves traversed the country with the heads of white children affixed on their pikes. These served as the standards of the furious insurgents. Jean François, a slave of vast penetration, firm character, and violent passions, not unmingled with generosity, was the leader of the conspiracy. His lieutenants were Biasson and Toussaint. The former, of gigantic stature and indomitable ferocity, was well fitted to assert his superiority; the latter, gifted with rare intelligence, dissimulation, boundless ambition, and heroic firmness, was fitted to become at once the Numa and the Romulus of the sable republic in the western hemisphere. The republican commissioners sent out by the Convention contrived for a time partly to quell the insurrection, but, in 1793, it broke out with redoubled fury. Three thousand insurgents penetrated into Cape Town, and, making straight for the prisons, delivered a large body of slaves who were there in chains. Instantly the liberated captives spread themselves over the town, set it on fire in every quarter, and massacred the whites. A scene of matchless horror ensued. Twenty thousand negroes burst into the city, with the torch in one hand and the sword in the other. Neither age nor sex was spared. The young were cut down in striving to defend their houses; the aged in the churches, where they had fled for protection. Virgins were immolated on the altar; infants hurled into the fires. The finest city in the West Indies was reduced to ashes. Its splendid churches, its stately palaces, were wrapt in flames, and thirty thousand human beings perished in the massacre."—*Alison.* E.

† "L. F. Santhonax, deputy from Ain, was successively delegated to St. Domingo by the constitutional King, by the Convention, and by the Directory. His administration was tyrannical and ineffective, and he was frequently denounced to the government in Paris. On his final recall in 1797, he was admitted into the council of Five Hundred; and in the year 1805 was living in retirement at Fontainebleau."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

freedom of the blacks who should declare themselves in favour of the republic. The Convention had confirmed this measure, and, by a decree, proclaimed all the negroes free. From that moment, a portion of them, who had espoused the royal cause, had gone over to the party of the republicans; and the English, intrenched in Fort St. Nicholas, had no longer any hopes of securing that rich settlement, which, after being long ravaged, was destined at last to become independent of any foreign power. Guadaloupe had been taken and retaken, and still continued in our possession. Martinique was definitively lost.

Such were the disorders in the colonies. At sea, an important event had occurred, namely, the arrival of that convoy from America, so impatiently expected in our ports. The Brest squadron had left that port, as we have stated, to the number of thirty sail, with orders to cruise and not to fight, unless the safety of the convoy imperatively required it. We have already said that Jean-Bon-St.-André was on board the admiral's ship; that Villaret-Joyeuse had been promoted from captain to commander of the squadron; that peasants who had never been at sea had been placed among the crews; and that these sailors, officers, and admirals of a day, were sent forth to fight the veteran English navy. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse weighed on the 1st of Prairial (May 20), and made sail for the isles of Coves and Flores, to wait for the convoy. He took by the way a great number of English merchantmen, the captains of which said to him, "You are taking us retail, but Lord Howe will soon take you wholesale." That admiral was actually cruising off the coasts of Bretagne and Normandy with thirty-three sail of the line and twelve frigates. On the 9th of Prairial (May 28), the French squadron descried a fleet. The impatient crews watched those black specks on the horizon growing gradually larger and larger; and, when they ascertained them to be the English, they set up shouts of enthusiasm, and insisted on fighting, with that ardent patriotism which has always distinguished the inhabitants of our coasts. Though the instructions given to the admiral forbade him to fight unless to save the convoy, yet Jean-Bon-St.-André, himself hurried away by the universal enthusiasm, assented to the general wish, and caused orders to be issued to prepare for action. Towards evening, a ship of the rear-division, Le Révolutionnaire, which had shortened sail, was brought to action by the English, made an obstinate resistance, lost her captain, and was obliged to steer for Rochefort to refit. Night prevented the action from becoming general.

Next day, the 10th (May 29), the two squadrons were opposite to one another. The English admiral manœuvred against our rear. The movement which we made to protect it brought on an action between the two fleets. The French not manœuvring so well, two of their ships, L'Indomptable and Le Tyrannicide, found themselves opposed to a very superior force, and fought

with determined courage. Villaret-Joyeuse ordered some of his squadron to go to the relief of the ships engaged; but his orders being neither clearly understood nor duly executed, he advanced alone, at the risk of not being followed. This was done, however, soon afterwards: our whole squadron bore down upon that of the enemy, and obliged it to sheer off. Unfortunately, we had lost the advantage of the wind. We kept up a terrible fire on the English but were unable to pursue them. We retained our two ships and the field of battle.

On the 11th and 12th (May 30 and 31), a thick fog enveloped the two fleets. The French endeavoured to lead the English to the north and to the west of the track which the convoy was to pursue. On the 13th, the fog dispersed, and the sun shone brightly upon both squadrons. The French had no more than twenty-six sail, while their adversaries had thirty-six. They again insisted on fighting, and it was agreed to indulge their ardour, for the purpose of occupying the English and keeping them aloof from the track of the convoy, which was to pass over the field of battle of the 10th.

This action, one of the most memorable that Ocean ever witnessed, began about nine in the morning. Lord Howe bore down to cut our line.* A false manœuvre of our ship, La Montagne, allowed him to accomplish his purpose, to cut off our left wing, and to attack it with all his force. Our right and our van were left separated. The admiral would have rallied them around him, with the intention of bearing down upon the

* "Lord Howe signalled that he should attack the centre of the enemy, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, and that he should pass through the enemy's line, and engage to leeward. The two fleets being now about four miles apart, and the crews of the British ships, after the fatigue of sitting up three nights, needing some refreshment, Lord Howe hove to, and gave the men their breakfasts. This over, the British filled, and bore down on the enemy. In a few minutes after a signal was thrown out for each ship to steer for, and independently engage, the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line. The French fleet was drawn up in a close head-and-stern line, bearing about east and west. Between a quarter and half-past 9 A.M. the French van opened its fire on the British van. In about a quarter of an hour the fire of the enemy became general, and Lord Howe, with his divisional flag-officers, bearing the signal for close action at their mast-heads, commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of the English ships cut through the French line, and engaged their opponents to leeward; the remainder hauled up to windward, and opened their fire, some at a long and others at a shorter distance. At 10 A.M., when the action was at its height, the French admiral made sail ahead, followed by his second astern, and afterwards by such other of his ships as had suffered little in their rigging and sails. At about 11 A.M. the heat of the action was over, and the British were left with eleven, and the French with twelve, more or less dismasted ships. At about one o'clock the general firing ceased, the enemy's vessels, for the most part, striving to escape under a spritsail, or some small sail set on the tallest stump left to them. When the action commenced, the French fleet was, within one ship, numerically equal to the British fleet opposed to it."—*James's Naval History.* E.

English squadron, but he had lost the advantage of the wind, and it was five hours before he was able to approach the field of battle. Meanwhile the ships engaged fought with extraordinary heroism. The English, superior in manœuvring, lost their advantages ship to ship, and had to encounter a tremendous fire and formidable boardings. It was in the heat of this obstinate action that Le Vengeur, dismasted, half destroyed, and ready to founder, refused to strike her colours, at the peril of being sent to the bottom.* The English first ceased firing, and retired in astonishment at such a resistance. They had taken six of our ships. Next day, Villaret-Joyeuse, having collected his van and his right, was for bearing down and wresting from them their prey. The English, who had sustained great damage, would perhaps have yielded the victory to us. Jean-Bon-St.-André opposed a new engagement, notwithstanding the enthusiasm of the crews. The English could therefore regain their ports unmolested. They returned to them, astounded at their victory and filled with admiration of the intrepidity of our young seamen. But the essential object of this terrible conflict was accomplished. Admiral Venstabel had on that same day, the 13th, sailed over the field of battle of the 10th, which he found covered with wrecks, and had entered without accident the ports of France.

Thus victorious at the Pyrenees and the Alps, formidable in the Netherlands, heroic at sea, and strong enough to dispute a naval victory most obstinately with the English, we commenced the year 1794 in the most brilliant and glorious manner.

* "The heroism of the crew of the Vengeur is worthy of eternal remembrance. Though sinking rapidly in the water, and after the lower-deck guns were immersed, they continued vehemently to discharge the upper tier; and at length, when the ship went to the bottom, the crew continued to cheer, and the cries, 'Vive la République,' 'Vive la France,' were heard as she was swallowed up in the waves!"—*Alison.* E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

INTERNAL SITUATION — ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE ROBESPIERRE, AND COLLOT-D'HERBOIS—FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING—DISSENSION BETWEEN THE COMMITTEES—LAW OF THE 22ND OF PRAIRIAL—GREAT EXECUTIONS—MISSIONS OF LEBON, CARRIER, MAIGNET, &c.—LAST DAYS OF TERROR—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE—SECESSION OF ROBESPIERRE—BATTLE OF FLEURUS — EVENTS OF THE 8TH AND 9TH OF THERMIDOR — EXECUTION OF COUTHON, ST. JUST, AND ROBESPIERRE.

WHILE the republic was victorious against its foreign foes, its internal state had not ceased to be greatly agitated. The evils by which it was afflicted were still the same. These were the assignats, the *maximum*, the scarcity of articles of subsistence, the law regarding suspected persons, and the revolutionary tribunals.

The embarrassments resulting from the necessity for regulating all the movements of commerce had only increased. The Convention had been obliged constantly to modify the law of the *maximum*. It had found it necessary to except from it, at one time, spun thread, and to grant it ten per cent. above the tariff; at another, pins, linen, cambrics, muslins, gauzes, laces of thread and silk, silks, and silken goods. But while the legislature was forced to except a great number of commodities from the *maximum*, there were others which it was expedient to subject to its provisions. Thus, the price of horses having become excessive, it could not avoid determining their value according to height and quality. From these means the same inconvenience invariably resulted. Commerce stood still and closed its markets, or opened clandestine ones; and in this case authority became powerless. If by means of the assignats it had been enabled to realize the value of the national domains, if by the *maximum* it had been enabled to place assignats on a par with merchandise, there was no way of preventing merchandise from withdrawing and concealing itself from purchasers. Thus there was no end to the complaints raised against tradesmen who retired from business or shut up their shops.

Less uneasiness, however, was this year felt on account of articles of consumption. The convoys arrived from America, and an abundant harvest had furnished a sufficient quantity of

corn for the consumption of France. The committee, displaying the same vigour in all matters of administration, had ordered a general statement of the crops to be drawn up by the commission of provisions, and part of the grain to be thrashed immediately for the supply of the markets. It had been feared that the itinerant reapers who leave their homes and go to the corn countries would demand extraordinary wages; the committee, therefore, declared that persons of both sexes, who were accustomed to do harvest work, were in forced requisition, and that their wages should be determined by the local authorities. It was not long before, the journeymen butchers and bakers having struck, the committee adopted a more general measure, and put in requisition workmen of all kinds, who were employed in the manipulation, the transport, and the sale of articles of the first necessity.

The supply of meat was a business of much greater difficulty, and caused much greater uneasiness. In Paris especially it was scarce; and, from the moment when the Hebertists attempted to make this scarcity a pretext for exciting commotion, the evil had only increased. It had been found necessary to put the city of Paris upon an allowance of meat. The commission of provisions had fixed the daily consumption at seventy-five oxen, fifteen thousand pounds weight of veal and mutton, and two hundred hogs. It procured the requisite cattle and sent them to the Hospice de l'Humanité, which was appointed as the common and only authorized slaughter-house. The butchers named by each section came there, and took away the meat which was destined for them, and received a quantity proportioned to the population which they had to supply. Every five days they were to distribute to each family half a pound of meat per head. In this instance recourse was had to tickets, such as were delivered by the revolutionary committees for the distribution of bread, stating the number of individuals of which each family was composed. To prevent tumults and long waiting, people were forbidden to go before six in the morning to the doors of the butchers.

The insufficiency of these regulations soon became apparent. Clandestine dealers had already set up, as we have elsewhere observed. Their number daily increased. The cattle had not time to reach the markets of Neubourg, Poissy, and Sceaux; the country butchers met them and bought them in the pastures. Taking advantage of the less vigilant execution of the laws in the rural communes, these butchers sold above the *maximum*, and supplied all the inhabitants of the great communes and particularly those of Paris, who were not content with the allowance of half-a-pound every five days. In this manner the country butchers had run away with all the business of the town butchers, who had scarcely any thing to do since they were confined to the distribution of rations. Several of them even

applied for a law authorizing them to throw up the leases of their shops. It then became necessary to make new regulations to prevent the stoppage of cattle on their way to the markets; and the proprietors of pasture-grounds were subjected to declarations and to extremely annoying formalities. The government was obliged to descend to still more minute details. As wood and charcoal ceased to arrive on account of the *maximum*, and suspicions of forestalling were excited, it was forbidden to have more than four loads of wood and more than two loads of charcoal.

The new government exerted itself with singular activity to surmount all the difficulties of the career upon which it had entered. While it was issuing these numberless regulations, it was engaged in reforming agriculture, changing the legislation of farming, for the purpose of dividing the tillage of lands, introducing new rotations of crops, artificial meadows, and the rearing of cattle. It ordered the institution of botanic gardens in all the chief towns of departments, for naturalizing exotic plants, forming nurseries of trees of all kinds, and opening courses of lectures on agriculture for the instruction, and adapted to the comprehension, of farmers. It ordered the general draining of marshes, on a comprehensive and well-conceived plan. It decreed that the state should make the necessary advances for this great undertaking, and that the owners whose lands should be drained and rendered wholesome should pay a tax or sell their lands at a certain price. Lastly, it invited all the architects to furnish plans for rebuilding the villages on demolishing the mansions; it ordered embellishments to render the garden of the Tuileries more commodious for the public: and it demanded plans from artists for changing the Opera-house into a covered arena where the people might assemble in winter.

Thus it executed, or at least attempted, almost every thing at once; so true it is that the more business one has to do, the more one is capable of doing. The department of the finances was not the least difficult nor the least perplexing. We have seen what resources were devised in the month of August, 1793, to restore the assignats to their nominal value, by withdrawing part of them from circulation. The one thousand millions withdrawn by the forced loan, and the victories which terminated the campaign of 1793, raised them, and, as we have elsewhere stated, they rose almost to par, owing to the terrible laws which rendered the possession of specie so dangerous. This apparent prosperity lasted, however, only for a short time. They soon fell again, and the quantity of issues rapidly depreciated them. Part of them, indeed, returned in consequence of the sales of the national property, but this return was insufficient. These possessions were sold above the estimate, which was not surprising, for the estimate had been made in money, and payment was made in assignats. Thus the price, though apparently above,

was really much below, the estimated value. Besides, this absorption of the assignats could be but slow, while the issue was necessarily immense and rapid. Twelve hundred thousand men to arm and to pay, a *matériel* to create, a navy to build, with a depreciated paper, required enormous quantities of that paper. This resource having become the only one, and, moreover, the capital of the assignats increasing daily by confiscations, the government made up its mind to employ them so long as occasion required. It abolished the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary fund, the one arising from the produce of the taxes, the other from the creation of assignats. The two kinds of resources were blended, and, whenever occasion required, any deficit in the revenue was supplied by fresh issues. At the beginning of 1794 (year II) the sum total of the issues was doubled. Nearly four thousand millions had been added to the sum which previously existed, and had raised it to about eight thousand millions. Deducting the sums which had come back and been burned, and those which had not yet been expended, there remained in actual circulation five thousand five hundred and thirty-six millions. In Messidor (year II, June, 1794) the creation of a fresh thousand millions of assignats was decreed, of all amounts, from one thousand francs to fifteen sous. The committee of the finances again had recourse to a forced loan from the rich. The lists of the preceding year were made use of, and upon those who were entered in those lists was imposed an extraordinary war contribution of one-tenth of the forced loan, that is to say, of ten millions. This sum was not levied upon them as a loan repayable, but as a tax which was to be paid by them without return.

To complete the establishment of the great book, and the plan of giving uniformity to the public debt, it still remained to *capitalise* the life annuities, and to convert them into an inscription. These annuities, of all descriptions and of all forms, were the object of the most complicated stockjobbing. They had the same inconvenience as the old contracts on the state, that of reposing on a royal title, and obtaining a marked preference to republican stocks; for people were still sure that, if the republic consented to pay the debts of the monarchy, the monarchy would never consent to pay those of the republic. Cambon, therefore, completed his grand work of the regeneration of the debt, by proposing and obtaining a law which capitalised the life annuities; the titles were to be delivered up by the notaries and burned, as the contracts had been. The capital originally furnished by the annuitant was converted into an inscription, and bore a perpetual interest at five per cent. instead of a life revenue. At the same time, out of consideration for aged persons and those of very small fortune, who had meant to double their resources by investing them in annuities for life, those of

moderate amounts were preserved and proportioned to the age of the parties. From forty to fifty, all annuities of fifteen hundred to two thousand francs were suffered to exist; from fifty to sixty, all annuities of three to four thousand; and so on to the age of one hundred, and to the sum of ten thousand five hundred francs. If the annuitant comprised in the cases above mentioned had an annuity exceeding the fixed standard, the surplus was capitalised. Certainly more consideration could not well be shown for moderate fortunes and for old age; and yet no law ever gave rise to more remonstrances and complaints, and the Convention incurred more censure for a wise measure, and one conducted with humanity, than for those terrible measures which daily marked its dictatorship.* The stockjobbers were grievously offended, because the law, in order to recognise the credits, required certificates of life. The holders of titles of emigrants could not easily procure these certificates; hence the jobbers, who were sufferers by this condition, complained loudly in the name of the aged and the infirm: they declared that neither age nor indigence was respected; they persuaded the annuitants that they should not be paid, because the operation and the formalities which it required would be attended with endless delays. However, that was not the case. Cambon caused some clauses of the decree to be modified, and, by his incessant superintendence at the Treasury, he carried its provisions into effect with the greatest promptitude. The annuitants who did not job in the titles of others, but lived upon their own income, were speedily paid; and, as Barrère said, instead of waiting their turn of payment in uncovered courts, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, they waited in the warm and comfortable rooms of the Treasury.

Along with these beneficial reforms cruelties continued to run their course.† The law which expelled the ex-nobles from Paris,

* "So numerous was this class of life-annuitants in France, and so tenacious are men of whatever touches their pecuniary interests, that there was no measure at the time which excited such violent discontent, and the Convention were more blamed for this retrenchment than all the sanguinary and terrible laws which had stained their administration."—*Alison.* E.

† "The sun of Liberty was in eclipse, while the crested hydra of the coalition glared round the horizon. The atmosphere was dark and sultry. There was a dead pause—a stillness in the air, except as the silence was broken by a shout like distant thunder, or the wild chant of patriotic songs. There was a fear, as in the time of a plague—a fierceness, as before and after a deadly strife. It was a civil war raging in the heart of a great city as in a field of battle, and turning it into a charnel-house. The eye was sleepless—the brain heated. Sights of horror grew familiar to the mind, which had no other choice than that of being either the victim or the executioner. What at first was stern necessity, or public duty, became a habit and a sport; and the arm inured to slaughter, struck at random, sparing neither friend nor foe. The soul, harrowed up by the spectacle of the most appalling cruelties, could not do without them, and nursed the dreadful appetite for death. The habit of going to the place of execution resembled that of visiting the

the fortresses, and the seaports, gave rise to a multitude of vexations. To distinguish the real nobles was not easier now that nobility was a calamity, than when it had been a pretension. Females originally belonging to the commonalty, who had married nobles and become widows, the purchasers of offices who had taken the title of esquire, claimed to be exempted from a distinction which formerly they had so eagerly coveted. This law then opened a new career to arbitrary power and to the most tyrannical vexations.

The representatives on mission exercised their authority with the utmost rigour, and some of them indulged in extravagant and monstrous cruelties. In Paris the prisons daily became more and more crowded. The committee of general safety had instituted a police which spread terror every where. At the head of it was a man named Heron, who had under his direction a host of agents, all worthy of their chief. They were what were called, the messengers of the committees. Some acted as spies, others were furnished with secret and frequently even blank orders, and went to make arrests either in Paris or in the provinces. A sum of money was allowed them for each of their expeditions. They extorted more from the prisoners, and thus added rapine to cruelty. All the adventurers who had been disbanded with the revolutionary army, or dismissed from Bouchotte's office, had taken up this new trade and become much more formidable for it. They were every where, in the promenades, the coffee-houses, the theatres. Every moment you fancied that you were watched and overheard by one of these inquisitors. Owing to their assiduity, the number of the suspected had increased in Paris alone to seven or eight thousand.* The prisons no longer exhibited the spectacle which they had at first presented; the rich were no longer seen there contributing to the support of the poor, and men of all opinions, of all ranks, leading at their joint cost a tolerably agreeable life, and con-

theatre. Legal murder was the order of the day, a holiday sight, till France became one scene of wild disorder, and the Revolution a stage of blood. The chief actor in this tragic scene, the presiding demon of the storm, was Robespierre."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

* "Seven thousand prisoners were soon accumulated in the different places of confinement in Paris; the number throughout France exceeded two hundred thousand! The long nights of these wretched victims were frequently interrupted by visits from the executioners, solely intended to excite alarm; the few hours of sleep allowed them were broken by the rattling of chains and unbarring of doors, to induce the belief that their fellow-sufferers were about to be led to the scaffold. From the farthest extremities of France crowds of prisoners daily arrived at the gates of the Conciergerie, which successively sent forth its bands of victims to the guillotine. Gray hairs and youthful forms, countenances blooming with health, and faces worn with suffering, beauty and talent, rank and virtue, were indiscriminately rolled together to the fatal doors. Sixty persons often arrived in a day, and as many were, on the following morning, sent out to execution. Night and day, the cars incessantly discharged victims into the prison."—*Alison.* E.

soling themselves by the pleasures of the arts for the hardships of captivity. This system had appeared too indulgent for what were called aristocrats. It was alleged that the rich were revelling in luxury and abundance, while the people outside were reduced to rations; that the wealthy prisoners wasted in riotous living those provisions which might have served to feed the indigent citizens: and it had been decided that the system of the prisons should be changed. Refectories and common tables had in consequence been established; the prisoners were supplied at fixed hours and in large halls with an unpalatable and unwholesome food, for which they were obliged to pay at a very dear rate. Nor were they permitted to procure their own provisions, instead of those which they could not eat. They were searched; their assignats were taken from them, and thus they were deprived of all means of procuring themselves comforts of any kind. They were no longer allowed the same liberty of seeing one another and living together, and to the hardship of seclusion were superadded the terrors of death, which daily became more active and more prompt. The revolutionary tribunal began, after the trial of the Hebertists and the Dantonists, to sacrifice victims in troops of twenty at a time.* It had

* "Fifteen prisoners only were at first placed on the fatal chariot, but their number was soon augmented to thirty, and gradually rose to eighty, who were daily sent forth to execution. When the fall of Robespierre put a stop to the murders, arrangements had been made for increasing them to one hundred and fifty. An immense aqueduct to remove the gore had been dug as far as the Place St. Antoine, and four men were daily employed in emptying the blood of the victims into that reservoir. It was at three in the afternoon when the melancholy procession set out from the Conciergeric. The higher orders in general behaved with firmness and serenity, and silently marched to death. The pity of the spectators was, in a peculiar manner, excited by the bands of females led out together to execution. Fourteen young women of Verdun, of the most attractive forms, were cut off together. 'The day after their execution,' says Riouffe, 'the court of the prison looked like a garden bereaved of its flowers by a tempest.' On another occasion, twenty women of Poitou, chiefly the wives of peasants, were placed together on the chariot; some died on the way, and the wretches guillotined their lifeless remains. One kept her infant in her bosom till she reached the foot of the scaffold; the executioners tore the baby from her breast as she suckled it for the last time, and the screams of maternal agony were only stifled with her life. In removing the prisoners from the gaol of the Maison Lazare, one of the women declared herself with child, and on the point of delivery. The hardhearted gaolers compelled her to move on; she did so, uttering piercing shrieks, and at length fell on the ground, and was delivered of a child in the presence of her persecutors! Such accumulated horrors annihilated all the charities and intercourse of life. Passengers hesitated to address their most intimate friends on meeting. The extent of calamity had rendered men suspicious even of those they loved most. Every one assumed the coarsest dress and the most squalid appearance. An elegant exterior would have been the certain forerunner of destruction. Night came, but with it no diminution of the anxiety of the people. Every family early assembled its numbers. With trembling looks, they gazed round the room, fearful that the very walls might harbour traitors. The sound of a foot—the stroke of a hammer—a voice in the street—froze all hearts with horror. If a knock was heard at the door,

condemned the family of the Malesherbes and their relatives to the number of fifteen or twenty persons.* The venerable head of that house had met death with the serenity and the cheerfulness of a sage. Happening to stumble, as he was walking to the scaffold, "This false step," said he, "is a bad omen; a Roman would go back to his home." To the family of Malesherbes had been added twenty-two members of the parliament. That of Toulouse had been almost entirely sacrificed. Lastly, the farmers-general† were brought to trial on account of their former contracts with the treasury. It was proved that these contracts had contained conditions prejudicial to the state, and the revolutionary tribunal sent them to the scaffold for exactions on tobacco, salt, &c. Among them was that illustrious votary of science, Lavoisier,‡ the chemist, who in vain solicited a respite of a few days that he might commit to paper a discovery which he had made.

The impulse was given: men administered, fought, slaughtered, with a horrible harmony. The committees placed at the centre governed with the same vigour. The Convention, still tranquil, decreed pensions to the widows or the children of the soldiers who had died for their country, modified the judgments of tribunals, interpreted decrees, regulated the exchange of cer-

every one, in agonizing suspense, expected his fate. Unable to endure such protracted misery, numbers committed suicide."—*Alison.* E.

"Had the reign of Robespierre continued much longer, multitudes would have thrown themselves under the guillotine. That first of all social affections, the love of life, was already extinguished in almost every breast."—*Frèron.* E.

* "The intellects of Madame de Rozambeau, who was one of the daughters of Malesherbes, were unsettled by her grief for the death of her husband. Neither the consoling influence of her father, nor the tender caresses of her daughter, were able to calm the distraction of her mind. Yet when the act of accusation was presented which comprised Malesherbes, herself, and the rest of the family, she appeared suddenly to call together her wandering faculties. She hastened to find Mademoiselle Sombreuil, and, addressing her in tones of rapture, said, 'Ah, Mademoiselle, you had once the happiness to save your father, and I am going to die with mine!' This ray of reason was soon extinct for ever. She went unconsciously to prison, and died upon the scaffold, without appearing to understand her fate."—*Du Broca.* E.

† "Among them was the farmer-general Fougeret, whose sole crime consisted in his not being able to pay a revolutionary contribution to the amount of thirty thousand livres."—*Du Broca.* E.

‡ "Anthony Lawrence Lavoisier, was a celebrated French chemist, whose name is connected with the antiphlogistic theory of chemistry, to the reception of which he contributed by his writings and discoveries. He was born at Paris in 1743, and was the son of opulent parents, who gave him a good education. He had rendered many services to the arts and sciences, both in a public and private capacity. In 1791 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the national treasury. He was executed in 1794, on the charge of being a conspirator, and of having adulterated the tobacco with ingredients obnoxious to the health of the citizens. Lavoisier married in 1771 the daughter of a farmer-general, who subsequently became the wife of Count Rumford."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

tain domains; attended, in short, to matters the most trivial and the most subordinate. Barrère came every day to read to it reports of victories. These reports he called *carmagnoles*. At the end of every month he intimated, for form's sake, that the powers of the committees had expired, and that it was necessary to renew them. He was then answered, amidst applause, that the committees had but to prosecute their labours. Sometimes he even forgot this formality, and the committees nevertheless continued to exercise their functions.

It is at such moments of absolute submission that exasperated spirits burst forth, and that the despotic authorities have to fear the dagger. There was a man, employed as an attendant in the national lottery-office, who had formerly been in the service of several distinguished families, and who was vehemently incensed against the prevailing system. His name was Ladmiral:* he was fifty years of age, and had formed the design to assassinate one of the leading members of the committee of public welfare, Robespierre or Collot-d'Herbois. For some time past, he had lodged in the same house as Collot-d'Herbois, in the Rue Favart, and hesitated between Collot and Robespierre. On the 3rd of Prairial, having made up his mind to despatch the latter, he had gone to the committee of public welfare and waited for him the whole day in the gallery adjoining the committee-room. Not meeting with him there, he had returned home and posted himself on the staircase, with the intention of striking Collot-d'Herbois. About midnight, Collot came in and went up stairs, when Ladmiral snapped a pistol at him when close to the muzzle. The pistol missed fire. Ladmiral pointed it again, but again the weapon refused to second his design. A third time he was more successful, but hit only the wall. A scuffle then ensued. Collot-d'Herbois cried "Murder." Luckily for him, a patrole was passing along the street, and hastened up on hearing the noise. Ladmiral then ran up-stairs to his room, where he fastened himself in. He was followed by the patrole, who threatened to break open the door. He declared that he was armed, and that he would fire upon any one who should dare to come near him. This threat did not intimidate the patrole. The door was forced. A locksmith, named Geffroy, advanced first, and received a musket-shot, which wounded him almost mortally. Ladmiral was immediately secured and conducted to prison. When examined by Fouquier-Tinville, he related the circumstances of his life, his designs, and the intention which he had to despatch Robespierre before he

* "Henri Ladmiral was originally a servant in the house of the minister Bertin, and afterwards a lottery commissioner at Brussels. He was a short but muscular man, and did not appear to have received a good education. He was executed in 1794, for having attempted the life of Collot-d'Herbois. He ascended the scaffold dressed in a red shirt, and met his fate with firmness."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

thought of Collot-d'Herbois. He was asked who had instigated him to commit this crime. He replied with firmness that it was not a crime, that it was a service which he had meant to render his country; that he alone had conceived this design without any suggestion from another; and that his only regret was that it had not succeeded.

The rumour of this attempt spread with rapidity, and, as usual, it served to increase the power of those against whom it was directed. Barrère went the very next day, the 4th of Prairial, to the Convention to read his report of this new machination of Pitt's. "The internal factions," said he, "do not cease to correspond with that government, which deals in coalitions, which purchases murders, which persecutes liberty as its bitterest enemy. While we make justice and virtue the order of the day, the coalition places on the order of the day crime and assassination. You will every where find the baleful spirit of the Englishman—in our markets, in our contracts, on our seas, on the continents, in the kinglings of Europe as well as in our cities. It is the same head that directs the hands which murder Basseville at Rome, the French sailors in the harbour of Genoa, the faithful French in Corsica. It is the same head that directs the steel against Lepelletier and Marat, the guillotine upon Chalier, and the pistol at Collot-d'Herbois." Barrère then produced letters from London and Holland, which had been intercepted, and which stated that the plots of Pitt were directed against the committees, and particularly against Robespierre. One of these letters said in substance, "We much fear Robespierre's influence. The more concentrated the French republican government becomes, the more strength it will possess, and the more difficult it will be to overthrow it."

This manner of exhibiting facts was well calculated to excite a strong interest in favour of the committees and especially of Robespierre, and to identify their existence with that of the republic. Barrère then related the fact, with all its circumstances, spoke of the *tender solicitude* which the constituted authorities had manifested for protecting the national representation, and described in magnificent terms the conduct of citizen Geffroy, who had received a dangerous wound in seizing the assassin. The Convention received Barrère's report with applause. It ordered an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining whether Ladmiral had any accomplices; it decreed thanks to citizen Geffroy, and resolved that, as some compensation, the bulletin of the state of his wound should be read every day from the tribune. Couthon then made a violent speech to propose that Barrère's report should be translated into all languages and circulated in all countries. "Pitt! Coburg!" he exclaimed, "and all of you, cowardly and petty tyrants, who consider the world as your heritage, and who, in the last moments of your agony, struggle with such fury, whet, whet your daggers; we despise

you too much to fear you, and you well know that we are too great to follow your example!" The hall rang with applause. "But," continued Couthon, "the Law whose reign affrights you has her sword uplifted over your heads. She will strike you all, Mankind needs this example, and Heaven, which you outrage. has commanded it."

Collot-d'Herbois then entered, as if to receive the congratulations of the Assembly. He was hailed with redoubled acclamations, and had difficulty in making himself heard. Robespierre showed much more tact in staying away, and affecting to withdraw himself from the homage that awaited him.

On this same day, the 4th, a young female, named Cecile Renault,* called at Robespierre's door with a parcel under her

* "Cecile Renault was nearly twenty years of age when she committed the extraordinary act which conducted her to the scaffold. She had one of those figures which please without being beautiful. Her features were far from handsome, yet, from the vivacity of her manners, her agreeable countenance, and elegant deportment, she was called the finest girl of her neighbourhood. Her father lived in Paris, where he carried on the business of a paper-maker. He had seven children, to all of whom he had given a good education. Two of his sons served the republic in the army of the North. Various were the conjectures at the time as to the motives for the conduct of this girl; but none of them, far from having any foundation in truth, had even probability on their side. We can assign no reason for her conduct, except that which she herself declared on her trial. On the fourth of Prairial, towards the close of the day, Cecile Renault presented herself at the door of Robespierre's house; but there seeming to be something suspicious in her manner, she was seized, and brought before the committee of public safety, by whom she was examined, but without effect. The committee then ordered a parcel to be produced before the young girl, containing the entire dress of a woman, which she had left with a seller of lemonade immediately before her visit to Robespierre's house, and interrogated her on her motives for providing herself with such apparel. She answered that, well knowing she should be sent to prison and then to the guillotine, she wished to be provided with a decent dress for the occasion. She was then asked, 'What use did you propose to make of the two knives that were found on your person?' She replied, 'None; I never designed harm against any living being.' As she continued to give the same sort of answers to every question put to her by Fouquier-Tinville, on her subsequent examinations, his ingenuity contrived a species of torture for her. Perceiving that she loved dress, he gave orders to the keeper of the prison to take her clothes from her, and put filthy rags on her. In this condition they compelled her to appear again before the council, but far from being ashamed of her appearance, Cecile Renault jested with the public accuser on the pettiness of his invention. It was then resolved to put her and her family to death, and she was conducted before the revolutionary tribunal. As she entered the box appropriated to the accused, she saw among the associates of her misfortune her father and an aunt by whom she had been educated. Her eyes filled with tears at the spectacle, but in a short time she regained her serenity. Not less than eight carriages were prepared to conduct her accomplices to the scaffold. This sight of fifty-four condemned persons, each covered with a red shirt, and surrounded by a strong guard, was contrived to gratify the jealousy of Robespierre. All eyes sought for the young Renault. The approach of death had made no change in her countenance. During the long time occupied in the march from the Conciergerie to the scaffold, she never betrayed one symptom

arm. She asked to see him, and urgently insisted on being admitted. She said that a public functionary ought to be always ready to receive those who have occasion to speak to him, and at last began to abuse the Duplaix family,* with whom Robespierre lodged, because they would not admit her. From the perseverance and the strange air of this young female, suspicions were conceived. She was seized and delivered over to the police. On opening her parcel, it was found to contain some clothes and two knives. It was instantly surmised that she intended to murder Robespierre. On being questioned, she answered with the same assurance as Ladmiral. She was asked what was her business with Robespierre. She replied that she wanted to see how a tyrant looked. She was asked what the clothes and the knives were for. She answered that she had not intended to make any particular use of the knives; that, as for the clothes, she had provided herself with them because she expected to be carried to prison, and from prison to the guillotine. She added that she was a royalist, because she would rather have one king than fifty thousand. She was urged to answer further questions, but refused, and desired to be conducted to the scaffold.

This evidence appeared sufficient to warrant the conclusion that young Renault was one of the assassins armed against Robespierre.† To this last circumstance was presently added

of fear. She was even seen to smile more than once. On reaching the place of execution, she descended from the cart with firmness, and embracing her father and her aunt, exhorted them to die with constancy. When it was her turn to mount the scaffold, she ascended cheerfully, and even seemed eager to bow her head beneath the axe."—*Du Broca.* E.

* " Robespierre, on his arrival in Paris as a member of the Constituent Assemby, had taken, in common with a young friend, a cheap lodging; and on the evening in which the massacre of the petitioning patriots took place in the Champ de Mars (1791), he was returning thence in great agitation accompanied by a crowd, crying, 'Vive Robespierre!' His situation at the moment was dangerous, for the red flag was still flying. A carpenter of the name of Duplay, his zealous admirer, invited him to take refuge in his house. Robespierre accepted the offer and was persuaded not to return home that night. Duplay had a wife and three daughters who were all flattered by the presence of the great popular leader; and at length the carpenter proposed that Robespierre should give up his lodgings, and become his inmate and his guest. Domiciled in this family, Robespierre sought no other society, and gave all his private hours to this humble circle. Duplay himself received his reward in being appointed one of the jurors of the revolutionary tribunal, a place of power and emolument—as was also, we believe, his son. Madame Duplay became conspicuous as one of the leaders of those ferocious women who sate daily at their needlework round the scaffold. The eldest daughter, Eleonore, who now assumed the classic name of Cornelia, aspired to captivate Robespierre; she endeavoured to become his wife, and ended in passing, in the opinion of the neighbours, as his mistress. She seems to have had much of her mother's ferocity, for she, with her sisters and other companions, used to sit at their windows to see the batches of victims who passed every day to the scaffold. The second sister married Lebas, a member of the Convention; and the third married another member."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

† " It is rather a curious circumstance that, about the time of Cecile Re-

another. On the following day, at Choisy-sur-Seine, a citizen was relating in a coffee-house the attempt to murder Collot-d'Herbois, and rejoicing that it had not succeeded. A monk, named Saint-Anax, who was listening to the account, replied that it was unlucky that the scoundrels belonging to the committee had escaped, but he hoped that sooner or later they would be despatched. The unfortunate man was immediately secured and carried the very same night to Paris. These circumstances were more than enough to authorize conjectures of vast ramifications. It was asserted that a band of assassins was in readiness; people eagerly thronged around the members of the committee, begging them to be cautious and to take care of their lives, which were so valuable to the country. The sections assembled, and sent fresh deputations and addresses to the Convention. They said that, among the miracles which Providence had wrought in favour of the republic, the manner in which Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois had escaped the strokes of the assassins was not the least. One of them even proposed to furnish a guard of twenty-five men for the personal protection of the members of the committee.

The day appointed for the meeting of the Jacobins was two days afterwards. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois attended, and were received with the utmost enthusiasm. When power has found means to ensure a general submission, it merely needs that it should allow base minds to act, and these complete the work of its domination, and add to it divine worship and honours. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois were gazed at with eager curiosity. "Look," it was said, "at those valuable men! The God of free men has saved them. He has thrown his shield over them, and has preserved them for the republic. It is right that

nault's adventure, there appeared, at a masked ball in London, a character dressed like the spectre of Charlotte Corday, who came, as she said, to seek Robespierre, and inflict on him the doom of Marat."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

"Some writers doubt whether there was any real design against Robespierre, and imagine that, jealous of Collot-d'Herbois being selected as a worthier object of assassination, he falsely represented himself as having been the first object of Ladmiral, and got up the scene of Cecile Renault to counterbalance the popularity which the former event was likely to confer on Collot. There is something to countenance this opinion. The possibility of an intention to assassinate turns altogether on the fact of the knife or knives. Now, in all the early contemporaneous accounts there is no mention of any knife. It is remarkable too, that, while the attack on Collot was blazoned by the government in the Convention, no mention was made of Cecile's attempt till a question was asked about it; and then Barrère made a report in which the facts were stated, with however the all-important omission of the knife. That seems to be an afterthought. The earlier writers state distinctly that Cecile had no knife whatsoever. We think it probable, nevertheless, that she had some vague intention of imitating Charlotte Corday; she however seems to have been a weak-minded, ignorant girl, who had not thought very distinctly of her object, and not at all of its means."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

they should share the honours which France has decreed to the martyrs of liberty; she will thus have the satisfaction of honouring them without having to weep overt heir funereal urns."* Collot first spoke with his usual vehemence, and said that the emotion which he felt at that moment proved to him how delightful it was to serve the country, even at the price of the greatest perils. "He gathered from it," he said, "this truth, that he who has incurred any danger for his country, receives new strength from the fraternal interest which he excites. That kind applause is a new compact of union between all men of strong minds. The tyrants, held at bay, and feeling their end approaching, strive in vain to have recourse to daggers, to poison, to stratagems; the republicans are not to be daunted. Are not the tyrants aware that, when one patriot expires under their blows, all the patriots who survive him swear upon his grave vengeance for the crime and the eternity of liberty?"

Collot finished amidst applause. Bentabolle proposed that the president should give Collot and Robespierre the fraternal embrace in the name of the whole society. Legendre, with the eagerness of a man who had been the friend of Danton, and who was forced to stoop to more than one meanness to cause that friendship to be forgotten, said that the hand of guilt was raised to strike virtue, but that the God of nature had prevented the consummation of the crime.† He exhorted all the citizens to form a guard around the members of the committee, and he himself offered to be the first to protect their invaluable lives. At this moment, some sections solicited admittance into the hall. The enthusiasm was extreme, but the concourse was so great that the society was forced to leave them at the door.

The insignia of supreme power were offered to the committee, and this was the fit moment for declining them. It was sufficient for adroit chiefs to cause such marks of distinction to be offered to them, that they might have the merit of a refusal. The members of the committee who were present opposed with affected indignation the proposal for assigning guards to them. Couthon immediately addressed the assembly. He was astonished, he said, at the proposal which had just been made to the Jacobins, and which had already been submitted to the Convention. He was willing, indeed, to attribute it to pure intentions, but none but despots surrounded themselves with guards, and the members of the committee had no wish to place themselves on the same footing as despots. They had no need

* See the proceedings of the Jacobins on the 6th of Prairial.

† "The clubs and the Convention rung with the most fulsome congratulations on Robespierre's escape, which was openly attributed to the good Genius of the republic, and to the interposition of the Supreme Being, in gratitude for Robespierre having proclaimed his existence! Such was the madness of those times!"—*Hazlitt.* E.

of guards to defend them. Virtue, the confidence of the people, and Providence were their protectors. They needed no other guarantees for their safety. Besides, they would always be ready to die at their post and for liberty."

Legendre lost no time in defending his motion. He said that he did not mean to give precisely an organized guard to the members of the committee, but to induce the good citizens to watch over their safety. At any rate, if he was in the wrong, he would withdraw his motion. His intention was pure. Robespierre succeeded him in the tribune. It was the first time that he had risen to speak. He was hailed with loud and prolonged applause. Silence was at length obtained, and he was allowed to begin. "I am one of those," said he, "whom the events which have just occurred ought least to interest. Still I cannot refrain from a few reflections. If the defenders of liberty are exposed to the poniards of tyranny, it is no more than might be expected. I have already said, if we fight the enemy, if we thwart the factions, we shall be assassinated. What I foresaw has happened. The soldiers of tyranny have bitten the dust, the traitors have perished on the scaffold, and daggers have been whetted for us. I know not what impression these events make upon you, but that which they have produced upon me is this: I have felt that it was easier to assassinate us than to conque our principles and to subdue our armies. I said to myself, that the more uncertain and precarious the lives of the defenders of the people are, the more anxious they ought to be to employ their last days in performing actions serviceable to liberty. I, who do not believe in the necessity of living, but only in virtue and in Providence,—I am placed in a state in which most assuredly the assassins had no intention to place me. I feel more independent than ever of the malice of men. The crimes of tyrants and the weapons of assassins have rendered me more free and more formidable to all the enemies of the people. My soul is more disposed than ever to unveil the traitors, and to strip them of the mask with which they presume to cover themselves. Frenchmen! friends of equality, commit with confidence to us the duty of employing the short remainder of life that Providence may grant us, in combating the enemies that surround you!" These words were followed by redoubled acclamations, and transports of enthusiasm burst from all parts of the hall. Robespierre, after enjoying this homage for a few moments, again began to speak against a member of the society, who had moved that civic honours should be paid to Geffroy. Coupling this motion with that for assigning guards to the members of the committees, he maintained that these motions were intended to excite calumny and envy against the government, by loading it with superfluous honours. He, in consequence, proposed and carried the rejection of that which had demanded civic honours for Geffroy.

At the degree of power which the committee had attained, it behoved it to avoid the appearances of sovereignty. It exercised an absolute dictatorship, but it was not for its interest that this should be too plainly perceived; and all the external signs, all the parade of power, would but compromise it to no purpose. An ambitious soldier, who is victor by his sword, and who aspires to a throne, hastens to characterize his authority as speedily as possible, and to add the ensigns of power to power itself; but the leaders of a party, who govern that party by their influence alone, and who wish to remain masters of it, must continually flatter it, incessantly refer to it the power which they exercise, and, while governing, appear only to obey it.

It behoved, therefore, the members of the committee of public welfare, the chiefs of the Mountain, not to separate themselves from it and from the Convention, but to repel, on the contrary, whatever might seem to raise them too high above their colleagues. People had already changed their opinion, and the extent of their power struck even persons of their own party. They already regarded them as dictators, and it was Robespierre in particular whose high influence began to dazzle all eyes. It was customary to say no longer, *The committee wills it,* but *Robespierre wills it.* Fouquier-Tinville said to an individnal whom he threatened with the revolutionary tribunal, "If it please Robespierre, thou shalt go before it." The agents of power constantly named Robespierre in their operations, and seemed to refer every thing to him as to the cause from which every thing emanated. To him the victims did not fail to impute their sufferings, and the inmates of the prisons recognised but one oppressor—Robespierre. Foreigners themselves, in their proclamations, called the French soldiers *Robespierre's soldiers.* This expression occurred in a proclamation of the Duke of York's.

Sensible how dangerous the use made of his name was, Robespierre lost no time in delivering a speech to the Convention, for the purpose of repelling what he termed perfidious insinuations, the object of which was to ruin him. He repeated it at the Jacobins, and there obtained the applause which was usually bestowed on all his harangues. The Journal de la Montagne and the Moniteur having given, on the following day, a report of this speech, and asserted that "it was a masterpiece which was not susceptible of analysis, because every word was equivalent to a sentence, every sentence to a page," he took up the matter with great warmth, and complained next day at the Jacobins of the journals, which affected to bepraise the members of the committee, in order to ruin them by giving them the appearance of being all-powerful. The two journals were obliged to retract what they had said, and to apologize for having praised Robespierre, by the assurance that their intentions were pure.

Robespierre had vanity, but was not great enough to be ambitious. Covetous of flattery and homage, he feasted upon

them,* and justified himself for receiving them by declaring that he had no desire to be all-powerful. He had around him a kind of court, composed of a few men, but chiefly of a great number of women, who paid him the most delicate attentions. Thronging

* "Robespierre was now (1794), and had been for some time, no longer like the same man. A sort of delirium of vanity had seized him, and it was at this period that, under the influence, no doubt, of this madness of self-conceit, he put into my hands his Memoirs, of which I was thus enabled to take a copy. He sought my company more than ever; his friendship was troublesome to me; it was a weight upon my heart, that I knew not how to get rid of. I never saw him but at night, and, as it were, in secret, sometimes in the garden of the Tuileries, sometimes at my lodgings, and very rarely at his own. He seemed to wish that I should not meet with any of his usual companions. He chatted with me on the most indifferent things, on the fine arts, and on literature, avoided all conversation on political matters, and stopped my mouth by a bitter expression or an angry look whenever I ventured upon that forbidden topic. The reader may figure to himself what I must have felt, when, *tête-à-tête* with him after the horrors of the day, and there was not one but was marked by sanguinary executions, I was obliged to talk to him about Homer, Tasso, or Rousseau, or to analyze Cicero, Montaigne, and Rabelais, with this man, whose hands were stained with blood! He was fond of novels, and took great delight in the poems of Ossian. From a singular contrast, next to those sombre and melancholy productions of the bards of the North, he liked nothing so well as the buffooneries of Scarron. He knew by heart two entire cantos of the burlesque translation of the Æneid, and I have heard him laugh immoderately on repeating these lines, in which Scarron says that, in the infernal regions, Æneas

'Rencontra l'ombre d'un cocher,
Qui, tenant l'ombre d'une brosse,
En frottait l'ombre d'un carosse.'

But Robespierre's laughter, so far from communicating any hilarity to me, made me profoundly sad. I fancied that I heard the howling of a tiger, and, even at this day, whenever the recollection of that laugh recurs to my mind, I shudder involuntarily, as if a demon were venting close to my ear the bursts of his satanic gaiety. Robespierre had habits of excessive delicacy, especially at the period of which I am speaking, and amid the men by whom he was surrounded. He was particular about having his linen very fine, and very white. The woman who took care of it was frequently scolded on this account, and I have witnessed some curious scenes between him and his laundress. He would have his frills plaited with extreme neatness: he wore waistcoats of delicate colours — pink, light blue, chamois, elegantly embroidered. The dressing of his hair took him a good deal of time; and he was very difficult about the colour and the cut of his coats. He had two watches, wore several costly rings on his fingers, and had a valuable collection of snuff-boxes. His elegant appearance formed a singular contrast with the studied squalidness of the other Jacobins. The populace would have insulted a stranger who should have dressed with such care, and in whom it would have been deemed aristocratic; but in its favourite, Robespierre, this was considered perfectly republican. From a singular contrast, this man, so bold in speech, trembled with fear at the least danger. He did not like to be left alone in the dark. The slightest noise made him shudder, and terror was expressed in his eyes. I had in my room a skull, which I made use of to study anatomy. The sight of it was so disagreeable to him, that he at length begged me to put it away, and not let him see it any more. I was confounded at such a proof of weakness, which furnished occasion for profound reflections."—*Memoirs of a Peer of France.* E.

to his residence, they manifested the most constant anxiety for his welfare. They were continually eulogizing among themselves his virtue, and his eloquence, his genius. They called him a divine, a superhuman mortal. An old marquise was the principal of those females who waited, like real devotees, on this proud and bloodthirsty pontiff. The enthusiasm of the women is always the surest symptom of public infatuation. It is they who, by their active attentions, their language, and their solicitude, undertake the task of throwing ridicule upon it.

With the women who adored Robespierre, was associated a ridiculous and absurd sect that had recently sprung up. It is at the moment of the abolition of an established religion that sects particularly abound, because the absolute necessity for believing something seeks to feed itself with other illusions in lieu of those which have been destroyed. An old woman, named Catherine Theot, whose brain was turned in the prisons of the Bastille, called herself the mother of God, and proclaimed the speedy coming of a new Messiah.* He was to appear, according to her, amidst convulsions, and, at the moment of his appearance, an eternal life was to begin for the elect. These elect were to propagate their faith by all means whatever, and to exterminate the enemies of the true God. Dom Gerle, the Carthusian, who had figured under the Constituent Assembly, and whose weak imagination had been led astray by mystic dreams, was one of their true prophets. Robespierre was the other. His deism had no doubt obtained him this honour. Catherine Theot called him her beloved son; the initiated treated him with reverence, and regarded him as a supernatural being, called to sublime and mysterious destinies. He was probably apprized of their follies, and, without being their accomplice, he profited by their error. It is certain that he had protected Dom Gerle, that he was frequently visited by him, and that he had given him a certificate of civism, signed by his own hand, to save him from the persecution of a revolutionary committee. This sect was widely spread; it had its form of worship and its practices,

* "There lived, in an obscure quarter of Paris, an old woman of the name of Catherine Theot, who had the same mania as our Johanna Southcott, of believing that, at the age of seventy, she was to become the mother of the Saviour, who was now to be born again, and to commence his final reign. With maniacs of this description, it was natural that the great name of Robespierre, who had made himself the apostle of deism, should mingle itself with their visions. The committee of general security heard of these bedlamites —which probably Robespierre himself had never done—and they seized the favourable opportunity of throwing on him all the ridicule and discredit of their fanaticism. There was no proof whatever that he knew any thing of his fanatic admirers; the injury therefore to his reputation was not great—but the insult was. His power was at once too fearful and too fragile to tolerate levity. Its essence was terror and silence; and he wished to be spoken of neither *en bien ni en mal.* At this crisis, as at all the former, his prudence seems to have made him desirous of withdrawing from his recent prominence."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

which contributed not a little to its propagation; it held its meetings at Catherine Theot's, in a remote quarter of Paris, near the Pantheon. Here the reception of new members took place, in the presence of the mother of God, Dom Gerle, and the principal of the elect. This sect began to be known, and it was also vaguely known that Robespierre was regarded by it as a prophet. Thus every thing contributed to exalt and to compromise him.

It was among his colleagues more especially that jealousies began to arise. Divisions already manifested themselves, and this was natural; for, the power of the committee being established, rivalries had sprung up. The committee had split into several distinct groups. The twelve members who composed it were reduced to eleven by the death of Herault-Sechelles. Jean-Bon-St.-André and Prieur of La Marne were still absent on missions. Carnot was exclusively occupied with the war department, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or with the army supplies, Robert Lindet with provisions. These were called *examiners*. They took no part either in politics or in rivalries. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, were linked together. A sort of superiority of mind and manners, the high opinion which they seemed to have of themselves, and the contempt which they appeared to feel for their other colleagues, had led them to form a knot by themselves. They were called the men of *the high hand*. Barrère was, in their estimation, but a weak and pusillanimous creature, disposed, by his suppleness, to serve any body; Collot-d'Herbois but a club declaimer; Billaud-Varennes but a man of moderate capacity, gloomy, and full of envy. These last three could not forgive this secret disdain of their colleagues. Barrère durst not speak out; but Collot-d'Herbois, and particularly Billaud, whose temper was indomitable, could not conceal the hatred which began to inflame them. They sought to prop themselves upon their colleagues called the *examiners*, and to gain them to their side. They had also reason to hope for support from the committee of general safety, which began to feel sore at the supremacy of the committee of public welfare. Specially limited to the police, and frequently watched or controlled in its operations by the committee of public welfare, the committee of general safety could ill brook this dependence. Amar, Vadier, Vouland, Jagot, Louis of the Bas-Rhin, the most cruel of its members, were at the same time the most disposed to shake off the yoke. Two of their colleagues, who were called *the listeners*, watched them on Robespierre's behalf, and this kind of *espionnage* they could no longer endure. The discontented in both committees might therefore unite and become dangerous to Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just. We ought particularly to observe that it was the rivalry of pride and power which commenced the division, and not a difference of political opinion; for Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier,

Vouland, Amar, Jagot, and Louis, were not less formidable revolutionists than the three adversaries whom they sought to overthrow.

Another circumstance tended to widen the breach between the committee of general safety and the rulers of the committee of public welfare. Great complaints were made of the arrests, which daily became more numerous, and which were often unjust, as they were directed against a great number of persons known to be excellent patriots. People also complained of the rapine and vexations of the numerous agents to whom the committee of general welfare had delegated its inquisition. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, not daring to obtain either the abolition or the renewal of this committee, devised a scheme for establishing an office of police in the bosom of the committee of public welfare. This was, without destroying the committee of general safety, to encroach upon, and strip it of its functions. St. Just was to have the direction of this office, but, having been sent to the army, he had not been able to perform that duty, and Robespierre had undertaken it in his stead. The office of police caused those who had been apprehended by order of the committee of general safety to be set at liberty, and the latter committee acted in the same manner towards the other. This usurpation of functions led to an open rupture. The disagreement transpired; and, notwithstanding the secrecy which enveloped the government, it was soon known that its members were at variance.

Other discontents, not less serious, arose in the Convention. It was still very submissive, but some of its members, who had conceived fears on their own account, gained somewhat more boldness from danger. These were old friends of Danton's, who had compromised themselves by their connexion with him, and who were sometimes threatened as the relics of the party of the *corrupted* and of the *indulgents*. Some had been guilty of malversation in their functions, and dreaded the application of the *system of virtue*. Others had appeared averse to the exercise of the daily increasing severities. The most compromised among them was Tallien. It was said that he had been guilty of malversation at the commune when he was a member of it, and afterwards at Bordeaux when on mission there. It was added that, while in the latter city, he had suffered himself to be softened and conquered by a young and beautiful female,* who had

* "Madame Tallien was above the middle height, but a perfect harmony in her whole person took away all appearance of the awkwardness of too lofty a stature. It was the Venus of the Capitol, but still more beautiful than the work of Phidias; for you perceived in her the same perfection of features, the same symmetry in arms, hands, and feet; and the whole animated by a benevolent expression—a reflection of the magic mirror of the soul, which indicated all that there was in that soul, and this was kindness. She might have become the French Aspasia, with whom her wit, her beauty, and her

accompanied him to Paris, and just been thrown into prison. Next to Tallien was mentioned Bourdon of the Oise, who was compromised by his quarrel with the Saumur party, and who had been expelled from the Jacobins with Fabre, Camille, and Philipeaux; likewise Thuriot, who had also been excluded by the Jacobins; Legendre, who, notwithstanding his daily submissions, could never obtain forgiveness for his former connexion with Danton; lastly, Fréron,* Barras,† Lecointe, Rovère,‡ Mo-

political influence, may serve to establish a comparison, though neither of her husbands was a Pericles. Madame Tallien was born in Spain, where her father, M. de Cabarrus, a French banker, settled, and had acquired a great reputation. At twelve years of age, Theresa Cabarrus was the loveliest of all the beauties of Cadiz. Her father sent her from home at an early age, because he was still too young to take upon himself the superintendence of so lovely a daughter. She was seen about this period by her uncle Jalabert, who could not escape the fascination which the lovely Theresa, with a look and a smile, exercised upon every man who beheld her. He wished to marry her, but she gave the preference to M. de Fontenay, to whom she was united some time after. With a cultivated mind and intellectual powers of a high order, Madame Tallien would have possessed, even without her beauty, more than an ordinary share of attractions. She was always remarkably kind and obliging, but such is the effect on the multitude, of a name that bears a stain, that her cause was never separated from that of her second husband."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

* "Fréron was the earliest object of the affections of Napoleon's second sister Pauline, but neither the Emperor nor Josephine would hear of an alliance with the friend of Robespierre, and ready instrument of his atrocities."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "Barras, of a good family of Provence, was an officer in the regiment of the Isle of France. At the Revolution he was deputed to the Convention, but had no talent for oratory, and no habits of business. On his return to Paris, after having been appointed commissioner to the army of Italy, and to Provence, he helped to oppose Robespierre, marched against the commune which had risen in favour of the tyrant, and succeeded. Subsequent events brought him into the Directory. He did not possess the qualifications required to fill that situation, but he acted better than was expected from him by those who knew him. He put his establishment on a splendid footing, kept a pack of hounds, and his expenses were considerable. When he went out of the Directory, he had still a large fortune, and did not attempt to conceal it; but the manner in which it had been acquired, by favouring the contractors impaired the morality of the nation. Barras was tall; he spoke sometimes in moments of agitation, and his voice filled the house. His intellectual capacity, however, did not allow him to go beyond a few sentences. He was not a man of resolution, and had no opinion of his own on any part of the administration of public affairs."—*Las Cases.* E.

"Barras was born at Foix, in Provence, in the year 1755, of the family of Barras, whose antiquity in that quarter had become a proverb. He died in retirement in the year 1829."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

‡ "J. M. de Rovère, deputy to the Convention, was the son of a very rich innkeeper in the country of Venassin. A good education and plausible address furnished him with the means of introducing himself into the best society, where he gave himself out as a descendant of the ancient family of Rovère de St. Marc, which had long been extinct. A man named Pin, well known at Avignon for his skill in forging titles, made him a genealogy, by means of which he found himself grafted on that illustrious house, and took the title of Marquis de Fonville, and soon obtained the hand of a Mademoiselle de

nestier, Panis, &c., all either friends of Danton's or disapprovers of the system followed by the government. These personal anxieties propagated themselves. The number of the discontented daily increased, and they were ready to join the members of one or the other committee who would give them a hand.

The 20th of Prairial (June 8) approached. It was the day fixed for the festival in honour of the Supreme Being. On the 16th a president was to be appointed. The Convention unanimously named Robespierre to occupy the arm-chair. This was assigning to him the principal part on the 20th. His colleagues, as we see, still strove to flatter and to soothe him by dint of honours. Vast preparations had been made, agreeably to the plan conceived by David. The festival was to be magnificent. On the morning of the 20th the sun shone forth in all its brightness. The multitude, ever ready to attend sights given to it by power, had collected. Robespierre kept it waiting a considerable time. At length he appeared amidst the Convention. He was dressed with extraordinary care. His head was covered with feathers, and in his hand he held, like all the representatives, a bunch of flowers, fruit, and ears of corn. In his countenance, usually so gloomy, beamed a cheerfulness that was uncommon with him. An amphitheatre was erected in the centre of the garden of the Tuileries. This was occupied by the Convention; and on the right and left were several groups of boys, men, aged persons, and females. The boys wore wreaths of violets, the youths of myrtle, the men of oak, the aged people of ivy and olive. The women held their daughters by the hand, and carried baskets of flowers. Opposite to the amphitheatre were figures representing Atheism, Discord, Selfishness. These were destined to be burned. As soon as the Convention had taken its place, the ceremony was opened with music. The president then delivered a first discourse on the object of the festival. "Republican Frenchmen!" said he, "the ever fortunate day which the French people dedicated to the Supreme Being is at length arrived. Never did the world which he created, exhibit a spectacle so worthy of his attention. He has beheld tyranny, crime, and imposture, reigning on earth. He beholds at this moment a whole nation, assailed by all the oppressors of mankind, suspending the course of its heroic labours, to lift its thoughts and its prayers towards the Supreme Being, who gave it the mission to undertake and the courage to execute them!"

After proceeding in this manner for a few minutes, the presi-

Claret, a rich heiress, whose fortune he afterwards dissipated. In 1791 Rovère figured under Jourdan at the head of the army of ruffians of Avignon. In 1793, he voted for the King's death, and became one of the persecutors of the Girondins. In the ensuing year he declared against Robespierre. In 1795 he presided in the Convention; but, having afterwards rendered himself obnoxious to the ruling powers, was transported to Cayenne, where he died in the year 1798."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

dent descended from the amphitheatre, and, seizing a torch, set fire to the figures of Atheism, Discord, and Selfishness. From amidst their ashes arose the statue of Wisdom; but it was remarked that it was blackened by the flames from which it issued. Robespierre returned to his place, and delivered a second speech on the extirpation of the vices leagued against the republic. After this first ceremony, the assembly set out in procession for the Champ de Mars. The pride of Robespierre seemed redoubled, and he affected to walk very far before his colleagues. But some indignantly approached and lavished on him the keenest sarcasms. Some laughed at the new pontiff, and said, in allusion to the smoky statue of Wisdom, that his wisdom was darkened. Others uttered the word "Tyrant," and exclaimed that there were still Brutuses. Bourdon of the Oise addressed to him these prophetic words: "The Tarpeian rock is close to the Capitol."

The procession at length reached the Champ de Mars. There, from amidst the old altar of the country, rose a lofty mount. On the summit of this mount was a tree, beneath the boughs of which the Convention seated itself. On each side of the mount the different groups of boys, old men, and women, took their places. A symphony commenced; the groups then sang stanzas, alternately answering one another; at length, on a given signal, the youths drew their swords, and swore to the elders to defend the country; the mothers lifted their infants in their arms; all present raised their hands towards Heaven, and the oath to conquer was mingled with the homage paid to the Supreme Being. They then returned to the garden of the Tuileries, and the festival concluded with public diversions.

Such was the famous festival celebrated in honour of the Supreme Being. Robespierre had on that day attained the summit of honours, but he had attained the summit only to be hurled from it.* Every body had been hurt by his pride. The sarcasms had reached his ear, and he had observed in some of his colleagues a boldness that was unusual in them.† Next day

* "All looked forward to something extraordinary as the result of this imposing attitude and ostentatious display on the part of Robespierre. His enemies expected an attempt at usurpation; the people in general, a relaxation of the system of severity. How little this was to understand the nature of the passions! The glossy sleekness of the panther's skin does not imply his tameness, and his fawning eye dooms its prey while it glitters. Robespierre went on as before. No ray of hope appeared in his harangue to the people, which was as dull as it was dispiriting. 'To-day,' he cried, 'let us give ourselves up to the transports of a pure enjoyment; to-morrow, we will combat vice and tyranny anew.' These ideas had taken such strong possession of his mind, that he was haunted by them. He was no longer a voluntary agent, but the mere slave of habitual and violent excitement."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "Lecointre of Versailles, stepping up to him, had had the boldness to say, 'I like your festival, Robespierre, but you I detest mortally.' Many among the crowd muttered the word 'Tyrant,' and when in the course of his

he went to the committee of public welfare, and expressed his indignation against the deputies who had insulted him on the preceding day. He complained of those friends of Danton's, those impure relics of the indulgent and corrupted party, and demanded the sacrifice of them. Billaud-Varennes and Collot-d'Herbois, who were not less indignant than their colleagues at the part which Robespierre had performed the day before, appeared extremely cold, and showed no disposition to avenge him. They did not defend the deputies of whom Robespierre complained, but, referring to the festival itself, they expressed apprehensions concerning its effects. It had, they said, alienated many minds. Besides, those ideas of the Supreme Being, of the immortality of the soul, those pompous ceremonies, looked like a return to the superstitions of former times and were likely to give a retrograde impulse to the Revolution. Robespierre was irritated by these remarks. He insisted that he never meant to make the Revolution retrograde, that, on the contrary, he had done every thing to accelerate its course. In proof of this, he mentioned a *projet de loi*, which he had just drawn up with Couthon, and which would tend to make the revolutionary tribunal still more sanguinary. This *projet* was as follows:

For two months past some modifications in the organization of the revolutionary tribunal had been contemplated. The defence made by Danton, Camille, Fabre, and Lacroix, had shown the inconvenience of the remaining formalities that had been suffered to exist. Every day it was still necessary to hear witnesses and advocates, and, how brief soever the examination of witnesses, how limited soever the examination of the advocates, still they occasioned a great loss of time and were always attended by a certain notoriety. The heads of this government, who wished every thing to be done promptly and without noise, were desirous of suppressing these inconvenient formalities. Having accustomed themselves to think that the Revolution had a right to destroy all its enemies, and that they were to be distinguished on the mere inspection, they conceived that the revolutionary proceedings could not be rendered too expeditious. Robespierre, who was specially charged with the superintendence of the tribunal, had prepared the law with Couthon alone, for St. Just was absent. He had not deigned to consult his other colleagues of the committee of public welfare, and he merely came to read the *projet* to them before he presented it.

speech he had observed that it was the Great Eternal who had placed in the bosom of the oppressor the sensation of remorse and terror, a powerful voice exclaimed, 'True, Robespierre, most true!'"—*Lacretelle.* E.

"Robespierre conceived the idea of celebrating a festival in honour of the Supreme Being, flattering himself, doubtless, with being able to rest his political ascendency on a religion arranged according to his own notions. But, in the procession of this impious festival, he bethought himself of walking the first, in order to mark his pre-eminence, and from that moment he was lost!"—*Madame de Staël.* E.

Though Barrère and Collot-d'Herbois were quite as willing to admit of its sanguinary dispositions, they could not but receive it coldly, because it was drawn up and digested without their participation. It was however agreed that it should be proposed on the following day, and that Couthon should report upon it; but no satisfaction was given to Robespierre for the affronts which he had received on the preceding day.

The committee of general safety was no more consulted upon this law than the committee of public welfare had been. It knew that a law was preparing, but was not invited to take any part in it. It wished at least, out of fifty jurors who should be designated, to have the nomination of twenty; but Robespierre rejected them all, and chose none but his own creatures. The proposition was submitted on the 22nd of Prairial. Couthon was the reporter. After the usual declamations on the inflexibility and promptitude which ought to be the characteristics of revolutionary justice, he read the *projet*, which was couched in terrific language. The tribunal was to be divided into four sections, composed of a president, three judges, and nine jurors. Twelve judges and fifty jurors were appointed, who were to succeed one another in the exercise of their functions, so that the tribunal might sit every day. The only punishment was to be death. The tribunal, said the law, was instituted to punish the enemies of the people. Then followed a most vague and comprehensive definition of the enemies of the people. In the number were included dishonest contractors, and the alarmists who circulated bad news. The power of bringing citizens before the revolutionary tribunal was assigned to the two committees, to the Convention, to the representatives on mission, and to Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser. If there existed proofs, either *material or moral*, no witnesses were to be examined. Lastly, there was a clause to this effect: *To calumniated patriots the law gives patriot jurors as defenders; to conspirators it grants none.*

A law suppressing all guarantees, limiting the proceeding to a mere nominal appeal, and which, in attributing to the two committees the power of sending the citizens to the revolutionary tribunal, gives them thus the right of life and death, such a law could not but excite real alarm, especially in those members of the Convention who were already uneasy on their own account. It was not said whether the committees were to have the power of bringing the representatives before the tribunal without applying for a previous decree of accusation: thenceforward the committees would possess the power of sending their colleagues to death, without any further trouble than that of pointing them out to Fouquier-Tinville. The remnant of the faction of the so-called *indulgents* was accordingly roused, and for the first time during a considerable period, an opposition was manifested in the bosom of the Assembly. Ruamps moved for the

printing and adjournment of the *projet*, saying that, if this law were adopted without adjournment, they would have no other course left them than to blow out their brains.* Lecointre of Versailles, seconded the motion of adjournment. Robespierre immediately came forward to combat this unexpected resistance. "There are," said he, "two opinions as old as our revolution; one, which tends to punish conspirators in a prompt and inevitable manner; the other which tends to absolve the guilty; this latter, has never ceased to show itself on all occasions. It again manifests itself to-day, and I come to put it down. For these two months, the tribunal has been complaining of the shackles which obstruct its progress; it complains of the lack of jurors; a law therefore is required. Amidst the victories of the republic, the conspirators are more active and more ardent than ever. It behoves us to strike them. This unexpected opposition which manifests itself is not natural. You wish to divide the Convention; you wish to intimidate it."—"No, no," cried several voices, "nobody shall divide us."—"It is not we," added Robespierre, "who have always defended the Convention, it is not we that it will have occasion to fear. At any rate we have now arrived at the point where they may kill us, but where they shall not prevent us from saving the country."

Robespierre never missed a single occasion to talk of daggers and of assassins, as though he were still threatened. Bourdon of the Oise replied to him, and said that, if the tribunal was in need of jurors, it had but to adopt immediately the proposed list, for nobody had any wish to clog the march of justice, but that the rest of the *projet* ought to be adjourned. Robespierre again ascended the tribune, and said that the law was neither more complex nor more obscure than a great many others which had been adopted without discussion, and that, at a moment when the defenders of liberty were threatened with the dagger, people ought not to strive to retard the repression of the conspirators. He concluded with proposing to discuss the whole law, article by article, and to sit till midnight, if needful, that it might be decreed that very day. The sway of Robespierre once more triumphed. The law was read and adopted in a few moments.

Bourdon, Tallien, and all the members who entertained personal apprehensions, were nevertheless alarmed at such a law.

* "This decree sounded like a death-knell in the ears of the Convention. All were at once made sensible that another decimation of the legislative body approached. Ruamps, one of the deputies, exclaimed, in accents of despair, 'If this decree is resolved on, the friends of liberty will have no other course left than to blow their own brains out.' From this moment there was mortal, though secret war, between Robespierre and the most distinguished members of the Assembly, who began to devise means of screening themselves from power which, like the huge anaconda, enveloped in its coils, and then crushed and swallowed, whatever came in contact with it."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

As the committees were empowered to bring all the citizens before the revolutionary tribunal, and not a single exception was made in favour of the members of the national representation, they were afraid of being some night apprehended and delivered up to Fouquier, before the Convention should even be apprized of it. On the following day the 23rd of Prairial, Bourdon begged leave to speak. "In giving," said he, "to the committees of public welfare and of general safety the right to send the citizens before the revolutionary tribunal, the Convention certainly could not mean that the power of the committees should extend over all its members without a previous decree." There were cries from all quarters of "No, no."—"I fully expected these murmurs," continued Bourdon; "they prove to me that liberty is imperishable." This remark caused a deep sensation. Bourdon proposed to declare that members of the Convention could not be delivered up to the tribunal without a decree of accusation. The committees were absent; Bourdon's motion was favourably received. Merlin moved the previous question; murmurs arose against him, but he explained and demanded the previous question with a preamble to this effect, that the Convention could not strip itself of the right of alone decreeing respecting its own members. The preamble was adopted, to the general satisfaction.

A scene which occurred in the evening gave still greater notoriety to this novel opposition. Tallien and Bourdon, walking in the Tuileries, were closely followed by spies of the committee of public welfare. At length Tallien, indignantly turned round, provoked them, called them base spies of the committee, and bade them go and tell their masters what they had seen and heard. This scene caused a strong sensation. Couthon and Robespierre were enraged. Next day they went to the Convention, resolved to complain bitterly of the resistance which they experienced. Delacroix and Mallarmé furnished them with occasion to do so. Delacroix desired that those whom the law called *corrupters of morals* should be characterized in a more precise manner. Mallarmé inquired what was meant by these words: *The law gives calumniated patriots no other defender than the conscience of patriot jurors.* Couthon then ascended the tribune, complained of the amendments adopted on the preceding day, and of those which were then proposed. "It was slandering the committee of public welfare," he said, "to appear to suppose that it wished to have the power of sending members of the Convention to the scaffold. That tyrants should calumniate the committee was perfectly natural; but that the Convention itself should listen to the calumny—such an injustice was insupportable, and he could not help complaining of it. Yesterday a member prided himself on a *lucky clamour* which proved that liberty was imperishable, as if liberty had been threatened. The moment when the members

of the committee were absent was chosen for making this attack. Such conduct," added Couthon, "is unmanly, and I propose to rescind the amendments adopted yesterday, and those which have just been submitted to-day." Bourdon replied, that to demand explanations concerning a law was not a crime; that, if he prided himself on a clamour, it was because he was pleased to find himself in unison with the Convention; that, if the same acrimony were to be shown on both sides, discussion would be impossible. "I am accused," said he, "of talking like Pitt and Coburg. Were I to reply in the same spirit, where should we be? I esteem Couthon, I esteem the committees, I esteem the Mountain, which has saved liberty."

These explanations of Bourdon's were applauded; but they were excuses, and the authority of the dictators was still too strong to be unreservedly defied. Robespierre then addressed the Assembly in a prolix speech full of pride and bitterness. "Mountaineers!" said he, "you will still be the bulwark of the public liberty, but you have nothing in common with the intriguers and the perverse, whoever they be. If they strive to thrust themselves among you, they are not the less strangers to your principles. Suffer not intriguers, each more despicable than the other, because more hypocritical, to attempt to misguide a portion of you, and to set themselves up as leaders of a party." Bourdon of the Oise here interrupted Robespierre, saying that he had never attempted to set himself up for the leader of a party. Robespierre without answering him proceeded thus: "It would be the height of disgrace, if calumniators, leading astray our colleagues—" Bourdon again interrupted him. "I insist," said he, "that the speaker prove what he is advancing; he has asserted in plain terms that I am a villain."—"I have not named Bourdon," replied Robespierre; "wo be to him who names himself! Yes, the Mountain is pure, it is sublime; intriguers belong not to the Mountain." Robespierre then expatiated at great length on the efforts which had been made to frighten the members of the Convention, and to persuade them that they were in danger. He said that it was the guilty only who were thus alarmed, and who strove to alarm others. He then related what had occurred the preceding evening between Tallien and the spies, whom he called the *messengers of the committee*. This recital drew very warm explanations from Tallien, and brought upon the latter abundance of abuse. At length, all these discussions terminated in the adoption of the demands made by Couthon and Robespierre.* The amendments of the

* "Robespierre had at this critical period a prodigious force at his disposal. The lowest orders, who saw the Revolution in his person, supported him as the best representative of their doctrines and interests; the armed force of Paris was at his beck; he ruled with absolute sway at the Jacobins; and all important places were filled with his creatures."—*Mignet*. E.

preceding day were rescinded, those of that day rejected, and the horrible law of the 22nd was left in its original state.

The leaders of the committee were once more triumphant. Their adversaries trembled. Tallien, Bourdon, Ruamps, Delacroix, Mallarmé, and all those who had made objections to the law, gave themselves up for lost, and feared every moment that they should be arrested. Though a previous decree of the Convention was still necessary for placing a member under accusation, it was still so intimidated, that it was likely to grant whatever should be demanded of it. It had issued a decree against Danton; it was to be presumed that it would not hesitate to issue another against such of his friends as survived him. A report was soon circulated that the list was drawn up, and the number of the victims was stated to be twelve, and afterwards eighteen. Their names were mentioned. The alarm soon spread, and more than sixty members of the Convention ceased to sleep at their own homes.

There was, nevertheless, an obstacle which prevented their lives from being disposed of so easily as they apprehended. We have already seen that Billaud-Varennes, Collot, and Barrère had replied coldly to the first complaints of Robespierre against his colleagues. The members of the committee of general safety were more adverse to him than ever, for they were to be kept aloof from all co-operation in the law of the 22nd, and it even appears that some of them were threatened. Robespierre and Couthon carried their demands to a great length. They were for sacrificing a great number of deputies; they talked of Tallien, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Monestier, Legendre, Fréron, Barras. They wanted even Cambon, whose financial reputation annoyed them, and who had seemed adverse to their cruelties; lastly they meant to include in their vengeance several of the stanchest members of the Mountain, as Duval, Audouin, and Leonard Bourdon.* The members of the committee of public welfare, Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, and all those of the committee of general safety, refused their assent. The danger, now extending to so great a number of lives, might very soon threaten their own.

They were in this hostile position, with not the slightest inclination to agree to a new sacrifice, when another circumstance produced a definitive rupture. The committee of general safety had discovered the meetings that were held at the house of Catherine Theot. They had learned that this extravagant sect regarded Robespierre as a prophet, and that the latter had given a certificate of civism to Dom Gerle. Vadier, Vouland, Jagot, and Amar, immediately resolved to revenge themselves, by representing this sect as an assemblage of dangerous con-

* See the list given by Villate in his Memoirs.

spirators, by denouncing it to the Convention, and by thus throwing upon Robespierre a share of the ridicule and odium which would attach to it. They sent an agent, named Senart, who, pretending to be desirous of becoming a member of the society, was admitted to one of its meetings. In the midst of the ceremony, he stepped to a window, gave a signal to the armed force, and caused almost the whole sect to be secured. Dom Gerle and Catherine Theot were apprehended. Upon Dom Gerle was found the certificate of civism given him by Robespierre, and in the bed of the mother of God was discovered a letter written by her to her beloved son, to the chief prophet, to Robespierre.

When Robespierre learned that proceedings were about to be instituted against the sect, he opposed that course, and provoked a discussion on this subject in the committee of public welfare. We have already seen that Billaud and Collot were not very favourably disposed towards deism, and that they viewed with umbrage the political use which Robespierre wished to make of that creed. They were for the prosecution. Upon Robespierre persisting in his endeavours to prevent it, the discussion grew extremely warm. He had to endure the most abusive language, failed to carry his point, and retired weeping with rage. The quarrel had been so vehement that, lest they should be overheard by persons passing through the galleries, the members of the committee resolved to adjourn their sitting to the floor above. The report on the sect of Catherine Theot was presented to the Convention. Barrère, in order to revenge himself in his own way on Robespierre, had secretly drawn up the report, which Vouland was to read. The sect was thus rendered equally ridiculous and atrocious. The Convention, horror-stricken by some parts of the report, at others diverted by the picture drawn by Barrère, decreed the accusation of the principal leaders of the sect, and sent them to the revolutionary tribunal.

Robespierre, indignant at the resistance which he had experienced and the insulting language used towards him, resolved to cease attending the committee and to take no further part in its deliberations. He withdrew towards the end of Prairial (the middle of June). This secession proves of what nature his ambition was. An ambitious man never betrays ill-humour; he is irritated by obstacles, seizes the supreme power, and crushes those who have affronted him. A weak and vain declaimer is pettish and gives way when he ceases to meet with either flattery or respect. Danton retired from indolence and disgust, Robespierre from wounded vanity. His retirement proved as fatal to him as that of Danton.* Couthon was left alone against

* "Robespierre now in his retirement began to sink beneath the weight of a part greatly superior to his talents. New vices, foreign to his temper, but superinduced by the perturbation of his mind, added to the perplexity that

Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, and these latter were about to seize the helm of affairs.

These divisions were not yet bruited abroad. People only knew that the committees of public welfare and of general safety were at variance. They were delighted at this misunderstanding, and hoped that it would prevent fresh proscriptions. Those who were threatened courted, flattered, implored the committee of general safety, and had even received the most cheering promises from some of its members. Elie Lacoste,* Moyse Bayle, Lavicomterie,† and Dubarran, the best of the members of the committee of general safety, had promised to refuse their signature to any new list of proscription.

Amidst these dissensions, the Jacobins were still devoted to Robespierre. They made as yet no distinction between the different members of the committee, between Couthon, Robespierre, and St. Just, on the one hand, and Billaud-Varennes, Collot, and Barrère, on the other. They saw only the revolutionary government on one side, and on the other some relics of the faction of the indulgents, some friends of Danton's, who, on occasion of the law of the 22nd Prairial, had opposed that salutary government. Robespierre, who had defended that govern-

bewildered him. That man whose heart was, I believe, never moved by the voice or appearance of a woman, latterly abandoned himself to debauchery. Often stretched out in a park, the proprietor of which had been his victim, and surrounded by the most degraded women, he sought the gratification of his sensual appetites. How many torments surrounded Robespierre in his asylum, the papers there found attest. He received a multitude of letters expressive of the wildest adoration; but others contained imprecations that must have congealed his blood. Read these appalling words that were addressed to him! 'This hand that writes thy doom—this hand which thy bewildered eye seeks in vain—this hand that presses thine with horror—this hand shall pierce thy heart! Every day I am with thee—every day I see thee—at every hour my uplifted arm seeks thy breast. Vilest of men! live still awhile to think of me. Sleep to dream of me! let my image and thy fear be the first prelude of thy punishment! Farewell! This very day, on beholding thee, I shall gloat over thy terrors!'"—*Lacretelle.* E.

* "Lacoste, minister of the marine in 1792, was, before the Revolution, head clerk in the navy office. Having attached himself to the Jacobins, he gave great displeasure to the royalists, who looked on him as a coarse and violent man. His enemies, however, confess that Lacoste was a worthy man, who, while following the Revolution, detested its excesses. In the year 1800 Bonaparte gave him a seat in the council of captures, which he still held in 1806."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

† "L. Lavicomterie, a writer, was deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was afterwards a member of the committee of general safety during the Reign of Terror; and participated in the proceedings of the members of the government. Some time after the fall of Robespierre he presented a statement on morality considered as a calculation; in this he insisted that the idea of a retributive and avenging God was absurd, that the human race would be eternal, and that men had no punishments to fear, no rewards to hope, beyond the present world. In 1798 Lavicomterie obtained a place in the office for regulating the registers, but was afterwards dismissed, and lived in obscurity at Paris."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

ment in defending the law, was still in their estimation the first and the greatest citizen of the republic; all the others were but intriguers, who must be completely destroyed. Accordingly, they did not fail to exclude Tallien from their committee of correspondence, because he had not replied to the accusations preferred against him onthe sitting of the 24th. From that day, Collot and Billaud-Varennes, aware of Robespierre's influence, abstained from appearing at the Jacobins. What could they have said? They could not have exposed their solely personal grievances, and made the public judge between their pride and that of Robespierre. All they could do was to be silent and to wait. Robespierre and Couthon had therefore an open field.

The rumour of a new proscription having produced a dangerous effect, Couthon hastened to disavow before the society the designs imputed to them against twenty-four, and even sixty, members of the Convention. "The spirits of Danton, Hebert, and Chaumette still walk among us," said he; "they still seek to perpetuate discord and division. What passed in the sitting of the 24th is a striking instance of this. People strive to divide the government, to discredit its members, by painting them as Syllas and Neros; they deliberate in secret, they meet, they form pretended lists of proscription, they alarm the citizens in order to make them enemies to the public authority. A few days ago, it was reported that the committees intended to order the arrest of eighteen members of the Convention; nay they were even mentioned by name. Do not believe these perfidious insinuations. Those who circulate such rumours are accomplices of Hebert's and of Danton's; they dread the punishment of their guilty conduct; they seek to cling to pure men, in the hope that, whilst hidden behind them, they may easily escape the eye of justice. But be of good cheer; the number of the guilty is happily very small; it amounts but to four or six perhaps; and they shall be struck, for the time is come for delivering the republic from the last enemies who are conspiring against it. Rely for its salvation on the energy and the justice of the committees."

It was judicious to reduce to a small number the proscribed persons whom Robespierre intended to strike. The Jacobins applauded, as usual, the speech of Couthon; but that speech tended not to cheer any of the threatened victims, and those who considered themselves in danger continued nevertheless to sleep from home. Never had the terror been greater, not only in the Convention, but in the prisons and throughout France.

The cruel agents of Robespierre, Fouquier-Tinville, the accuser, and Dumas the president, had taken up the law of the 22nd of Prairial, and were preparing to avail themselves of it for the purpose of committing fresh atrocities in the prisons. Very soon, said Fouquier, there shall be put up on their doors bills of *This house to let.* The plan was to get rid of the greater part of the suspected persons. People had accustomed them-

selves to consider these latter as irreconcilable enemies, whom it was necessary to destroy for the welfare of the republic. To sacrifice thousands individuals, whose only fault was to think in a certain manner, nay whose opinions were frequently precisely the same as those of their persecutors,—to sacrifice them seemed a perfectly natural thing, from the habit which people had acquired of destroying one another. The facility with which they put others to death or encountered death themselves,* had become extraordinary. In the field of battle, on the scaffold, thousands perished daily, and nobody was any longer shocked at it.† The first murders committed in 1793 proceeded from a real irritation caused by danger. Such perils had now ceased; the republic was victorious; people now slaughtered not from indignation, but from the atrocious habit which they had contracted. That formidable machine, which they had been obliged to construct in order to withstand enemes of all kinds, began to be no longer necessary; but once set a-going, they knew not how to stop it. Every government must have its excess, and does not perish till it has attained that excess. The revolutionary government was not destined to finish on the same day that all the enemies of the republic should be sufficiently terrified; it was destined to go beyond that point, and to exercise itself till it had become generally disgusting by its very atrocity. Such is the invariable course of human affairs. Why had atrocious circumstances compelled the creation of a government of blood, which was to reign and vanquish solely by inflicting death?

A still more frightful circumstance is that, when the signal is given, when the idea is established that lives must be sacrificed, all dispose themselves for this horrid purpose with an extraordinary facility. Every one acts without remorse, without repugnance. People accustom themselves to this, like the judge who condemns criminals to death, like the surgeon who sees beings writhing under his instrument, like the general who orders the sacrifice of twenty thousand soldiers. They frame a horrid language according to their new operations; they contrive even to render it gay; they invent striking words to express sanguinary ideas. Every one, stunned and hurried along, keeps pace with

* "During the latter part of the French Revolution it became a fashion to leave some 'mot' as a legacy; and the quantity of facetious last words spoken during that period would form a melancholy jest-book of considerable size."—*Lord Byron.* E.

"One prisoner alone raised piteous cries on the chariot, and struggled, in a perfect frenzy of terror, with the executioners on the scaffold—it was the notorious Madame du Barri, the associate of the licentious pleasures of Louis XV."—*Lacretelle.* E.

† "One of the most extraordinary features of these terrible times was the universal disposition which the better classes both in Paris and the provinces evinced to bury anxiety in the delirium of present enjoyment. The people who had escaped death went to the opera daily, with equal unconcern whether thirty or a hundred heads had fallen during the day."—*Alison.* E.

the mass; and men who were yesterday engaged in the peaceful occupations of the arts and commerce, are to-day seen applying themselves with the same facility to the work of death and destruction.

The committee had given the signal by the law of the 22nd. Dumas and Fouquier had but too well understood it. It was necessary, however, to find pretexts for immolating so many victims. What crime could be imputed to them, when most of them were peaceful, unknown citizens, who had never given any sign of life to the state? It was conceived that, being confined in the prisons they would think how to get out of them, that their number was likely to inspire them with a feeling of their strength, and to suggest to them the idea of exerting it for their escape. The pretended conspiracy of Dillon was the germ of this idea, which was developed in an atrocious manner. Some wretches among the prisoners consented to act the infamous part of informers. They pointed out in the Luxembourg one hundred and sixty prisoners, who, they said, had been concerned in Dillon's plot. Some of these listmakers were procured in all the other places of confinement, and they denounced in each one or two hundred persons as accomplices in the conspiracy of the prisons. An attempt at escape made at La Force served but to authorize this unworthy fable, and hundreds of unfortunate creatures began immediately to be sent to the revolutionary tribunal. They were transferred from the various prisons to the Conciergerie, to be thence taken to the tribunal and to the scaffold. In the night between the 18th and 19th of Messidor (June 6), the one hundred and sixty persons denounced at the Luxembourg were transferred. They trembled on hearing themselves called: they knew not what was laid to their charge, but they regarded it as most probable that death was reserved for them. The odious Fouquier, since he had been furnished with the law of the 22nd, had made great changes in the hall of the tribunal. Instead of the seats for the advocates and the bench appropriated to the accused and capable of holding eighteen or twenty persons, an amphitheatre, that would contain one hundred or one hundred and fifty accused at a time was by his order constructed. This he called his *little seats*. Carrying his atrocious activity still further, he had even caused a scaffold to be erected in the very hall of the tribunal, and he proposed to have the one hundred and sixty accused in the Luxembourg tried at one and the same sitting.

The committee of public welfare, when informed of the kind of mania which had seized its public accuser, sent for him, ordered him to remove the scaffold from the hall in which it was set up, and forbade him to bring sixty persons to trial at once. "What!" said Collot-d'Herbois in a transport of indignation, "wouldst thou then demoralize death itself?" It should, however, be remarked that Fouquier asserted the contrary, and

maintained that it was he who demanded the trial of the one hundred and sixty in three divisions. Every thing proves, on the contrary, that it was the committee which was less extravagant than their minister, and checked his mad proceedings. They were obliged to repeat the order to Fouquier-Tinville to remove the guillotine from the hall of the tribunal.

The one hundred and sixty were divided into three companies, tried, and executed in three days. The proceedings were as expeditious and as frightful as those adopted in the Abbaye on the nights of the 2nd and 3rd of September. Carts ordered for every day were waiting from the morning in the court of the Palace of Justice, and the accused could see them as they went up stairs to the tribunal. Dumas, the president, sitting like a maniac, had a pair of pistols on the table before him. He merely asked the accused their names, and added some very general question. In the examination of the one hundred and sixty, the president said to one of them, Dorival, "Do you know any thing of the conspiracy?"—"No."—"I expected that you would give that answer; but it shall not avail you. Another." He addressed a person, named Champigny. "Are you not an ex-noble?"—"Yes."—"Another." To Guedreville, "Are you a priest?"—"Yes; but I have taken the oath."—"You have no right to speak. Another." To a man named Menil, "Were you not servant to the ex-constituent, Menou?"—"Yes."—"Another." To Vely, "Were you not architect to Madame?"—"Yes; but I was dismissed in 1788."—"Another." To Gondrecourt, "Had you not your father-in-law at the Luxembourg?"—"Yes."—"Another." To Durfort, "Were you not in the life-guards?"—"Yes; but I was disbanded in 1789."—"Another."

Such was the summary mode of proceeding with these unfortunate persons.* According to the law, the testimony of witnesses was to be dispensed with only when there existed material or moral proofs; nevertheless, no witnesses were called, as it was alleged that proofs of this kind existed in every case. The jurors did not take the trouble to retire to the consultation-room. They gave their opinions before the audience, and sentence was immediately pronounced. The accused had scarcely time to rise and to mention their names. One day, there was a prisoner whose name was not upon the list of the accused, and who said to the court, "I am not accused; my name is not in your list."—"What signifies that?" said Fouquier, "give it—quick!" He

* "The judges of the revolutionary tribunal, many of whom came from the galleys of Toulon, laboured incessantly at the work of extermination, and mingled indecent ribaldry and jests with their unrelenting cruelty to the crowds of captives who were brought before them. An old man, who had lost the use of speech by a paralytic affection, being placed at the bar, the president exclaimed, 'No matter; it it not his tongue, but his head that we want.'"—*Alison.* E.

gave it, and was sent to the scaffold like the others. The utmost negligence prevailed in this kind of barbarous administration. Sometimes, owing to the extreme precipitation, the acts of accusation were not delivered to accused till they were before the tribunal. The most extraordinary blunders were committed. A worthy old man, Loizerolles, heard along with his own surname the Christian names of his son called over: he forbore to remonstrate, and was sent to the scaffold. Some time afterwards the son was brought to trial; it was found that he ought not to be alive, since a person answering to all his names had been executed: it was his father. He was nevertheless put to death. More than once victims were called long after they had perished. There were hundreds of acts of accusation quite ready, to which there was nothing to add but the designation of the individuals. The trials were conducted in like manner. The printing-office was contiguous to the hall of the tribunal: the forms were kept standing, the title, the motives, were ready composed; there was nothing but the names to be added. These were handed through a small loophole to the overseer. Thousands of copies were immediately worked, and plunged families into mourning and struck terror into the prisons. The hawkers came to sell the bulletin of the tribunal under the prisoners' windows, crying, "Here are the names of those who have gained prizes in the lottery of St. Guillotine." The accused were executed on the breaking up of the court, or at latest on the morrow, if the day was too far advanced.*

Ever since the passing of the law of the 22nd of Prairial, victims perished at the rate of fifty or sixty a day. "That goes well," said Fouquier-Tinville; "heads fall like tiles:" and he added, "It must go better still next decade; I must have four hundred and fifty at least."† For this purpose there were given what were called orders to the wretches who undertook the office of spies upon the suspected. These wretches had become the terror of the prisons. Confined as suspected persons, it was

* The following anecdote, recorded by Prudhomme, will serve to convey an idea of the summary way in which people were tried and executed at this period. M. de Fleury, who was confined in the Luxembourg in the year 1794, wrote the following note to Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal: "Man of blood, thou hast murdered my family; thou wilt condemn to the scaffold those who this day appear at thy tribunal; thou mayest condemn me to the same fate, for I declare to thee that I participate in their sentiments." Fouquier-Tinville was with Dumas when he received this letter. "Here," said Dumas, "is a billet-doux—read it."—"This gentleman," replied Fouquier, "is in a great hurry; he must be satisfied." He immediately issued orders to bring him from his prison. About noon M. de Fleury arrived at the tribunal, was tried, condemned in an hour as the accomplice of persons he had never known, and immediately sent to the scaffold, covered with a red shirt, like the man who had attempted to murder Collot-d'Herbois.

† See the long trial of Fouquier-Tinville for these particulars.

not exactly known which of them it was who undertook to mark out victims; but it was inferred from their insolence, from the preference shown them by the gaolers, from the orgies which they held in the lodges with the agents of the police. They frequently gave intimations of their importance in order to traffic with it. They were caressed, implored, by the trembling prisoners; they even received sums of money not to put names upon their lists. These they made up at random: they said of one that he had used aristocratic language; of another, that he had drunk on a certain day when a defeat of the armies was announced; and their mere designation was equivalent to a death-warrant. The names which they had furnished were inserted in so many acts of accusation; these acts were notified in the evening to the prisoners, and they were removed to the Conciergerie. This was called in the language of the gaolers *the evening journal.* When those unfortunate creatures heard the rolling of the tumbrels which came to fetch them, they were in an agony as cruel as that of death. They ran to the gates, clung to the bars to listen to the list, and trembled lest their name should be pronounced by the messenger. When they were named, they embraced their companions in misfortune, and took a last leave of them. Most painful separations were frequently witnessed—a father parting from his children, a husband from his wife. Those who survived were as wretched as those who were conducted to the den of Fouquier-Tinville. They went back expecting soon to rejoin their relatives. When the fatal list was finished, the prisoners breathed more freely, but only till the following day. Their anguish was then renewed, and the rolling of the carts brought fresh terror along with it.

The public pity began to be expressed in a way that gave some uneasiness to the exterminators. The shopkeepers in the rue St. Honoré, through which the carts passed every day, shut up their shops. To deprive the victims of these signs of mourning, the scaffold was removed to the Barrière du Trône, but not less pity was shown by the labouring people in this quarter than by the inhabitants of the best streets in Paris.* The populace, in

* "It is evident that the better order of the people of Paris had begun to be weary of, if not disgusted with, these scenes. The guillotine had been originally placed in the Carrousel; it was removed for the execution of the King to the Place Louis XV.; there, at the foot of a plaster statue of liberty, it continued till a few weeks before Robespierre's fall. Around the scaffold were placed rows of chairs, which the passengers hired, as at other places of public amusement, to witness the operations of the 'holy guillotine.' But even of blood the Parisians will tire, and the inhabitants of the adjoining streets, through which the batches were daily trundled to execution, began to find that there might be too much of a good thing. On this, Robespierre transported the guillotine to the other extremity of Paris, where it was erected near the ruins of the Bastille. But by this time the people of the fauxbourg St. Antoine had also become satiated with massacre; and after the

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a moment of intoxication, may have no feeling for the victims whom it slaughters itself, but, when it daily witnesses the death of fifty or sixty unfortunate persons, against whom it is not excited by rage, it soon begins to be softened. This pity, however, was still silent and timid. All the distinguished persons confined in the prisons had fallen: the unfortunate sister of Louis XVI.* had been immolated in her turn; and Death was already descending from the upper to the lower classes of society. We find at this period on the list of the revolutionary tribunal tailors, shoemakers, hairdressers, butchers, farmers, publicans, nay, even labouring men, condemned for sentiments and language held to be counter-revolutionary.† To convey, in short, an idea of the

revolutionary engine had occupied its new position only four days, and dealt with only seventy-four victims, it was again removed to an open space near the Barrière du Trône. There it stood little more than six busy weeks, in which it despatched fourteen hundred and three victims! It was finally conveyed—for Robespierre's own use—to its original position, in order that he and his friends might die on the scene of their most remarkable triumphs. These movements of the guillotine are indicative of the state of the public mind."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

* "The Princess Elisabeth appeared before her judges with a placid countenance, and listened to the sentence of death with unabated firmness. As she passed to the place of execution, her handkerchief fell from her neck, and exposed her in this situation to the eyes of the multitude; whereupon she said to the executioner, 'In the name of modesty I entreat you to cover my bosom."—*Du Broca.* E.

† "Jean Julien, waggoner, having been sentenced to twelve years' hard labour, took it into his head (*s'avisa*) to cry *Vive le Roi!* was brought back before the tribunal and condemned to death, September, 1792.

"Jean Baptiste Henry, aged *eighteen*, journeyman tailor, convicted of having sawed a tree of liberty; executed the 6th September, 1793.

"Bernard Augustin d'Absac, aged fifty-one, ex-noble, late captain in the 11th regiment, and formerly in the sea-service, convicted of having betrayed *several towns* and *several ships* into the hands of the enemy, was condemned to death on the 10th January, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Stephen Thomas Ogie Baulny, aged forty-six, ex-noble, convicted of having intrusted his son, aged *fourteen*, to a *garde du corps*, in order that he might emigrate. Condemned to death 31st January, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Henriette Françoise de Marbœuf, aged fifty-five, widow of the *ci-devant* Marquis de Marbœuf, *residing at* No. 47, *rue St. Honoré, in Paris*, convicted of having *hoped for* (*désiré*) the arrival of the Austrians and Prussians, and *of keeping provisions for them.* Condemned to death the 5th February, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Jacques de Beaume, a *Dutch merchant*, convicted of being the author and accomplice of a plot which existed in the month of June, 1790, tending to encourage our external and internal enemies, by negotiating, by way of loan, certain bonds of 100*l.* each, bearing interest at 5 per cent., of George Prince of Wales, Frederick Duke of York, and William Henry Duke of Clarence. Executed the 14th February, 1794.

"Jacques Duchesne, aged sixty, formerly a servant, since a broker; Jean Sauvage, aged thirty-four, gunsmith; Françoise Loizelier, aged forty-seven, milliner; Melanie Cunosse, aged twenty-one, milliner; Marie Magdalene Virolle, aged twenty-five, female hair-dresser;—convicted of having, in the

number of executions at this period, it will be sufficient to state that, between the month of March, 1793, when the tribunal commenced its operations, and the month of June, 1794 (22 Prairial, year II), five hundred and seventy-seven persons had been condemned; and that, from the 10th of June (22 Prairial) to the 17th of July (9 Thermidor) it condemned one thousand two hundred and eighty-five; so that the total number of victims up to the 9th of Thermidor amounts to one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.*

city of Paris, where they resided, composed writings, stuck bills, and *poussé de cris* [the sanguinary code of England has no corresponding name for this capital offence], were all condemned to death the 5th May, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Geneviève Gouvon, aged *seventy-seven*, semstress, convicted of having been the author or accomplice of various conspiracies formed since the beginning of the Revolution by the enemies of the people and of liberty, tending to create civil war, to paralyze the public, and to annihilate the existing government. Condemned to death 11th May, 1793, and executed the same day.

"François Bertrand, aged thirty-seven, *tinman* and publican at Leure, in the department of the Côte-d'Or, convicted of having furnished to the defenders of the country *sour wine injurious to the health of citizens*, was condemned to death at Paris 15th May, 1793, and executed the same day.

"Marie Angelique *Plaisant*, semstress at Douai, convicted of having exclaimed that she was an *aristocrat*, and '*A fig for the nation.*' Condemned to death at Paris the 19th July, 1794, and executed the same day."—*Extracts from the Liste Générale des Condamnés.* E.

* "*Numbers condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris in each month, from its first institution* (*17th of August*, 1792) *to the fall of Robespierre* (*27th of July*, 1794).

1792.	August	3 victims.
	September	4
	October	1
	[*Tribunal remodelled in March*, 1793.]	
1793.	April	9
	May	9
	June	14
	July	13
	[*Robespierre elected into the Committee of Public Safety.*]	
	August	5
	September	15
	October	60 including *Brissot*, &c.
	November	53
	December	73
1794.	January	83
	February	75
	March	123 including *Hebert*, &c.
	April	263 including *Danton*, &c.
	May	324
	June	672
	July	835 *exclusive* of Robespierre and his accomplices.

To

The sanguinary agents of these executions, however, were not easy. Dumas was perturbed, and Fouquier durst not go out at night; he beheld the relatives of his victims ever ready to despatch him. In passing with Senard through the wickets of the Louvre, he was alarmed by a slight noise; it was caused by a person passing close to him. "Had I been alone," said he, "some accident would have happened to me."

In the principal cities of France terror reigned as absolutely as in Paris. Carrier* had been sent to Nantes to punish La Vendée in that town. Carrier, still a young man, was one of those inferior and violent spirits, who, in the excitement of civil wars, become monsters of cruelty and extravagance. He declared, immediately after his arrival at Nantes, that, notwithstanding the promise of pardon made to the Vendeans who should lay down their arms, no quarter ought to be given to

"To the foregoing astonishing account of the *monthly* executions, we think it worth while to add the *daily* detail of the two last months:

June.

Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.
1	13	11	22	21	25
2	13	12	17	22	15
3	32	13	23	23	19
4	16	14	38	24	25
5	6	15	19	25	44
6	20	16	42	26	47
7	21	17	61	27	30
8	*Decadi.*	18	*Decadi.*	28	*Decadi.*
9	22	19	15	29	20
10	13	20	37	30	14

July.

Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.
1	23	10	44	19	28
2	30	11	6	20	14
3	19	12	28	21	28
4	27	13	37	22	46
5	28	14	—	23	55
6	29	15	29	24	36
7	67	16	30	25	38
8	*Decadi.*	17	40	26	54
9	60	18	*Decadi.*	27	42"

—*Quarterly Review.* E.

* "Jean Baptiste Carrier, born in 1756, and an obscure attorney at the beginning of the Revolution, was deputed, in 1792, to the Convention, aided in the establishment of the revolutionary tribunal, and exhibited the wildest rage for persecution. He voted for the King's death, and, in 1793, was sent to Nantes with a commission to suppress the civil war by severity, which he exercised in the most atrocious manner. After the fall of Robespierre, Carrier was apprehended, and condemned to death in 1794."—*Encyclopædia Americana.* E.

"This Carrier might have summoned hell to match his cruelty without a demon venturing to answer his challenge."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

them, but they must all be put to death. The constituted authorities having hinted at the necessity of keeping faith with the rebels, "You are *j...f....*," said Carrier to them, "you don't understand your trade; I will send you all to the guillotine;" and he began by causing the wretched creatures who surrendered, to be mowed down by musketry and grape-shot, in parties of one and two hundred. He appeared at the popular society, sword in hand, abusive language pouring from his lips, and always threatening with the guillotine. It was not long before he took a dislike to that society, and caused it to be dissolved. He intimidated the authorities to such a degree that they durst no longer appear before him. One day, when they came to consult him on the subject of provisions, he replied to the municipal officers that that was no affair of his; that he had no time to attend to their fooleries; and that the first blackguard who talked to him about provisions should have his head struck off. This frantic wretch imagined that he had no other mission than to slaughter.

He resolved to punish at one and the same time the Vendean rebels and the federalists of Nantes, who had attempted a movement in favour of the Girondins, after the siege of their city. The unfortunate people who had escaped the disasters of Mans and Savenai were daily arriving in crowds, driven by the armies which pressed them closely on all sides. Carrier ordered them to be confined in the prisons of Nantes, and had thus collected nearly ten thousand. He had then formed a band of murderers, who scoured the adjacent country, stopped the Nantese families, and added rapine to cruelty. Carrier had at first instituted a revolutionary commission for trying the Vendeans and the Nantese. He caused the Vendeans to be shot, and the Nantese suspected of federalism or royalism to be guillotined. He soon found this formality too tedious, and the expedient of shooting attended with inconveniences. This mode of execution was slow; it was troublesome to bury the bodies. They were frequently left on the scene of carnage, and infected the air to such a degree as to produce an epidemic disease in the town. The Loire, which runs through Nantes, suggested a horrible idea to Carrier, namely, to rid himself of the prisoners by drowning them in that river. He made a first trial, loaded a barge with ninety priests, upon pretext of transporting them to some other place, and ordered it to be sunk when at some distance from the city. Having devised this expedient, he resolved to employ it on a large scale. He no longer employed the mock formality of sending the prisoners before a commission: he ordered them to be taken in the night out of the prisons in parties of one and two hundred, and put into boats. By these boats they were carried to small vessels prepared for this horrible purpose. The miserable wretches were thrown into the hold; the hatches were nailed

down; the avenues to the deck were closed with planks; the executioners then got into the boats, and carpenters cut holes with hatchets in the sides of the vessels, and sunk them. In this frightful manner four or five thousand persons were destroyed. Carrier rejoiced at having discovered a more expeditious and more wholesome way to deliver the republic from its enemies. He drowned not only men, but also a great number of women and children.* When the Vendean families were dispersed, after the catastrophe of Savenai, a great number of Nantese had taken children of theirs, with the intention of bringing them up. "They are wolf whelps," said Carrier, and he ordered them to be restored to the republic. Most of these unfortunate children were drowned.

The Loire was covered with dead bodies. Ships, in weighing anchor, sometimes raised boats filled with drowned persons. Birds of prey flocked to the banks of the river, and gorged themselves with human flesh.† The fish, feasting upon a food which rendered them unwholesome, were forbidden by the municipality to be caught. To these horrors were added those of a contagious disease and dearth. In this disastrous situation, Carrier, still boiling with rage, forbade the slightest emotion of pity, seized by the collar and threatened with his sword those who came to speak to him, and caused bills to be posted, stating that whoever presumed to solicit on behalf of any person in confinement

* The Marchioness de Larochejaquelein has given some striking details respecting these atrocious massacres, from which we extract the following: "Madame de Bonchamp had procured a small boat, and attempted to cross the Loire with her two children. The armed vessels fired upon her, and a cannon-ball went through the boat; yet she reached the other side, and some peasants swam after, and saved her. She then remained concealed on a farm, and was often obliged to resort to a hollow tree for safety. In this forlorn situation the smallpox attacked her and her children, and her son died. At the end of three months she was discovered, conveyed to Nantes, and condemned to death. She had resigned herself to her fate, when she read on a slip of paper, handed to her through the grate of her dungeon, these words—'Say you are with child.' She did so, and her execution was suspended. Her husband having been dead a long time, she was obliged to say that the child belonged to a republican soldier. She remained shut up, and every day saw some unfortunate woman go to execution, who had been deposited the evening before in her dungeon, after receiving sentence. At the end of three months, it being evident she was not pregnant, she was ordered for execution, but obtained again two months and a half as a last respite, when the death of Robespierre saved her.—Madame de Jourdain was taken to the Loire to be drowned with her three daughters. A soldier wished to save the youngest, who was very beautiful; but she, determined to share her mother's fate, threw herself into the water. The unfortunate girl, falling on dead bodies, did not sink; she cried out, 'Oh, push me in, I have not water enough!' and perished.—A horrible death was that of Madame de la Roche St. André. As she was with child, they spared her till she should be delivered, and then allowed her to nurse her infant; but it died, and the next day she was executed." E.

† Deposition of a captain of a ship on Carrier's trial.

should be thrown into prison himself. Fortunately, he was superseded by the committee of public welfare, which desired extermination, but without extravagance.* The number of Carrier's victims is computed at four or five thousand.† Most of them were Vendeans.

Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, atoned for their federalism. At Toulon, Fréron and Barras, the representatives, had caused two hundred of the inhabitants to be shot, and had punished them for a crime, the real authors of which had escaped in the English squadron.‡ In the department of Vaucluse, Maignet exercised

* "The Emperor did Robespierre the justice to say that he had seen long letters written by him to his brother, who was then with the army in the provinces, in which he warmly opposed and disavowed these excesses, declaring that they would disgrace and ruin the Revolution."—*Las Cases.* E.

† "The miserable victims at Nantes," says Mr. Alison, "were either slain with poniards in the prisons or carried out in a vessel, and drowned by wholesale in the Loire. On one occasion, a hundred priests were taken out together, stripped of their clothes, and precipitated into the waves. Women big with child, infants, eight, nine, and ten years of age, were thrown together into the stream, on the sides of which men armed with sabres, were placed to cut off their heads if the waves should throw them undrowned on the shore. On one occasion, by orders of Carrier, twenty-three of the royalists—on another, twenty-four, were guillotined together without any trial. The executioner remonstrated, but in vain. Among them were many children of seven or eight years of age, and seven women; the executioner died two or three days after with horror of what he himself had done. So great was the multitude of captives who were brought in on all sides, that the executioners declared themselves exhausted with fatigue, and a new method of execution was devised. Two persons of different sexes, generally an old man and an old woman, bereft of every species of dress, were bound together and thrown into the river. It was ascertained by authentic documents that six hundred children had perished by that inhuman species of death; and such was the quantity of corpses accumulated in the Loire, that the water became infected. The scenes in the prisons which preceded these executions exceeded all that romance had figured of the terrible. On one occasion the inspector entered the prison to seek for a child, where, the evening before, he had left above three hundred infants; they were all gone in the morning, having been drowned the preceding night. To all the representations of the citizens in favour of these innocent victims, Carrier only replied, 'They are all vipers; let them be stifled.' Three hundred young women of Nantes were drowned by him in one night; so far from having had any share in political discussions, they were of the unfortunate class who live by the pleasures of others. On another occasion, five hundred children of both sexes, the eldest of whom was not fourteen years old, were led out to the same spot to be shot. The littleness of their stature caused most of the bullets at the first discharge to fly over their heads; they broke their bonds, rushed into the ranks of the executioners, clung round their knees, and sought for mercy. But nothing could soften the assassins. They put them to death even when lying at their feet. One woman was delivered of an infant on the quay; hardly were the agonies of child-birth over, when she was pushed, with the new-born innocent, into the fatal boat! Fifteen thousand persons perished at Nantes under the hands of the executioner, or of diseases in prison, in one month. The total number of victims of the Reign of Terror in that town exceeded thirty thousand!" E.

‡ "Barras, Fréron, and Robespierre the younger, were chosen to execute

a dictatorship as terrific as the other envoys of the Convention. He had ordered the village of Bedoing to be burned, on account of revolt; and at his request the committee of public welfare had instituted at Orange a revolutionary tribunal, the jurisdiction of which extended to the whole of the South. This tribunal was framed after the model of the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, with this difference, that there were no jurors, and that five judges condemned, on what were termed *moral proofs*, all the unfortunate persons whom Maignet picked up in his excursions. At Lyons, the sanguinary executions ordered by Collot-d'Herbois had ceased. The revolutionary commission had just given an account of its proceedings, and furnished the number of the acquitted and of the condemned. One thousand six hundred and eighty-four persons had been guillotined or shot. One thousand six hundred and eighty-two had been set at liberty by the *justice of the commission.*

The North had its proconsul, Joseph Lebon.* He had been a priest, and confessed that, in his youth, he should have carried religious fanaticism to such a length as to kill his father and

the vengeance of the Convention on Toulon. Several thousand citizens of every age and sex perished in a few weeks by the sword or the guillotine; two hundred were daily beheaded for a considerable time, and twelve thousand labourers were hired to demolish the buildings of the city. Among those who were struck down in one of the fusillades was an old man, who was severely but not mortally wounded. The executioners conceiving him dead, retired from the scene of carnage; and in the darkness of the night he had strength enough left to raise himself from the ground and move from the spot. His foot struck against a body, which gave a groan, and, stooping down, he discovered that it was his own son! After the first transports of joy were over, they crept along the ground, and, favoured by the night and the inebriety of the guards, they had the good fortune to escape, and lived to recount a tale which might well have passed for fiction."—*Alison.* E.

* "Joseph Lebon, born at Arras, at the period of the Revolution connected himself with Robespierre. After the 10th of August he was appointed mayor of that town; was then appointed attorney-general of the department, and afterwards joined the Convention as supplementary deputy. In 1793 he was sent as commissioner to Arras, where he perpetrated the most flagrant cruelties. In the year 1795 he was condemned to death as a Terrorist. At the time of his execution he was thirty years of age."—*Biographie Moderne.* E.

"Lebon prided himself on his apostacy, libertinism, and cruelty. Every day after his dinner he presided at the execution of his victims. By his order an orchestra was erected close to the guillotine. He used to be present at the trials, and once gave notice of the death of those whom he chose to be sentenced to die. He delighted in frightening women by firing off pistols close to their ears."—*Prudhomme.* E.

"It is a curious fact, highly illustrative of the progress of revolutions, that Lebon was at first humane and inoffensive in his government, and it was not till he had received repeated orders from Robespierre, with a hint of a dungeon in case of refusal, that his atrocities commenced. Let no man, if he is not conscious of the utmost firmness of mind, be sure that he would not, under similar circumstances, have done the same."—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.

mother, had he been enjoined to do so. He was a real lunatic, less ferocious perhaps than Carrier, but more decidedly insane. From his language, and from his conduct, it was evident that his mind was deranged. He had fixed his principal residence at Arras,* established a tribunal with the approbation of the committee of public welfare, and travelled through the departments of the North with his judges and a guillotine. He had visited St. Pol, St. Omer, Bethune, Bapeaume, Aire, and other places, and had every where left bloody traces of his progress. The Austrians having approached Cambray, and St. Just perceiving, as he thought, that the aristocrats of that town were in secret correspondence with the enemy, summoned thither Lebon, who, in a few days, sent to the scaffold a multitude of unfortunate persons, and pretended that he had saved Cambray by his firmness. When Lebon had finished his excursions, he returned to Arras. There he indulged in the most disgusting orgies, with his judges and various members of the clubs. The executioner was admitted to his table, and treated with the highest consideration. Lebon, stationed in a balcony, attended the executions. He addressed the people, and caused the *Ca ira* to be played while the blood of his victims was flowing. One day, having received intelligence of a victory, he hastened to his balcony, and ordered the execution to be suspended, that the sufferers who were about to die might be made acquainted with the successes of the republic.

Lebon's conduct had been so extravagant, that he was liable to accusation, even before the committee of public welfare. Inhabitants of Arras, who had sought refuge in Paris, took great pains to gain admittance to their fellow-citizen, Robespierre, for the purpose of submitting their complaints to him. Some of them had known, and even conferred obligations on him in his youth. Still they could not obtain an interview with him. Guffroy, the deputy,† who was at Arras, and who was a man of great courage, spared no efforts to call the attention of the committees to the conduct of Lebon. He had even the noble hardihood to

* "In the city of Arras above two thousand persons perished by the guillotine. Mingling treachery and seduction with sanguinary oppression, Lebon turned the despotic powers with which he was invested into the means of individual gratification. After having disgraced the wife of a nobleman, who yielded to his embraces in order to save her husband's life, he put the man to death before the eyes of his devoted consort. Children, whom he had corrupted, were employed by him as spies on their parents; and so infectious did the cruel example become, that the favourite amusement of this little band was putting to death birds and small animals with little guillotines made for their use."—*Alison.* E.

† "A. B. J. Guffroy, an advocate, was deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was one of the most intemperate journalists of his time. In 1793 he became one of the committee of general safety. On the downfal of Robespierre, whose enemy he had become, he joined the

make an express denunciation to the Convention. The committee of public welfare took cognizance of it, and could not help summoning Lebon. The committee, however, was not willing either to disavow its agents, or to appear to admit that it was possible to be too severe towards the aristocrats. It sent Lebon back to Arras, and, in writing to him, made use of these expressions: "Pursue the good course, and pursue it with the discretion and the dignity which leave no handle for the calumnies of the aristocracy." The complaints preferred in the Convention by Guffroy against Lebon required a report from the committee. Barrère was commissioned to prepare it. "All complaints against representatives," said he, "ought to be referred to the committee in order to spare discussions, which would annoy the government and the Convention. Such is the course which has been followed on this occasion in regard to Lebon. We have inquired into the motives of his conduct. Are these motives pure?—is the result useful to the Revolution?—is it serviceable to liberty?—are the complaints merely recriminatory, or are they only the vindictive outcries of the aristocracy? This is what the committee has kept in view in this affair. Forms somewhat harsh have been employed; but these forms have destroyed the snares of the aristocracy. The committee certainly has reason to disapprove of them; but Lebon has completely beaten the aristocrats, and saved Cambray. Besides, what is there that ought not to be forgiven the hatred of a republican against the aristocracy! With how many generous sentiments has not a patriot occasion to cover whatever there may be acrimonious in the prosecution of the enemies of the people! The Revolution should not be mentioned but with respect, nor revolutionary measures but with indulgence. *Liberty is a virgin, whose veil it is culpable to lift up.*"

The result of all this was that Lebon was authorized to proceed, and that Guffroy was classed among the troublesome censors of the revolutionary government, and became liable to share their dangers. It was evident that the entire committee was in favour of the system of terror. Robespierre, Couthon, Billaud, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, Vouland, Amar, might differ concerning their prerogatives and concerning their number and the selection of their colleagues to be sacrificed; but they perfectly agreed as to the system of exterminating all those who formed obstacles to the Revolution. They did not wish this system to be applied with extravagance by the Lebons and the Carriers; but they were anxious to be delivered promptly, certainly, and with as little noise as possible, after the example set in Paris,

Thermidorian party. In 1794 he denounced Lebon, with whom he had once been very intimate. Guffroy was subsequently appointed chief assistant in the administration of justice, and died in the year 1800, about fifty-six years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

from the enemies whom they supposed to have conspired against the republic. While censuring certain insane cruelties, they had the self-love of power, which is always reluctant to disavow its agents. They condemned what had been done at Arras and at Nantes; but they approved of it in appearance, that they might not acknowledge a fault in their government. Hurried into this horrible career, they advanced blindly, not knowing whither it was likely to lead them. Such is the sad condition of the man engaged in evil, that he has not the power to stop. As soon as he begins to conceive a doubt as to the nature of his actions, as soon as he discovers that he has lost his way, instead of turning back, he rushes forward, as if to stun himself—as if to escape from the sights which annoy him. Before he can stop, he must be calm, he must examine himself, he must pass a severe judgment upon himself, which no man has the courage to do.

Nothing but a general rising could stop the authors of this terrible system. It was requisite that, in this rising, the members of the committees, jealous of the supreme power, the threatened Mountaineers, the indignant Convention, and all the hearts disgusted by this horrid effusion of blood, should be associated. But, to attain this alliance of jealousy, fear, and indignation, it was requisite that jealousy should make progress in the committees, that fear should become extreme in the Mountain, that indignation should restore courage to the Convention and to the public. It was requisite that an occasion should cause all these sentiments to burst forth at once; and that the oppressors should give the first blows, in order that the oppressed might dare to return them.

Public opinion was disposed, and the moment had arrived when a movement in behalf of humanity against revolutionary violence was possible. The republic being victorious and its enemies daunted, people had passed from fear and fury to confidence and pity. It was the first time during the Revolution that such a circumstance could have happened. When the Girondins and the Dantonists perished, it was not yet time to invoke humanity. The revolutionary government was not yet discredited, neither had it become useless.

While waiting for the moment, the parties watched one another, and resentments were accumulated in their hearts. Robespierre had entirely seceded from the committee of public welfare. He hoped to discredit the government of his colleagues by taking no further part in it: he appeared only at the Jacobins, where Billaud and Collot durst no longer show themselves and where he was every day more and more adored. He began to throw out observations there on the intestine dissensions of the committee. "Formerly," said he, "the hollow faction which has been formed out of the relics of Danton and Camille-Desmoulins attacked the committees *en masse;* now it prefers

attacking certain members in particular, in order to succeed in breaking the bundle. Formerly, it durst not attack the national justice; now it deems itself strong enough to calumniate the revolutionary tribunal, and the decree concerning its organization; it attributes to a single individual what belongs to the whole government; it ventures to assert that the revolutionary tribunal has been instituted for the purpose of slaughtering the National Convention, and unfortunately it has obtained but too much credence. Its calumnies have been believed; they have been assiduously circulated; a dictator has been talked of; he has been named; it is I who have been designated, and you would tremble, *were I to tell you in what place.* Truth is my only refuge against crime. These calumnies will most assuredly not discourage me, but they leave me undecided what course to pursue. Till I can say more on this subject, I invoke the virtues of the Convention, the virtues of the committees, the virtues of all good citizens, and lastly, your virtues, which have so often proved serviceable to the country."

We see by what perfidious insinuations Robespierre began to denounce the committees, and to attach the Jacobins exclusively to himself. For these tokens of confidence he was repaid with unbounded adulation. The revolutionary system being imputed to him alone, it was natural that all the revolutionary authorities should be attached to him, and warmly espouse his cause. With the Jacobins were of course associated the commune, always united in principle and conduct with the Jacobins, and all the judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal. This association formed a very considerable force, and, with more resolution and energy, Robespierre might have made himself extremely formidable. By means of the Jacobins he swayed a turbulent mass, which had hitherto represented and ruled the public opinion: by the commune he had the local authority, which had taken the lead in all the insurrections, and what was of still more consequence, the armed force of Paris. Pache, the mayor, and Henriot,* the commandant, whom he had saved when they were

* "Henriot was the offspring of parents who were poor, but maintained an irreproachable character, residing in Paris. In his youth he was footman to a counsellor of parliament. He made no conspicuous figure in the early period of the Revolution, but rose by degrees to be commandant of his section, and distinguished himself by his cruelty in the September massacres. At the time of the contest between the Mountain and the Girondins, Henriot, to serve the purposes of his party, was raised to the command of the national guard. When the fall of Robespierre was in agitation, he also was denounced, and, after in vain endeavouring to enlist the soldiers in his cause, he took refuge with the rest of the faction at the Hôtel de Ville. The danger of their situation enraged Coffinhal to such a degree, that he threw Henriot out of a window into the street, who, dreadfully bruised by his fall, crept into a common sewer, where he was discovered by some soldiers, who struck him with their bayonets, and thrust out one of his eyes, which hung by the ligaments down his cheek. He was executed the same day with Robespierre and the rest of his associates. He went to the scaffold with no other dress than

about to be coupled with Chaumette, were wholly devoted to him. Billaud and Collot had taken advantage, it is true, of his absence, to imprison Pache; but Fleuriot, the new mayor, and Payen, the national agent, were just as much attached to him; and his adversaries had not dared to take Henriot from him. Add to these persons, Dumas, the president of the tribunal, Cofinhal, the vice-president, and all the other judges and jurors, and we shall have some idea of the influence which Robespierre possessed in Paris. If the committees and the Convention did not obey him, he had only to complain to the Jacobins, to excite a movement among them, to communicate this movement to the commune, to compel the municipal authority to declare that the people resumed its sovereign powers, to set the sections in motion, and to send Henriot, to demand of the Convention sixty or seventy deputies. Dumas, Cofinhal,* and the whole tribunal would then be at his command, to put to death the deputies whom Henriot should have obtained by main force. All the means, in short of such a day as the 31st of May, more prompt and more certain than the former, were in his hands.

Accordingly, his partisans, his parasites, surrounded and urged him to give the signal for it. Henriot offered moreover the assistance of his columns, and promised to be more energetic than on the 2nd of June. Robespierre, who preferred doing every thing by words, and who imagined that he could yet accomplish a great deal by such means, resolved to wait. He hoped to make the committees unpopular by his secession and by his speeches at the Jacobins, and he then proposed to seize a favourable moment for attacking them openly in the Convention. He continued, notwithstanding his seeming abdication, to direct the tribunal, and to exercise an active police by means of an office which he had established. He thus kept strict watch over his adversaries, and informed himself of all their movements. He now indulged in rather more relaxation than formerly. He was observed to repair to a very handsome country-seat, belonging to a family that was devoted to him, at Maisons-Alfort, three leagues from Paris. Thither all his partisans accompanied him. To this place, too, came Dumas,

his under-waistcoat, all over filth from the sewer, and blood from his own wounds. As he was about to ascend the scaffold a bystander snatched out the eye which had been displaced from its socket! Henriot suffered at the age of thirty-five."—*Adolphus.* E.

" Henriot was clerk of the barriers, but was driven thence for theft. He was then received by the police into the number of its spies, and was again sent to the Bicêtre, which he quitted only to be flogged and branded; at last, passing over the piled corpses of September, where he drank of Madame de Lamballe's blood, he made himself a way to the generalship of the 2nd of June, and finally to the scaffold."—*Prudhomme.* E.

* " Cofinhal was born in the year 1746. He it was who, when Lavoisier requested that his death might be delayed a fortnight, in order that he might finish some important experiments, made answer, that the republic had no need of scholars or chemists."—*Universal Biography.* E.

Cofinhal, Payen, and Fleuriot. Henriot also frequently went thither with all his aides-de-camp; they proceeded along the road five abreast and at full gallop, upsetting all who happened to be in their way, and by their presence spreading terror through the country. The entertainers and the friends of Robespierre, caused him, by their indiscretion, to be suspected of many more plans than he meditated, or had the courage to prepare. In Paris, he was always surrounded by the same persons, and he was followed at certain distances by Jacobins or jurors of the tribunal, men devoted to him, armed with sticks and secret weapons, and ready to hasten to his assistance in any emergency. They were called his life-guards.

Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, seized, on their part, the direction of all affairs, and in the absence of their rival they attached to themselves Carnot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or. A common interest induced the committee of general safety to join them. For the rest, they maintained the most profound silence. They strove to diminish by degrees the power of their adversary, by reducing the armed force of Paris. There were forty-eight companies of artillery belonging to the forty-eight sections, perfectly organized, and which had given proofs, under all circumstances, of the most revolutionary spirit. From the 10th of August to the 31st of May, they had always ranged themselves on the side of insurrection. A decree directed that half of them at least should remain in Paris, but permitted the other part to be removed. Billaud and Collot had ordered the chief of the commission superintending the movements of the armies to send them off successively to the frontiers, and this order had already begun to be carried into effect. They concealed all their operations as much as possible from Couthon, who, not having withdrawn like Robespierre, watched them attentively, and annoyed them much. During these proceedings, Billaud, gloomy and splenetic, seldom quitted Paris; but the witty and voluptuous Barrère went to Passy with the principal members of the committee of general safety, with old Vadier, Vouland, and Amar. They met at the house of old Dupin, formerly a farmer-general, famous under the late government for his kitchen, and during the Revolution for the report which sent the farmers-general to the scaffold. There they indulged in all sorts of pleasures with beautiful women, and Barrère exercised his wit against the pontiff of the Supreme Being, the chief prophet, the beloved son of the mother of God. After amusing themselves, they quitted the arms of their courtezans to return to Paris into the midst of blood and rivalships.

The old members of the Mountain, who found themselves threatened, met on their part in secret, and sought to come to some arrangement. The generous woman who, at Bordeaux had

attached herself to Tallien,* and snatched from him a multitude of victims, urged him from the recesses of her prison to strike the tyrant. Tallien, Lecointre, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Panis, Barras, Freron, Monestier, were joined by Guffroy, the antagonist of Lebon; Dubois-Crancé, compromised at the siege of Lyons, and detested by Couthon; Fouché of Nantes, who had quarrelled with Robespierre, and who was reproached with having conducted himself in a manner not sufficiently patriotic at Lyons.† Tallien and Lecointre were the most daring and the most impatient. Fouché was particularly feared, on account of his skill in contriving and conducting an intrigue, and it was against him that the triumvirs were most embittered.

On occasion of a petition from the Jacobins of Lyons, in which they complained to the Jacobins of Paris of their existing situation, the whole history of that unfortunate city came again under review. Couthon denounced Dubois-Crancé, as he had done some months before, accused him of having allowed Precy to escape, and obtained his erasure from the list of Jacobins. Robespierre accused Fouché, and imputed to him the intrigues which had caused Gaillard, the patriot, to lay violent hands on himself. At his instigation, it was resolved that Fouché should be summoned before the society to justify his conduct. It was not so much the intrigues of Fouché at Lyons, as his intrigues in Paris, that Robespierre dreaded, and was desirous of punishing. Fouché, aware of the danger, addressed an evasive letter to the Jacobins, and besought them to suspend their judgment, till the committee, to whom he had just submitted his conduct, and whom he had furnished with all the documents in his favour, should have pronounced its decision. "It is astonishing," said Robespierre, "that Fouché should to-day implore the aid of the Convention against the Jacobins. Does he shrink from the eyes and the ears of the people? Is he afraid lest his sorry face should betray guilt? Is he afraid lest the looks of six thousand persons fixed upon him should discover his soul in his eyes, and read his thoughts there in despite of Nature which has concealed them? The conduct of Fouché is that of a guilty person: you cannot keep him any longer in your bosom; he must be excluded." Fouché was accordingly excluded, as Dubois-Crancé

* "The marriage of Madame Fontenai with Tallien was not a happy one. On his return from Egypt, a separation took place, and in 1805 she married M. de Caraman, Prince of Chimai."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† The following extract from a letter written by Fouché to Collot-d'Herbois, will show the sort of treatment which this bloodthirsty Jacobin adopted towards the unfortunate citizens of Lyons: "Let us show ourselves terrible; let us annihilate in our wrath, and at one blow, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, the long torture, of punishing them as kings would do. We this evening send two hundred and thirteen rebels before the thunder of our cannon! Farewell, my friend; tears of joy stream from my eyes, and overflow my heart!"—*Moniteur.* E.

had been. Thus the storm roared daily more and more vehemently against the threatened Mountaineers, and the horizon on all sides became more overcast with clouds.

Amidst this turmoil, the members of the committees, who feared Robespierre, would rather have courted an explanation and conciliated his ambition, than commenced a dangerous conflict. Robespierre had sent for his young colleague, St. Just, and the latter had immediately returned from the army. It was proposed that a meeting should take place for the purpose of attempting to adjust their differences. It was not till after much entreaty that Robespierre consented to an interview. He did at length comply, and the two committees assembled. Both sides complained of each other with great acrimony. Robespierre spoke of himself with his usual pride, denounced secret meetings, talked of conspirator deputies to be punished, censured all the operations of the government, and condemned every thing—administration, war, and finances.

St. Just supported Robespierre, pronounced a magnificent panegyric upon him, and said that the last hope of foreigners was to produce dissension in the government. He related what had been said by an officer who had been made prisoner before Maubeuge. The allies were waiting, according to that officer, till a more moderate party should overthrow the revolutionary government, and cause other principles to predominate. St. Just took occasion from this fact to insist on the necessity of conciliation and concord in future proceedings. The antagonists of Robespierre entertained the same sentiments, and they were willing to arrange matters in order to remain masters of the state; but in order to effect such an arrangement they must consent to all that Robespierre desired, and such conditions could not suit them. The members of the committee of general safety complained bitterly that they had been deprived of their functions. Elie Lacoste had the boldness to assert that Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre, formed a committee in the committees, and even dared to utter the word *triumvirate*. Some reciprocal concessions were nevertheless agreed upon. Robespierre consented to confine his office of general police to the superintendence of the agents of the committee of public welfare; and his adversaries, in return, agreed to direct St. Just to make a report to the Convention, concerning the interview that had taken place. In this report, as may naturally be supposed, no mention was to be made of the dissensions which had prevailed between the committees; but it was to treat of the commotions which public opinion had of late experienced, and to fix the course which the government purposed to pursue. Billaud and Collot insinuated that too much should not be said in it about the Supreme Being, for they still had Robespierre's pontificate before their eyes. The former, nevertheless, with his gloomy and uncheering look, told Robespierre that he had never been his enemy; and the parties

separated without being really reconciled, but apparently somewhat less divided than before. In such a reconciliation there could not be any sincerity, for ambition remains the same; it resembled those attempts at negotiation which all parties make before they come to blows; it was a hollow reconciliation, like the reconciliations proposed between the Constituents and the Girondins, between the Girondins and the Jacobins, between Danton and Robespierre.

If, however, it failed to restore harmony among the members of the committees, it greatly alarmed the Mountaineers. They concluded that their destruction was to be the pledge of peace, and they strove to ascertain what were the conditions of the treaty. The members of the committee of general safety were anxious to dispel their fears. Elie Lacoste, Dubarran, and Moyse Bayle, the best members of the committee, pacified them, and told them that no sacrifice had been agreed upon. This was true enough, and it was one of the reasons which prevented the reconciliation from being complete. Barrère, however, who was particularly desirous that the parties should be on good terms, did not fail to repeat in his daily reports that the members of the government were perfectly united, that they had been unjustly accused of being at variance, and that they were exerting their joint efforts to render the republic every where victorious. He affected to sum up all the charges preferred against the triumvirs, and he repelled those charges as culpable calumnies, and common to the two committees. "Amid the shouts of victory," said he, "vague rumours are heard, dark calumnies are circulated, subtle poisons are infused into the journals, mischievous plots are hatched, factitious discontents are preparing, and the government is perpetually annoyed, impeded in its operations, thwarted in its movements, slandered in its intentions, and threatened in those who compose it. Yet, what has it done?"—Here Barrère added the usual enumeration of the labours and services of the government.

While Barrère was doing his best to conceal the discord of the committees, St. Just, notwithstanding the report which he had to present, had returned to the army, where important events were occurring. The movements begun by the two wings had continued. Pichegru had prosecuted his operations on the Lys and the Scheldt; Jourdan had begun his on the Sambre. Profiting by the defensive attitude which Coburg had assumed at Tournay since the battles of Turcoing and Pont-a-Chin, Pichegru had in view to beat Clairfayt separately. He durst not, however, advance as far as Thielt, and resolved to commence the siege of Ypres, with the twofold object of drawing Clairfayt towards him and taking that place, which would consolidate the establishment of the French in West Flanders. Clairfayt expected reinforcements, and made no movement. Pichegru then pushed the siege of Ypres, and he pushed it so

vigorously that Coburg and Clairfayt deemed it incumbent on them to quit their respective positions, and to proceed to the relief of the threatened fortress. Pichegru, in order to prevent Coburg from prosecuting this movement, caused troops to march from Lille, and to make so serious a demonstration on Orchies that Coburg was detained at Tournay. At the same time he moved forward and hastened to meet Clairfayt, who was advancing towards Rousselaer and Hooglede. His prompt and well-conceived movements afforded him an occasion of still fighting Clairfayt separately. One division having unfortunately mistaken its way, Clairfayt had time to return to his camp at Thielt, after sustaining a slight loss. But, three days afterwards, Clairfayt, reinforced by the detachment for which he was waiting, deployed unawares in face of our columns with thirty thousand men. Our soldiers quickly ran to arms, but the right division, being attacked with great impetuosity, was thrown into confusion, and the left remained uncovered on the *plateau* of Hooglede. Macdonald commanded this left division, and found means to maintain it against the repeated attacks in front and flank to which it was long exposed. By this courageous resistance he gave Devinthier's brigade time to rejoin him, and then obliged Clairfayt to retire with considerable loss. This was the fifth time that Clairfayt, ill seconded, was beaten by our army of the North. This action, so honourable for Macdonald's division, decided the surrender of the besieged fortress. Four days afterwards, on the 29th of Prairial (June 17), Ypres opened its gates, and a garrison of seven thousand men laid down its arms. Coburg was going to the succour of Ypres and Clairfayt, when he learned that it was too late. The events which were occurring on the Sambre then obliged him to move towards the opposite side of the theatre of war. He left the Duke of York on the Scheldt, and Clairfayt at Thielt, and marched with all the Austrian troops towards Charleroi. It was an absolute separation of the principal powers, England and Austria, which were on very bad terms, and the very different interests of which were on this occasion most distinctly manifested. The English remained in Flanders near the maritime provinces, and the Austrians hastened towards their threatened communications. This separation increased not a little their misunderstanding. The Emperor of Austria had retired to Vienna, disgusted with this unsuccessful warfare; and Mack, seeing his plans frustrated, had once more quitted the Austrian staff.

We have seen Jourdan arriving from the Moselle at Charleroi at the moment when the French, repulsed for the third time, were recrossing the Sambre in disorder. After a few days' respite had been given to the troops, some of whom were dispirited by their defeats, and others fatigued by their rapid march, some change was made in their organization. With Desjardins' and Charbonnier's divisions, and the divisions which

had arrived from the Moselle, a single army was composed, which was called the army of Sambre and Meuse. It amounted to about sixty-six thousand men, and was placed under the command of Jourdan. A division of fifteen thousand men, under Scherer, was left to guard the Sambre between Thuin and Maubeuge.

Jourdan resolved immediately to recross the Sambre and to invest Charleroi. Hatry's division was ordered to attack the place, and the bulk of the army was disposed all around to cover the siege. Charleroi is seated on the Sambre. Beyond it there is a series of positions forming a semicircle, the extremities of which are defended by the Sambre. These positions are scarcely in any aspect advantageous, because they form a semicircle ten leagues in extent, are too unconnected, and have a river at their back. Kleber, with the left, extended from the Sambre to Orchies and Trasegnies, guarded the rivulet of Pieton, which ran through the field of battle and fell into the Sambre. At the centre, Morlot guarded Gosselies; Championnet advanced between Hepignies and Wagné; Lefebvre* occupied Wagné, Fleurus, and Lambusart. Lastly, on the right, Marceau extended himself in advance of the wood of Campinaire, and connected our line with the Sambre. Jourdan, sensible of the disadvantage of these positions, determined not to remain there, but to leave them, and to take the initiative of the attack on the morning of the 28th of Prairial (June 16). At this moment, Coburg had not yet moved towards that point. He was at Tournay, looking on at the defeat of Clairfayt and the reduction of Ypres. The Prince of Orange, sent towards Charleroi, commanded the army of the allies. He resolved, on his part, to prevent the attack with which he was threatened, and, on the morning of the 28th, he deployed his troops so as to oblige the French to fight on the ground which they occupied. Four columns,

* "François Joseph Lefebvre, a native of Rufack, of an humble family, was born in 1755. The Revolution which found him a veteran sergeant, opened to him the higher career of his profession. In 1793 he was raised from the rank of captain to that of adjutant-general; in December of the same year he was general of brigade, and the month after, of division. He fought under Pichegru, Moreau, Hoche, and Jourdan in the Netherlands and in Germany, and on all occasions with distinction. Lefebvre was of great use to Bonaparte in the revolution of Brumaire, and, when raised afterwards to the dignity of marshal, was one of the best supports of the imperial fortunes. In the campaigns of 1805, 6, and 7, he showed equal skill and intrepidity. After the battle of Eylau, having distinguished himself by his conduct at Dantzic which he was sent to invest, he was created Duke of Dantzic. In the German campaign of 1809 he maintained the honour of the French arms, and in 1813 and 1814 adhered faithfully to the declining fortunes of his master. Louis XVIII. made him a peer, but notwithstanding this, he supported the Emperor on his return from Elba. In 1816 he was confirmed in his rank of marshal, and three years afterwards was recalled to the upper chamber. Lefebvre died in 1820, leaving no issue."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte.* E.

directed against our right and our centre, had already penetrated into the wood of Campinaire, where Marceau was, taken Fleurus from Lefebvre, and Hepignies from Championnet, and were driving Merlot from Pont-a-Migneloup upon Gosselies, when Jourdan, seasonably arriving with a reserve of cavalry, stopped the fourth column by a successful charge, led Morlot's troops back to their positions, and restored the combat at the centre. On the left, Wartensleben had made a similar progress towards Trasegnies. But Kleber, making the most prompt and happy dispositions, retook Trasegnies, and then, seizing the favourable moment, turned Wartensleben, drove him beyond the Pieton, and pursued him in two columns. The combat had thus far been maintained with advantage; nay, victory was about to declare for the French, when the Prince of Orange, uniting his first two columns towards Lambusart, on the point which connected the extreme right of the French with the Sambre, threatened their communications. The right and the centre were then obliged to fall back. Kleber, giving up his victorious march, covered the retreat with his troops: it was effected in good order. Such was the first affair of the 28th (June 16). It was the fourth time that the French had been forced to recross the Sambre; but this time it was in a manner much more honourable to their arms. Jourdan was not disheartened. He once more crossed the Sambre, a few days afterwards, resumed the positions which he had occupied on the 16th, again invested Charleroi, and caused the bombardment to be pushed with the utmost vigour.

Coburg, apprized of Jourdan's new operations, at length approached the Sambre. It was of importance to the French that they should take Charleroi before the arrival of the reinforcements which the Austrian army was expecting. Marescot, the engineer, pushed the operations so briskly, that in a week the guns of the fortress were silenced, and every preparation was made for the assault. On the 7th of Messidor (June 25), the commandant sent an officer with a letter to treat. St. Just, who still ruled in our camp, refused to open the letter, and sent back the officer, saying, "It is not a bit of paper, but the fortress that we want." The garrison marched out of the place the same evening, just as Coburg was coming in sight of the French lines. The enemy remained ignorant of the surrender of Charleroi. By the possession of the place, our position was rendered more secure, and the battle that was about to be fought, with a river behind, less dangerous. Hatry's division, being left at liberty, was marched to Ransart, to reinforce the centre, and every preparation was made for a decisive engagement on the following day, the 8th of Messidor (June 26).

Our positions were the same as on the 28th of Prairial (June 16). Kleber commanded on the left, from the Sambre to Trasegnies. Morlot, Championnet, Lefebvre, and Marceau formed the centre and the right, and extended from Gosselies to the

Sambre. Intrenchments had been made at Hepignies, to secure our centre. Coburg caused us to be attacked along the whole of this semicircle, instead of directing a concentric effort upon one of our extremities, upon our right, for instance, and taking from us all the passages of the Sambre.

The attack commenced on the morning of the 8th of Messidor. The Prince of Orange and General Latour, who faced Kleber on the left, beat back our columns, and drove them through the wood of Monceaux to Marchienne-au-Pont, on the bank of the Sambre. Kleber, who was fortunately placed on the left for the purpose of directing all the divisions there, immediately hastened to the threatened point, despatched batteries to the heights, enveloped the Austrians in the wood of Monceaux and attacked them on all sides. The latter, having perceived, as they approached the Sambre, that Charleroi was in possession of the French, began to show some hesitation. Kleber, taking advantage of it, caused them to be attacked with vigour, and obliged them to retire from Marchienne-au-Pont. While Kleber was thus saving one of our extremities, Jourdan was doing no less for the centre and the right. Morlot, who was in advance of Gosselies, had long made head against General Quasdanovich, and attempted several manœuvres for the purpose of turning him; but had at length been turned himself, and fallen back upon Gosselies, after the most honourable efforts. Championnet, supported upon the redoubt of Hepignies, resisted with the same vigour; but the corps of Kaunitz had advanced to turn the redoubt at the very moment of the arrival of false intelligence stating the retreat of Lefebvre on the right. Championnet, deceived by this report, was retiring, and had already abandoned the redoubt, when Jourdan, perceiving the danger, directed part of Hatry's division, which were placed in reserve, upon that point, retook Hepignies, and pushed his cavalry into the plain upon the troops of Kaunitz.

While both sides were charging with great fury, the battle was raging still more violently nearer to the Sambre, at Wagné and Lambusart. Beaulieu, ascending along both banks of the Sambre at once for the purpose of attacking our extreme right, repulsed Marceau's division. That division fled in all haste through the woods bordering the Sambre, and even crossed the river in disorder. Marceau then collected some battalions, and, regardless of the rest of the fugitive division, threw himself into Lambusart, to perish there rather than abandon that post contiguous to the Sambre, which was an indispensable support of our extreme right. Lefebvre, who was placed at Wagné, Hepignies, and Lambusart, drew back his advanced posts from Fleurus upon Wagné, and threw troops into Lambusart, to support Marceau's effort. This spot became the decisive point of the battle. Beaulieu, perceiving this, directed thither a third column. Jourdan, attentive to the danger,

despatched the rest of his reserve to the spot. The combat was kept up around the village of Lambusart with extraordinary obstinacy. So brisk was the firing that the valleys could no longer be distinguished. The corn and the huts of the camp took fire, and the combatants were soon fighting amidst a conflagration. The republicans at last remained masters of Lambusart.

At this moment, the French, at first repulsed, had succeeded in restoring the battle at all points. Kleber had covered the Sambre on the left; Morlot, having fallen back to Gosselies, maintained himself there; Championnet had retaken Hepignies; and a furious combat at Lambusart had ensured us that position. Night was now approaching. Beaulieu had just learned, upon the Sambre, what the Prince of Orange already knew, that Charleroi was in the possession of the French. Daring no longer to persist, Coburg then ordered a general retreat.

Such was this decisive engagement, one of the most sanguinary in the whole campaign, fought along a semicircle of ten leagues between two armies of nearly eighty thousand men each. It was called the battle of Fleurus, though that village acted but a secondary part, because the Duke of Luxemburg had already shed a lustre on that name in the time of Louis XIV. Though its results on the spot were inconsiderable, and it was confined to a repulsed attack, it decided the retreat of the Austrians, and thereby produced immense results.* The Austrians could not fight a second battle. To do this they must have formed a junction either with the Duke of York or with Clairfayt, and these two generals were occupied in the North by Pichegru. Being threatened, moreover, upon the Meuse, it was expedient for them to fall back, lest they should compromise their communications. From that moment the retreat of the allies became general, and they resolved to concentrate themselves towards Brussels, in order to cover that city.

The campaign was now evidently decided; but, owing to an error of the committee of public welfare, results so prompt and so decisive as there had been reason to hope for were not obtained. Pichegru had formed a plan which was the best of all his military ideas. The Duke of York was on the Scheldt opposite to Tournay; Clairfayt at a great distance, at Thielt, in Flanders. Pichegru, persisting in his plan of destroying Clairfayt separately, proposed to cross the Scheldt at Oudenarde, thus to cut off Clairfayt from the Duke of York, and to fight him once more by himself. He then meant, when the Duke of York, finding

* The great effect produced on public opinion by the battle of Fleurus has been erroneously attributed to the influence of a faction. Robespierre's faction had, on the contrary, the strongest interest to depreciate at the moment the importance of victories, as we shall presently see. The battle of Fleurus opened to us Brussels and Belgium; and it was this that then gave it celebrity.

that he was left alone, should think of joining Coburg, to fight him in his turn, then to take Coburg in the rear or to form a junction with Jourdan. This plan, which was attended not only with the advantage of attacking Clairfayt and the Duke of York separately, but also with that of collecting all our forces on the Meuse, was thwarted by a very silly idea of the committee of public welfare. Carnot had been persuaded to despatch Admiral Venstabel with troops to be landed in the island of Walcheren, to excite insurrection in Holland. To second this plan, Carnot directed Pichegru's army to march along the coast and to take possession of all the ports of West Flanders; he also ordered Jourdan to detach sixteen thousand men from his army, and to send them towards the sea. This latter order, in particular, was not only most injudicious but likewise most dangerous. The generals demonstrated its absurdity to St. Just, and it was not executed; but Pichegru was nevertheless obliged to move towards the sea, to take Bruges and Ostend, while Moreau was reducing Nieuport.

The movements were continued upon the two wings. Pichegru left Moreau, with part of the army, to lay siege to Nieuport and Sluys, and with the other took possession of Bruges, Ostend, and Ghent. He then advanced towards Brussels. Jourdan, on his side, was also marching thither. We had now only rear-guard battles to fight, and at length, on the 22nd of Messidor (July 10), our advanced guard entered the capital of the Netherlands. A few days afterwards, the two armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse, effected a junction there. Nothing was of greater importance than this event. One hundred and fifty thousand French, collected in the capital of the Netherlands, were enabled to dash from that point on the armies of Europe, which, beaten on all sides, were seeking, some to regain the sea, others to regain the Rhine. The fortresses of Condé, Landrecies, Valenciennes, and Le Quesnoy, which the allies had taken from us, were immediately invested; and the Convention, pretending that the deliverance of the territory conferred all rights, decreed that, if the garrisons did not immediately surrender, they should be put to the sword. It had passed another decree enacting that no quarter should in future be given to the English, by way of punishing all the misdeeds of Pitt against France.* Our soldiers would not pay obedience to this decree.

* "To this inhuman decree of the Convention, the Duke of York replied, by the following order of the day: "The National Convention has just passed a decree that their soldiers shall give no quarter to the British or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses, on receiving this information. He desires however to remind them that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world.—The British and Hanoverian troops will not believe

A sergeant, having taken some English prisoners, brought them to an officer. "Why hast thou taken them?" asked the officer. "Because it was saving so many shot," replied the sergeant. "True," rejoined the officer, "but the representatives will oblige us to shoot them."—"It is not we," retorted the sergeant, "who will shoot them. Send them to the representatives, and if they are barbarous enough, why then let them e'en kill and eat them, if they like."

Thus our armies, which acted at first upon the enemy's centre, but which was found too strong, had divided themselves into two wings, which had marched, the one along the Lys, the other along the Sambre. Pichegru had first beaten Clairfayt at Moucroen and at Courtray, then Coburg and the Duke of York at Turcoing, and lastly had defeated Clairfayt again at Hooglede. After several times crossing the Sambre, but being as often driven back, Jourdan, brought by a happy idea of Carnot's upon the Sambre, had decided the success of our right wing at Fleurus. From that moment the allies, attacked on both wings, had abandoned the Netherlands to us. Such was the campaign. Our astonishing successes were every where extolled. The victory of Fleurus, the occupation of Charleroi, Ypres, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels, and lastly the junction of our armies in that capital were vaunted as prodigies. These advantages were any thing but gratifying to Robespierre, who saw the reputation of the committee increasing, and that of Carnot in particular, to whom, it must be confessed, the success of the campaign was too much attributed. All the good done by the committees and all the glory gained by them in the absence of Robespierre could not but rise up against him and constitute his condemnation. One defeat, on the contrary, would have revived the revolutionary fury for his benefit, furnished him with an opportunity for accusing the committees of want of energy or treason, justified his secession for the last four decades, excited an extraordinary idea of his foresight, and raised his power to the highest pitch. He had, therefore, placed himself in the most melancholy position, that of wishing for defeats; and every circumstance proved that he did wish for them. It did not become him either to give utterance to this wish or to suffer it to be perceived; but it was manifested in spite of himself in his speeches. He strove, in his addresses to the Jacobins, to diminish the enthusiasm excited by the successes of the republic; he insinuated that the allies were retiring before us as they had done before Dumouriez, only to return very soon; that, in quitting our frontiers for a time, they meant only to consign

that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their character as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree as injurious to themselves as it is disgraceful to their government."—*Annual Register.* E.

us to the passions developed by prosperity. He added that, at any rate, "victory over the enemy's armies was not that to which they ought most ardently to aspire. The genuine victory," said he, "is that which the friends of liberty gain over factions; it is this victory that restores to nations peace, justice, and prosperity. A nation does not acquire glory by overthrowing tyrants or subjugating other nations. It was the lot of the Romans and of some other people: our destiny, far more sublime, is to found upon earth the empire of wisdom, justice, and virtue."*

Robespierre had absented himself from the committee ever since the last days of Prairial. It was now the commencement of Thermidor. It was nearly forty days since he had seceded from his colleagues. It was high time to adopt some resolution. His creatures declared openly that another 31st of May was wanted: the Dumases, the Henriots, the Payens,† urged him to give the signal for it. He had not the same fondness for violent means as they had, and could not share their brutal impatience. Accustomed to accomplish every thing by words, and having more respect for the laws, he preferred trying the effect of a speech denouncing the committees and demanding their renewal. If he succeeded by this gentler method, he would become absolute master, without danger and without commotion. If he did not succeed, this pacific course would not exclude violent means: on the contrary it was right that it should precede them. The 31st of May had been preceded by repeated speeches, by respectful applications, and it was not till after soliciting without obtaining their wishes, that people had concluded with demanding them. He resolved, therefore, to employ the same means as on the 31st of May, to cause in the first place a petition to be presented by the Jacobins, to deliver in the next a flaming speech, and lastly to make St. Just come forward with a report. If all these means proved insufficient, he had with him the Jacobins, the commune, and the armed force of Paris. But he hoped at any rate not to have occasion to renew the scene of the 2nd of June. He was not bold enough, and had still too much respect for the Convention to desire it.

* Speech at the Jacobins, the 21st of Messidor (July 9).

† The following letter, urging him to adopt decisive measures, was written to Robespierre at this period by Payen, his zealous adherent in the municipality of Paris: "Would you strike to the earth the refractory deputies, and obtain great victories in the interior; bring forward a report which may strike at once all the disaffected; pass salutary decrees to restrain the journals; render all the public functionaries responsible to you alone; let them be continually occupied in centralizing public opinion; hitherto your efforts have been confined to the centralizing of the physical government. I repeat it; you require a vast report, which may embrace at once all the conspirators, and blend them all together. Commence the great work."—*History of the Convention.* E.

For some time he had been preparing a voluminous speech, in which he laboured to expose the abuses of the government, and to throw all the evils which were imputed to it upon his colleagues. He wrote to St. Just, desiring him to come back from the army. He detained his brother, who ought to have set out for the frontiers of Italy; he attended daily at the Jacobins, and made every arrangement for the attack. As it always happens in extreme situations, various incidents happened to increase the general agitation. A person, named Magenthies, presented a ridiculous petition praying for the punishment of death against all who should use oaths in which the name of God was introduced. A revolutionary committee ordered some labouring men who had got drunk to be imprisoned as suspected persons. These two circumstances gave rise to many sarcastic observations against Robespierre. It was said that his Supreme Being was likely to prove a greater oppressor than Christ, and that the Inquisition would probably be soon re-established in favour of deism! Sensible of the danger of such accusations, he lost no time in denouncing Magenthies at the Jacobins, as an aristocrat paid by foreigners to throw discredit on the creed adopted by the Convention; he even caused him to be delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. Setting to work his office of police, he had all the members of the revolutionary committee of the Indivisibilité apprehended.

The crisis approached, and it appears that the members of the committee of public welfare, and Barrère in particular, would have been glad to make peace with their formidable colleague; but he had become so greedy that it was impossible to come to any arrangement with him. Barrère, returning home one evening with one of his confidents, threw himself into a chair, saying, "That Robespierre is insatiable. Let him demand Tallien, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Guffroy, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Barras, Fréron, Legendre, Monestier, Dubois-Crancé, Fouché, Cambon, and the whole Dantonist tail—well and good: but Duval, Audouin, Leonard Bourdon, Vadier, Vouland—it is impossible to consent to that." We see that Robespierre required even the sacrifice of some members of the committee of general safety, and thenceforward peace was wholly out of the question. They could do no other than break with him, and run the risks of the struggle. None of Robespierre's adversaries, however, would have dared to strike the first blow: the members of the committees waited to be denounced; the proscribed Mountaineers waited till their heads should be demanded; all meant to suffer themselves to be attacked before they defended themselves—and they acted wisely. It was much better to let Robespierre commence the engagement, and compromise himself in the eyes of the Convention by the demand of new proscriptions. They would then occupy the position of

men defending their lives and even those of others; for it was impossible to foresee any end to immolations if any fresh one were allowed.

Every preparation was made, and the first movements commenced on the 3rd of Thermidor at the Jacobins. Among the creatures of Robespierre was one named Sijas, assistant to the commission of movement of the armies. A grudge was borne against this commission for having ordered the successive departure of a great number of companies of artillery, and for having thus diminished the armed force of Paris. Still no one had ventured to prefer any direct charge against it. Sijas began by complaining of the secrecy observed by Pyle, the chief of the commission, and all the reproaches which people durst not address either to Carnot or to the committee of public welfare were levelled at this chief of the commission. Sijas pretended that there was but one way left, namely, to address the Convention, and to denounce Pyle. Another Jacobin denounced one of the agents of the committee of general safety. Couthon then spoke, and said that it was necessary to go still farther, and to present to the National Convention an address on all the machinations which again threatened liberty. "I exhort you," said he, "to submit to it your reflections. It is pure; it will not suffer itself to be swayed by four or five villains. For my part, I declare that they shall never control me." Couthon's suggestion was forthwith adopted. The petition was drawn up, approved on the 5th of Thermidor, and presented on the 7th to the Convention.

The style of this petition was, as usual, respectful in manner, but imperious in matter. It said that the Jacobins came to pour forth the anxieties of the people into the bosom of the Convention. It repeated the accustomed declamations against foreigners and their accomplices, against the system of indulgence, against the alarm excited for the purpose of dividing the national representation, against the efforts that were made to render the worship of God ridiculous, &c. It drew no precise conclusions, but said, in a general manner, "You will strike terror into traitors, villains, intriguers; you will cheer the good; you will maintain that union which constitutes your strength; you will preserve in all its purity that sublime religion of which every citizen is the minister, of which virtue is the only practice; and the people, trusting in you, will place its duty and its glory in respecting and defending its representatives to the last extremity." This was saying very plainly, You must do what Robespierre dictates, or you will not be either respected or defended. While this petition was read, a dead silence prevailed. No answer was given to it. No sooner was it finished than Dubois-Crancé mounted the tribune, and, without alluding to the petition or to the Jacobins, complained of the mortifications

to which, for the last six months, he had been subjected, of the injustice with which his services had been repaid, and desired that the committee of public welfare might be directed to make a report on his conduct, though, he said, there were in that committee two of his accusers, and that this report should be presented in three days. The Assembly assented to his demand, without adding a single observation, and maintaining the same silence as before. Barrère succeeded him in the tribune. He came to submit a long report on the comparative state of France in July, 1793, and in July, 1794. It is certain that the difference was immense, and that, if people compared France, torn in pieces at once by the royalists, the federalists, and the foreign enemy, with France, victorious on all the frontiers, and mistress of the Netherlands, they could not refrain from thanksgiving to the government which had effected such a change in one year. This eulogy of the committee was the only way in which Barrère durst attack Robespierre; nay, he even praised him expressly in his report. With reference to the vague agitations which prevailed, and the imprudent cries of certain disturbers, who demanded another 31st of May, he said that "a representative who enjoyed a patriotic reputation, earned by five years of toil and by his unshaken principles of independence and liberty, had warmly refuted this counter-revolutionary language." The Convention listened to this report, and broke up in expectation of some important event. Each looked at the other in silence, and durst neither question nor explain.

On the next day, the 8th of Thermidor, Robespierre resolved to deliver his famous speech. All his agents were prepared, and St. Just arrived in the course of the day. The Convention, seeing him in that tribune where he appeared so seldom,* expected a decisive scene. "Citizens," said he, "let others draw flattering pictures for you, I come to tell you useful truths. I come not to realize the ridiculous terrors excited by perfidy; but I wish to extinguish, if possible, the torch of discord by the mere force of truth. I come to defend before you your outraged authority and violated liberty. I shall defend myself: you will not be surprised at that; you are not like the tyrants whom you are combating. The cries of outraged innocence annoy not your

* "About this time Robespierre received a deputation from the department of Aisne, which came to him to complain of the operations of government, lamenting also that he had been a stranger to them for upwards of a month, having seldom or never attended the public sittings during that period. 'The Convention,' replied Robespierre, 'gangrened as it is by corruption, has no longer the power to save the republic. Both will perish. The proscription of the patriots is the order of the day. For myself, I have already one foot in the grave; in a few days I shall have the other there. The rest is in the hands of Providence.' He was a little unwell at this time, and he designedly exaggerated his own discouragement and fears, and the danger of the republic, in order to inflame the patriots, and to connect the destiny of the Revolution with his own."—*Mignet.* E.

ears, neither are you ignorant that this cause is not foreign to you." Robespierre then expatiated on the agitations which had prevailed for some time, the fears which had been propagated, the designs imputed to the committee and to him against the Convention. "We," exclaimed he, "attack the Convention! and what are we without it? Who defended it at the peril of his life? Who devoted himself to rescue it from the hands of the factions?" To these questions Robespierre replied that it was he; and he called his having torn from the bosom of the Convention Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Petion, Barbaroux, Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, &c., defending it against factions. He expressed his astonishment that, after the proofs of devotedness which he had given, sinister rumours should be circulated concerning him. "Is it true," said he, "that odious lists have been handed about, marking out for victims a certain number of members of the Convention, which lists were alleged to be the work of the committee of public welfare, and afterwards mine? Is it true that people have dared to suppose meetings of the committee, rigorous resolutions which never existed, and arrests equally chimerical? Is it true that pains have been taken to persuade a certain number of irreproachable representatives that their destruction was resolved upon?—all those who, by some error, had paid an inevitable tribute to the fatality of circumstances and to human frailty, that they were doomed to the fate of conspirators? Is it true that imposture has been propagated with such art and audacity, that a great number of members ceased to sleep at their own homes? Yes, the facts are certain, and the proofs of them are before the committee of public welfare!"

He then complained that the accusation preferred *en masse* against the committees came at length to be levelled at him alone. He represented that his name had been given to all the evil that had been done in the government; that, if patriots were imprisoned instead of aristocrats, it was said, *It is Robespierre who desires it;* that if some patriots had fallen, it was said, *It is Robespierre who ordered it;* that if numerous agents of the committee of general safety practised every where their extortion and their rapine, it was said, *It is Robespierre who sends them;* that if a new law robbed the stockholders, it was said, *It is Robespierre who ruins them.* He then said that he was represented as the author of all sorts of evils for the purpose of ruining him, that he had been called a tyrant, and that, on the festival in honour of the Supreme Being—that day when the Convention struck to the earth atheism and priestly despotism with one blow, when it attached all generous hearts to the Revolution—that day, in short, of happiness and pure intoxication—the president of the National Convention, while addressing the assembled people, was insulted by guilty men, and that those men were representatives! He had been called a tyrant! and why? because

he had acquired some influence by speaking the language of truth. "And what do ye pretend to," he exclaimed, "ye, who wish truth to be powerless in the mouths of the representatives of the French people? Truth assuredly has her power, her anger, her despotism; she has her touching and her terrible accents, which vibrate with force in pure hearts as well as in guilty consciences, and which it is not given to falsehood to imitate, any more than to Salmoneus to imitate the lightning of heaven. But blame the nation for this, blame the people, who feel and who love it.—Who am I—I, who am accused?—a slave of liberty, a living martyr of the republic, the victim as much as the enemy of crime. Every scoundrel abuses me. The most indifferent, the most legitimate actions on the part of others are crimes in me. A man is slandered as soon as it is known that he is acquainted with me: others are forgiven their misdeeds; as for me, my zeal is made a crime. Take from me my conscience, and I am the most miserable of men; I do not even enjoy the rights of citizen; nay, I am not even allowed to fulfil the duties of a representative of the people."

Robespierre thus defended himself by subtle and diffuse declamations, and for the first time he found the Convention sullen, silent, and seemingly weary of the length of his speech. At last he came to the pith of the question—he proceeded to accuse others. Surveying all the departments of the government, he first censured with iniquitous malice the financial system. Author of the law of the 22nd of Prairial, he expatiated with profound pity on the law concerning life annuities; there was nothing even to the *maximum* but what he seemed to condemn, saying that intriguers had hurried the Convention into violent measures. "In whose hands are the finances?" he exclaimed. "In the hands of Feuillans, of known rogues, of the Cambons, the Mallarmés, the Ramels." He then passed to the war department, spoke with disdain of those victories, which had just been described with *academic levity*, as though they had not cost either blood or toil. "Keep an eye," cried he, "keep a vigilant eye on victory; keep a vigilant eye on Belgium. Your enemies are retiring and leaving you to your intestine divisions; think of the end of the campaign. Division has been sown among the generals; the military aristocracy is protected; the faithful generals are persecuted; the military administration wraps itself up in a suspicious authority. These truths are certainly as valuable as epigrams." He said no more of Carnot and Barrère, leaving to St. Just* the task of censuring Carnot's plans. We see that this wretched man flung over every thing the poison that was

* "St. Just, who had just arrived from the army, was no sooner apprized by Robespierre of the state of affairs, than he perceived that no time was to be lost, and urged Robespierre to act. His maxim was, to strike quietly and strongly. 'Dare!' said he, 'that is the secret of revolutions.'"—*Mignet.* E.

consuming him. He next expatiated on the committee of general safety, on the multitude of its agents, on their cruelties, their rapine; he denounced Amar and Jagot as having seized the police, and doing every thing to discredit the revolutionary government. He complained of the sneers uttered in the tribune respecting Catherine Theot, and asserted that men encouraged the belief of feigned conspiracies in order to conceal real ones. He described the two committees as addicted to intrigues and engaged, in some measure, in the designs of the anti-national faction. In the whole existing system he found nothing good but the *revolutionary government*, and in that only the principle not the execution. The principle was his; it was he who caused that government to be instituted, but it was his adversaries who spoiled it.

Such is the substance of Robespierre's voluminous declamations. At length he concluded with this summary: "We assert that there exists a conspiracy against the public liberty, that it owes its strength to a criminal coalition, which intrigues in the very bosom of the Convention; that this coalition has accomplices in the committee of general safety, and in the bureaux of that committee which they govern; that the enemies of the republic have opposed this committee to the committee of public welfare and thus constituted two governments; that members of the committee of public welfare are engaged in this plot; that the coalition thus formed is striving to ruin the patriots and the country. What is the remedy for this evil? To punish the traitors, to renew the bureaux of the committee of general safety, to purify that committee itself and to render it subordinate to the committee of public welfare, to purify even the committee of public welfare, to constitute the government under the supreme authority of the National Convention, which is the centre and the judge, and thus to crush all the factions with the weight of the national authority, in order to raise upon their ruins the power of justice and liberty. Such are the principles. If it is impossible to claim them without passing for an ambitious man, I shall conclude that principles are proscribed and that tyranny reigns among us; but I shall not, on that account, be silent;—for what can be objected to a man who is in the right, and who is ready to die for his country? I am made to combat crime—not to govern it. The time is not yet arrived when good men can serve their country with impunity."

In silence Robespierre began his speech, in silence he concluded it.* In all parts of the hall the members continued mute, with their eyes fixed on him. Those deputies, once such warm

* "The speech which Robespierre addressed to the Convention was as menacing as the first distant rustle of the hurricane, and dark and lurid as the eclipse which announces its approach. The haughty and sullen dictator saw in the open slight which was put upon his measures and opinions, the sure mark of his approaching fall."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

admirers, were turned to ice. They expressed nothing, and seemed to have the courage to remain cold, since the tyrants, divided among themselves, took them for judges. All faces had become impenetrable. A faint murmur gradually arose in the Assembly, but for some time no one durst speak. Lecointre of Versailles, one of the most energetic of Robespierre's enemies, was the first to address the Assembly, but it was to move that his speech should be printed—such was still the hesitation, even of the boldest, to commence the attack. Bourdon of the Oise ventured to oppose the motion for printing, saying that the speech involved questions too serious, and he proposed that it should be referred to the two committees. Barrère, always prudent, supported the motion for printing, alleging that in a free country every thing ought to be printed. Couthon rushed to the tribune, indignant at witnessing a discussion instead of a burst of enthusiasm, and insisted that the speech should not only be printed, but be sent to all the communes and all the armies. He could not forbear, he said, to pour forth the feelings of his wounded heart, since, for some time past, the deputies most faithful to the cause of the people had been loaded with abuse; they were accused of shedding blood, and of desiring to shed more; and yet, if he believed that he had contributed to the destruction of one innocent person, he should die of grief. The speech of Couthon awakened all the submission that was left in the Assembly. It voted that the speech should be printed and sent to all the municipalities.

The adversaries of Robespierre seemed likely to have the disadvantage: but Vadier, Cambon, Billaud-Varennes, Panis, Amar, desired to be heard in reply to Robespierre. Courage revived with the danger, and the conflict commenced. All wanted to speak at once. The turn of each was fixed. Vadier was first permitted to explain. He justified the committee of general safety, and maintained that the report concerning Catherine Theot had for its object to reveal a real, a deep conspiracy, and he added, in a significant tone, that he possessed documents proving its importance and its danger. Cambon justified his financial laws and his integrity, which was universally known and admired, in a post which offered such strong temptations. He spoke with his usual impetuosity: he proved that none but stockjobbers could be hurt by his financial measures, and then, throwing off the reserve which had been kept up thus far, "It is high time," he exclaimed, "to tell the whole truth. Is it I who deserve to be accused of having made myself master in any way? The man who had made himself master of every thing, the man who paralyzed your will, is the man who has just spoken—is Robespierre!" This vehemence disconcerted Robespierre. As if he had been accused of having played the tyrant in financial matters, he declared that he had never meddled with finances, that of course he could never control

the Convention in this matter, and that, at any rate, in attacking Cambon's plans, he meant not to attack his intentions. He had nevertheless called him a rogue. Billaud-Varennes, a no less formidable antagonist,* said that it was high time to bring forward all truths in evidence. He spoke of the absence of Robespierre from the committees, of the removal of the companies of artillery, only fifteen of which had been sent away, though the law allowed twenty-four to be despatched. He added that he was determined to tear off all masks, and he had rather that his dead body should serve for a footstool to an ambitious man, than authorize his proceedings by his silence. He demanded the report of the decree which ordered the printing of the speech. Panis complained of the continual calumnies of Robespierre, who wished to make him pass for the author of the massacres of September; and he challenged him and Couthon to speak out respecting the five or six deputies, the sacrifice of whom they had been for a month past incessantly demanding at the Jacobins. On all sides this explanation was called for. Robespierre replied with hesitation that he had come to unveil abuses, and had not undertaken to justify or accuse this or the other person. "Name, name the individuals!" was the cry. Robespierre still shuffled and said, that "after he had had the courage to communicate to the Convention counsels which he deemed useful, he did not think—" He was again interrupted. "You who pretend to have the courage of virtue," cried Charlier, "have that of truth. Name, name the individuals!" The confusion increased. The question of printing was resumed. Amar insisted on referring the speech to the committee. Barrère, perceiving the advantage of siding with those who were for referring to the committees, made a sort of apology for having proposed a different course. At last the Convention revoked its decision, and declared that Robespierre's speech, instead of being printed, should be referred to the consideration of the wo committees.

This sitting was a truly extraordinary event. All the deputies, habitually so submissive, had again taken courage. As for Robespierre, who never had any thing but superciliousness without daring, he was surprised, vexed, and dejected. He had need to recruit himself; he hurried to his trusty Jacobins, to meet his friends and to borrow courage from them. They were already apprized of the event. He was impatiently expected. No sooner

* "Billaud-Varennes was the most formidable of Robespierre's antagonists. Both were ambitious of reigning over the ruins and the tombs with which they had covered France. But Robespierre had reached the point where his ambition could no longer be concealed. Billaud was still able to dissemble his. The tyrant was as lugubrious as death, which ever attended him in all his steps; such, and perhaps more gloomy still, was Billaud; but he enveloped his projects in deeper obscurity, and prepared his blows with greater art."—*Lacretelle.* E.

did he appear than he was greeted with applause. Couthon followed him, and shared the acclamations. He was requested to read the speech. Robespierre took up two full hours in repeating it to them. They interrupted him every moment by frenzied shouts and plaudits. As soon as he had finished, he added a few words of mortification and grief. "This speech which you have just heard," said he, "is my last will and testament. This I perceived to-day. The league of the wicked is so strong that I cannot hope to escape it. I fall without regret; I leave you my memory; it will be dear to you, and you will defend it." At these words, his friends cried out that it was not time to give way to fear and despair, that on the contrary they would avenge the father of the country on all the wicked united. Henriot, Dumas, Cofinhal, and Payen, surrounded him and declared that they were quite ready to act. Henriot said that he still knew the way to the Convention. "Separate the wicked from the weak," said Robespierre to them, "deliver the Convention from the villains who oppress it; render it the service which it expects of you, as on the 31st of May and the 2nd of June. March, and once more save liberty. If, in spite of all these efforts, we must fall, why then my friends you shall see me drink hemlock with composure."—"Robespierre," exclaimed a deputy, "I will drink it with thee!"*

Couthon proposed to the society a new purificatory scrutiny, and insisted on the instant expulsion of the deputies who had voted against Robespierre; he had a list of them which he immediately furnished. His motion was carried amidst frightful uproar. Collot-d'Herbois came forward to make some observations, but was received with yells. He spoke of his services, of his dangers, of the attempt of Admiral. He was sneered at, abused, and driven from the tribune. All the deputies present, and pointed out by Couthon, were expelled, some of them even with blows. Collot escaped from amidst the knives pointed against him. The society was reinforced on that day by all the acting men, who in moments of disturbance gained admission either with false tickets or without any. They added violence to words, and they were even quite ready to add murder. Payen, the national agent, who was a man of execution, proposed a bold plan. He said that all the conspirators were in the two committees, that they were at that moment assembled,

* "The artist, David, caught Robespierre by the hand as he closed, exclaiming, in rapture at his elocution, 'I will drink the cup with thee!' This distinguished painter has been reproached as having, on the subsequent day, declined the pledge which he seemed so eagerly to embrace. But there were many of his original opinion at the time he expressed it so boldly; and, had Robespierre possessed either military talents or even decided courage, there was nothing to have prevented him from placing himself that very night at the head of a desperate insurrection of the Jacobins and their followers."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

and that they ought to go and secure them; the struggle might thus be terminated without combat by a *coup-de-main.* Robespierre opposed this scheme; he disliked such prompt actions; he thought that it would be better to pursue the same course as on the 31st of May. A solemn petition had already been presented; he had made a speech; St. Just, who had lately arrived from the army, was to make a report next morning; he, Robespierre, would again speak, and if they were unsuccessful, the magistrates of the people, meanwhile assembled at the commune and supported by the armed force of the sections, would declare that the people had resumed its sovereignty, and would proceed to deliver the Convention from the villains who misled it. The plan was thus fixed by precedents. The meeting broke up, promising for the next day, Robespierre to be at the Convention, the Jacobins in their hall, the municipal magistrates at the commune, and Henriot at the head of the sections. They reckoned, moreover, upon the youths in the school of Mars, the commandant of which, Labretèche, was devoted to the cause of the commune.

Such were the proceedings on this 8th of Thermidor, the last day of the sanguinary tyranny which had afflicted France; but on that day too the horrible revolutionary machine did not cease acting. The tribunal had sat; victims had been conveyed to the scaffold. In their number were two eminent poets, Roucher, author of *Les Mers,* and André Chenier, who left admirable compositions, and whom France will regret as much as all the young men of genius, orators, writers, generals, devoured by the scaffold and by the war.* These two sons of the Muses cheered one another when in the fatal cart by reciting verses of Racine's. Young André, on mounting the scaffold, uttered the cry of genius stopped short in its career. "To die so young!" he exclaimed, striking his forehead; "there was something there!"†

* "The son of Buffon, the daughter of Vernet, perished without regard to the illustrious names they bore. Roucher, an amiable poet, a few hours before his death, sent his miniature to his children, accompanied by some touching lines. Chenier, a young man, whose eloquent writings pointed him out as the future historian of the Revolution, and Champfort, one of its earliest and ablest supporters, were executed at the same time. A few weeks longer would have swept off the whole literary talent as well as dignified names of France."—*Alison.* E.

† "Another celebrated victim of party violence, who fell about this time, though not by the guillotine, was Condorcet. Having attached himself to the party of Brissot he was involved in its ruin. At the period of the arrest of the members of that party, he escaped the search of the victors, and secreted himself. He was received in Paris by a woman who only knew him from reputation, and generously afforded him an asylum. There he remained till the domiciliary visits in 1794, when, in order as it is believed not to expose his hostess to danger, he quitted his retreat, and succeeded in getting out of Paris without a civic card, and with a white cap on his head. He had wandered about for several days in the environs of Clamart and of Fontenay de Roses, and in the woods of Verrière, two or three leagues from Paris. M.

During the night which followed, there was agitation in all quarters, and every one thought of collecting his strength. The two committees had met, and were deliberating on the important events of the day and on those likely to arise on the morrow. What had passed at the Jacobins proved that the mayor and Hen-

Suard, who had been his intimate friend, in whose house he had lodged, but who had ceased to see him after the death of the King, had a house at Fontenay, consisting of two *corps de logis*, one of which was let to M. de Monville, councellor to the parliament. Condorcet knocked one morning at M. de Monville's door, conceiving that it was that of M. Suard. It was opened by the footman. The unfortunate fugitive looked like a pauper, having a long beard, a shabby dress, being lame from a hurt in one foot, and ready to die of hunger after passing several days in the woods. "Good God, sir!" said the servant, 'how sorry I am to see you in this condition.'—'How do you know who I am?'—'O sir; I have waited on you many a time at M. Trudaine's.'—'Can you admit me?'—'Alas! no, sir: my master is no friend of yours.'—'Is not this M. Suard's?'—'No, sir; that is his door.' Condorcet accordingly went to the house of Suard and met with him. Suard sent his maid-servant out of the way, and Condorcet acquainted him with his situation. He set bread, cheese, and wine before him. Condorcet told him that in the retreat which he had just left in Paris, he had written an 'Historical Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind,' which he had committed to safe hands, and which was intended for publication. He talked with much feeling of his daughter, and likewise of his wife, but with indifference; and yet he would have given him a sum of 600 livres for her. Suard durst not take it; but he offered to go immediately to Paris and strive to obtain for him an invalid's pass, which might supply the place of a civic ticket; and they agreed that Condorcet should call the next day for this sort of safeconduct. He asked for a Horace and some snuff, of which he had felt very urgent want. Some snuff was put up in a paper for him, but unluckily he went away without it. Suard hastened to Paris, and obtained a sort of old invalid's pass, such as used to be given to soldiers leaving the hospital to enable them to go from one department to another. Suard returned with this informal passport, and waited for Condorcet, who was to be with him at eight o'clock in the evening of the following day; but he did not come, and it was not till the night of the third day that he heard that a man had been apprehended at Clamart, whom he supposed to be Condorcet; and so it actually turned out. On leaving Suard's, taking with him a piece of bread, he had returned to the woods of Verrière, where he had passed the night. Next morning, he had gone to Clamart, and was greedily eating an omelette at a public-house, when his long beard, his squalid appearance, and his restless manner, attracted the notice of one of those voluntary spies who then infested all France. This man inquired who he was, whence he came, whither he was going, and where was his ticket of citizen. Condorcet, at all times embarrassed to speak and give a direct answer, said at first that he was servant to a councillor of the Court of Aids, concerning whom he could give true particulars on account of his intimacy with him. But his answers not appearing sufficient, the spy took him to Bourg la Reine, the seat of the district, where, as he could not give a satisfactory account of himself, he was thrown into prison. Next morning he was found dead; having taken stramonium combined with opium, which he always carried about him. Hence it was that on parting from Suard he had said, 'If I have but one night before me, I do not fear them: but I will not be taken to Paris.' The poison which he took seemed to have operated gently, without causing pain or convulsion. The surgeon employed to ascertain the cause of death, declared in the *procès verbal* that this man, whose real name was not known, had died of apoplexy. The blood was still issuing from his nose."—*Memoirs of the Abbé Morellet.* E.

riot were for the triumvirs, and that on the next day they should have to combat the whole force of the communes. To cause these two principal leaders to be apprehended would have been the most prudent course, but the committees still hesitated; they would and they would not; they seemed to feel a sort of regret that they had begun the struggle. They were aware that, if the Convention were strong enough to vanquish Robespierre, it would recover all its powers, and that they should be rescued from the strokes of their rival, but dispossessed of the dictatorship. It would no doubt have been much better to have come to terms with him; but it was now too late for that. Robespierre had taken good care not to go near them, after the sitting at the Jacobins. St. Just, who had arrived from the army a short time before, was watching them. He was silent; he had announced the report which he had been directed to draw up at the time of the last interview. He was asked for it; the committees wished to hear it read: he replied that he had it not with him, but had given it to one of his colleagues to read. He was requested to state the conclusion; he refused that also. At this moment Collot entered, incensed at the treatment which he had experienced at the Jacobins. "What are they doing at the Jacobins?" said St. Just to him. "Canst thou ask?" replied Collot angrily; "art thou not the accomplice of Robespierre? have you not concerted your plans together? I see clearly that you have formed an infamous triumvirate, and that you design to murder us; but if we fall you will not long enjoy the fruit of your crimes." Then, going up to St. Just with vehemence, "Thou intendest," said he, "to denounce us to-morrow morning; thou hast thy pocket full of notes against us—produce them." St. Just emptied his pockets, and assured Collot that he had nothing of the kind. Collot was appeased, and St. Just was desired to come at eleven the following day to communicate his report before he read it to the Assembly. The committees, before they separated, agreed to solicit the Convention to remove Henriot, and to summon the mayor and the national agent to the bar.

St. Just hastened away to prepare his report, which was not yet written, and denounced, with greater brevity and force than Robespierre had done, the conduct of the committees towards their colleagues, their seizure of all affairs, the pride of Billaud-Varennes, and the false manœuvres of Carnot, who had transported Pichegru's army to the coasts of Flanders, and had meant to take sixteen thousand men from Jourdan. This report was as perfidious and as clever, though in a very different way, as that of Robespierre. St. Just resolved to read it to the Convention without communicating it to the committees.

While the conspirators were concerting together, the Mountaineers, who had hitherto gone no further than to communicate their apprehensions to one another, but had formed no plot, ran to each other's houses, and agreed to attack Robespierre in a

more formal manner on the following day, and to obtain a decree against him if possible. For this they should need the concurrence of the deputies of the Plain, whom they had frequently threatened, and whom Robespierre, affecting the character of moderator, had formerly defended. They had therefore but slight claims to their favour. They called upon Boissy-d'Anglas, Durand-Maillane, and Palasne-Champeaux, who were all three Constituents, and whose example was likely to decide the others. They told them that they would be accountable for all the blood that Robespierre might yet spill, if they did not agree to vote against him. Repulsed at first, they returned three times to the charge, and at length obtained the desired promise. They ran about the whole of the morning of the 9th; Tallien promised to make the first attack, and only desired that others would have the courage to follow him.

Every one hastened to his post. Fleuriot, the mayor, and Payen, the national agent, were at the commune. Henriot was on horseback with his aides-de-camp, riding through the streets of Paris. The Jacobins had commenced a permanent sitting. The deputies, astir early in the morning, had gone to the Convention before the usual hour. They paced the passages tumultuously, and the Mountaineers addressed them with vehemence to decide them in their favour. It was half-past eleven o'clock. Tallien was speaking to some of his colleagues at one of the doors of the hall, when he saw St. Just enter and ascend the tribune. "This is the moment!" he exclaimed; "let us go in." They followed him; the benches filled; and the Assembly awaited in silence the opening of that scene, one of the grandest in our stormy revolution.

St. Just, who had broken the promise given to his colleagues, and not gone to read his report to them, was in the tribune. The two Robespierres, Lebas, and Couthon, were seated beside one another.* Collot-d'Herbois occupied the chair. St. Just said that he was commissioned by the committees to make a report, and was permitted to speak. He set out with asserting that he was of no faction, and that he belonged only to truth; that the tribune might prove the Tarpeian rock to him as to many others, but that he should nevertheless give his opinion without reserve concerning the dissensions which had broken out. He had scarcely finished these preliminary sentences, when Tallien asked leave to speak on a motion of order, and obtained it. "The republic," said he, "is in the most unfortunate condition, and no good citizen can help shedding tears over it. Yesterday a member of the government separated himself

* "When St. Just mounted the tribune, Robespierre took his station on the bench directly opposite, to intimidate his adversaries by his look. His knees trembled; the colour fled from his lips as he ascended to his seat; the hostile appearance of the Assembly already gave him an anticipation of his fate."—*Alison.* E.

and denounced his colleagues; another is doing the same to-day. This is only aggravating our calamities. I desire that at length the veil may be entirely torn off." Scarcely were these words uttered when applause burst forth. It was prolonged and renewed again and again. This was the premonitory signal of the fall of the triumvirs. Billaud-Varennes, who took possession of the tribune after Tallien, said that the Jacobins had the preceding evening held a seditious sitting, which was attended by hired murderers, who avowed a design of slaughtering the Convention. General indignation was manifested. "I see," added Billaud-Varennes, "I see in the tribunes one of the men who yesterday threatened the faithful deputies. Let him be secured." He was immediately seized and given into the custody of the gendarmes. Billaud then maintained that St. Just had no right to speak in the name of the committees, because he had not communicated his report to them; that this was the moment for the Assembly to be firm, for it must perish if it showed any weakness. "No, no," cried the deputies, waving their hats; "it will not be weak; it shall not perish." Lebas insisted on speaking before Billaud had finished; and made a great noise to carry his point. At the desire of all the deputies, he was called to order. He renewed his demand to be heard. "To the Abbaye with the seditious fellow!" cried several voices of the Mountain. Billaud continued, and, throwing off all reserve, said that Robespierre had always sought to control the committees; that he seceded, when they resisted the law of the 22nd of Prairial and the use which he purposed to make of it; that he was for retaining the noble Lavalette, a conspirator at Lille, in the national guard; that he prevented the arrest of Henriot, an accomplice of Hebert's, in order to make him his creature; that he moreover opposed the apprehension of a secretary of the committee, who had embezzled one hundred and fourteen thousand francs; that he had caused the best revolutionary committee of Paris to be closed by means of his office of police; that he always had done just what he pleased, and designed to make himself absolute master. Billaud added that he could adduce many other facts, but it would be sufficient to say that, on the preceding day, Robespierre's agents at the Jacobins, the Dumases and the Cofinhals, promised to decimate the National Convention.

While Billaud was enumerating these grievances, bursts of indignation at times escaped the Assembly. Robespierre, livid with rage, had left his seat and ascended the steps of the tribune. Posted behind Billaud, he demanded of the president with extreme violence permission to speak. He seized the moment when Billaud had finished, to renew his demand with still greater vehemence. "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" was shouted in all parts of the hall. Twice was this accusing cry raised, and it proclaimed that the Assembly dared at length to give him the name which he deserved.

While he was persisting, Tallien, who had darted to the tribune, claimed permission to speak, and obtained it before him. "Just now," said he, "I desired that the veil might be entirely torn off; I now perceive that it is. The conspirators are unmasked. I knew that my life was threatened, and hitherto I have kept silence; but yesterday I attended the sitting of the Jacobins, I saw the army of the new Cromwell formed, I trembled for my country, and I armed myself with a dagger, resolved to plunge it into his bosom, if the Convention had not the courage to pass a decree of accusation." As he finished these words, Talien exhibited his dagger, and the Assembly covered him with applause. He then proposed the arrest of Henriot, the chief of the conspirators. Billaud proposed to add that of Dumas, the president, and of a man named Boulanger, who had been the day before one of the most violent agitators at the Jacobins. The apprehension of those three culprits was immediately decreed.

At this moment Barrère entered to submit to the Assembly the propositions upon which the committee had deliberated in the night, before it broke up. Robespierre, who had not quitted the tribune, took advantage of this interval again to demand leave to speak. His adversaries were determined to refuse it, lest any lurking relic of fear or servility should be awakened by his voice. Placed, all of them, at the summit of the Mountain, they raised fresh clamours, and, while Robespierre was turning first to the president, then to the Assembly, shouted with voices of thunder, "Down! down with the tyrant!" At length Barrère was allowed to speak before Robespierre. It is said that this man, who, out of vanity, was desirous of playing a part, and now trembled from weakness at having given himself one, had two speeches in his pocket, one in favour of Robespierre, the other for the committees.* He developed the proposition adopted the night before, namely, to abolish the post of commandant-general, to re-establish that old law of the Legislative Assembly, by which each chief of a legion commanded in turn the armed force of Paris, and lastly to summon to the bar the mayor and the national agent, to answer there for the tranquillity of the capital. This decree was forthwith passed, and a messenger went to communicate it to the commune amidst the greatest dangers.

When the decree proposed by Barrère had been adopted, the enumeration of Robespierre's misdeeds was resumed. Each came in turn to prefer his charge. Vadier, who fancied that he had discovered an important conspiracy in seizing Catherine Theot, stated what he had not done the preceding day, that

* "Barrère was a sort of Belial in the Convention, the meanest, yet not the least able, amongst those fallen spirits, who, with great adroitness and ingenuity, as well as wit and eloquence, caught opportunities as they arose, and was eminently dexterous in being always strong upon the strongest and safe upon the safest side."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

Dom Gerle* had a certificate of civism signed by Robespierre, and that in Catherine's mattress had been found a letter in which she called Robespierre her beloved son. He then expatiated on the *espionnage* with which the committees were surrounded, with the prolixity of age and a slowness unsuited to the agitation of the moment. Tallien, impatient, reascended the tribune and again addressed the Assembly, saying that the question ought to be brought back to its real drift. A decree had, in fact, been passed against Henriot, Dumas, and Boulanger, and Robespierre had been called a tyrant, but no decisive resolution had been taken. Tallien observed that it was not a few circumstances in the life of that man, called a tyrant, on which they ought to fasten, but that the whole of it ought to be taken together. He then commenced an energetic picture of the conduct of that cowardly, supercilious, and bloodthirsty orator. Robespierre, choked with rage, interrupted him with cries of fury. "Let us put an end to this," said Louchet; "arrest against Robespierre!" — "Accusation against the denunciator!" added Loseau. "Arrest! Accusation!" shouted a great number of deputies. Louchet rose, and, looking around him, asked if he was seconded. "Yes, yes," replied a hundred voices. Robespierre the younger said from his place: "I share the crimes of my brother; let me share his fate." This devotedness was scarcely noticed. "The arrest! The arrest!" was still shouted. At this moment Robespierre, who had not ceased to pass from his place to the bureau and from the bureau to his place, again went up to the president and demanded leave to speak. But Thuriot, who had succeeded Collot-d'Herbois in the chair, answered him only by ringing the bell. Robespierre then turned towards the Mountain, where he observed only cold friends or furious enemies. He next turned his eyes towards the Plain. "To you," said he, "pure men, virtuous men, I address myself, and not to ruffians." They turned away their faces or used threatening gestures. Once more he addressed the president. "For the last time," he exclaimed, "president of assassins, I desire to be heard."† He uttered the concluding words in a faint and stifled

* "Catherine Theot died in the prison of the Conciergerie at the age of seventy; Dom Gerle, who was also imprisoned there, was afterwards liberated, and employed, during the reign of Napoleon, in the office of the home department."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

† "While the vaults of the hall echoed with exclamations from those who had hitherto been the accomplices, the flatterers, the followers, the timid and overawed assentators to the dethroned demagogue—he himself, breathless, foaming, exhausted, like the hunter of classical antiquity when on the point of being torn to pieces by his own dogs, tried in vain to raise those screeching notes by which the Convention had formerly been terrified and put to silence. We have been told that Robespierre's last audible words, contending against the exclamations of hundreds and the bell which the president was ringing incessantly, and uttered in the highest tones which despair could give to a voice naturally shrill and discordant, dwelt long on the memory,

voice. "The blood of Danton chokes thee!"* said Garnier of the Aube. Impatient of this struggle, Duval rose and said, "President, is this man to be master of the Convention any longer?"—"Ah!" added Fréron, "how hard a tyrant is to beat down!"—"To the vote! To the vote!" cried Loseau. The arrest so generally called for was put to the vote, and decreed amidst tremendous uproar. No sooner was the decree passed, than the members in all parts of the hall rose, shouting, "Liberty for ever! The republic for ever! The tyrants are no more!"

A great number of members rose and said, that they meant to vote for the arrest of Robespierre's accomplices, St. Just and Couthon. They were immediately included in the decree. Lebas desired to be associated with them. His wish was granted, as well as that of the younger Robespierre. These men still excited such apprehension, that the ushers of the hall had not dared to come forward to take them to the bar. On seeing them retain their seats, some of the members asked why they did not go down to the place of the accused. The president replied that the ushers had not been able to carry the order into execution. "To the bar! To the bar!" was the general cry. The five accused went down, Robespierre furious, St. Just calm and contemptuous, the others thunderstruck at this humiliation so new to them. They were at length at that place to which they had sent Vergniaud, Brissot, Petion, Camille-Desmoulins, Danton, and so many others of their colleagues, full of virtue, genius, or courage!

It was now five o'clock. The Assembly had declared its sitting permanent. But at that moment, worn out with fatigue, it took the dangerous resolution to suspend the sitting till seven, for the purpose of refreshment. The deputies then separated, leaving to the commune, if it had possessed any boldness, the opportunity of closing the place of its sittings, and seizing the control of Paris. The five accused were conducted to the committee of general safety to be examined by their colleagues before they were conveyed to prison.

While these important events were occurring in the Conven-

and haunted the dreams of many who heard him."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

"Dispirited by so many repulses, Robespierre returned to his place, and sunk back in his seat, exhausted with passion and fatigue. His mouth foamed—his voice grew thick. He was arrested amid shouts of joy, and, as he went out, said, in the hollow accents of despair, 'The republic is lost, the brigands triumph!'"—*Mignet.* E.

* "In the height of the terrible conflict, when Robespierre seemed deprived by rage of the power of articulation, a voice cried out, 'It is Danton's blood that is choking you!' Robespierre, indignant, recovered his voice and his courage to exclaim, 'Danton! Is it then Danton you regret? Cowards! why did not you defend him?' There was spirit, truth, and even dignity in this bitter retort—the last words that Robespierre ever spoke in public."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

tion, the commune had remained in suspense. Courvol, the messenger, had gone to communicate to it the decree which placed Henriot under arrest and summoned the mayor and the national agent to the bar. He had been very unfavourably received. He asked for a receipt, but the mayor replied, "On such a day as this we give no receipts. Go to the Convention, say that we shall find means to uphold it: and tell Robespierre not to be afraid, for we are here." The mayor had afterwards expressed himself before the general council in the most mysterious manner respecting the motive of the meeting; he had spoken to it only of the decree ordering the commune to provide for the tranquillity of Paris; he had reminded it of the epochs when that commune had displayed great courage, and had alluded very plainly to the 31st of May. Payen, the national agent, speaking after the mayor, had proposed to send two members of the council to the Place de la Commune, where there was an immense crowd, to harangue the people, and to invite them *to join the magistrates in order to save the country.* An address had then been drawn up, in which it was said that villains were oppressing "Robespierre, that virtuous citizen, who caused the cheering worship of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul to be decreed; St. Just, that apostle of virtue, who put an end to treason at the Rhine and in the North; Couthon, that virtuous citizen, whose body and head alone were alive, but burning with patriotism."* Immediately afterwards, it was resolved that the sections should be convoked; and that the presidents and the commandants of the armed force should be summoned to the commune to receive its orders. A deputation had been sent to the Jacobins, to invite them to come and fraternize with the commune, and to send to the general council the most energetic of their members, and a good number of *citizens and citizenesses of the tribunes.* Without yet mentioning insurrection, the commune, took all the requisite steps, and evidently had that object in view. It was not aware of the arrest of the five deputies, and on this account it still maintained some reserve.

Meanwhile Henriot had mounted his horse, and was riding through the streets of Paris. Hearing, by the way, of the arrest of five representatives, he strove to excite the people to rise, crying out that villains were oppressing the faithful deputies, and that they had arrested Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre. This wretch was half-drunk; he rocked upon his horse, and flourished his sword like a maniac. He first proceeded to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, to rouse the working people of that faux-

* The following was the proclamation issued from the Hotel de Ville: "Brothers and friends, the country is in imminent danger! The wicked have mastered the Convention, where they hold in chains the virtuous Robespierre. To arms! To arms! Let us not lose the fruits of the 18th of August and the 2nd of June. Death to the traitors!"—*History of the Convention.*

bourg, who scarcely comprehended what he meant, and who had besides begun to pity the victims whom they daily saw passing to the scaffold. By an unlucky chance, Henriot met the carts. These were surrounded as soon as the arrest of Robespierre was known; and, as Robespierre was considered as the author of all the murders, it was conceived that, he being apprehended, the executions would cease. The people would have made them turn back with the condemned. Henriot, who came up at the moment, opposed this intention, and caused this last execution to be consummated. He then returned, still at full gallop, to the Luxembourg, and ordered the gendarmerie to assemble in the *Place* of the communal house. Taking with him a detachment, he then went along the quays, intending to proceed to the Place du Carrousel, and to deliver the prisoners who were before the committee of general safety. As he was galloping upon the quays with his aides-de-camp, he threw down several persons. A man, who had his wife on his arm, turned towards the gendarmes and cried, "Gendarmes, arrest that ruffian! he is no longer your general." An aide-de-camp replied by a cut with his sword. Henriot proceeded, dashing through the Rue St. Honoré, and, on reaching the Place of the Palais-Egalité (Palais-Royal), perceiving Merlin of Thionville, he made up to him shouting, "Arrest that scoundrel! he is one of those who persecute the faithful representatives." Merlin was seized, maltreated, and taken to the nearest guard-house. Henriot continued his course and arrived at the courts of the National Palace. Here he made his companions alight, and endeavoured to penetrate into the building. The grenadiers refused him admittance, and crossed their bayonets. At this moment, a messenger advanced and said, "Gendarmes, arrest that rebel! a decree of the Convention orders you to do so." Henriot was immediately surrounded and disarmed, together with several of his aides-de-camp: they were pinioned and conducted to the hall of the committee of general safety, and placed beside Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas.

Thus far all went on well for the Convention. Its decrees, boldly passed, were successfully executed; but the commune and the Jacobins, which had not openly proclaimed the insurrection, were now ready to break forth, and to realize their plan for another 2nd of June. Fortunately, while the Convention imprudently suspended its sitting, the commune did the same, and thus the time was lost by both sides.

The council did not meet again till six o'clock. At this resumption of the sitting, the arrest of the five deputies and of Henriot was known. The council could no longer abstain from acting, and declared itself in insurrection against the oppressors of the people, who were bent on the destruction of its defenders. It ordered the tocsin to be rung at the Hôtel de Ville and in all

the sections. It sent one of its members to each of them, to excite them to insurrection, and to decide them to send their battalions to the commune. It despatched gendarmes to close the barriers, and ordered all the keepers of the prisons not to admit any prisoners who should be brought to them. Lastly it appointed a commission of twelve members among whom were Payen and Cofinhal, to direct the insurrection, and to exercise all the sovereign powers of the people. At this moment, some battalions of the sections, several companies of artillery, and great part of the gendarmerie, had already been collected in the Place de la Commune. The oath was begun to be administered to the commandants of the battalions assembled. Cofinhal was then ordered to repair, with a few hundred men, to the Convention, to liberate the prisoners.

Robespierre the elder had already been conveyed to the Luxembourg, his brother to the house of Lazare, Couthon to Port-Libre, St. Just to the Ecossais, and Lebas to the house of justice of the department. The order issued by the commune to the keepers had been executed, and they refused to admit the prisoners. The administrators of police had taken charge of them and conveyed them in carriages to the *mairie*. When Robespierre appeared,* people embraced him, loaded him with demonstrations of attachment, and swore to die in his defence and that of the faithful deputies. Meanwhile Henriot was left alone at the committee of general safety. Cofinhal, vice-president of the Jacobins, arrived there sword in hand, with some companies of the sections, took possession of the rooms of the committee, expelled the members, and released Henriot and his aides-de-camp. Henriot, as soon as he was liberated, hastened to the Place du Carrousel, where he found his horses still waiting, leaped upon one of them, and, with great presence of mind, told the companies of the sections and the artillery about him that the committee had just declared him innocent, and reinstated him in the command. The men rallied around him, and, followed by a considerable force, he began to give orders against the Convention, and to prepare for besieging the hall.

It was now seven o'clock in the evening. The Convention was only just reassembling; and during the interval the commune had gained great advantages. It had, as we have seen, proclaimed the insurrection, collected around it many companies of artillery and gendarmes, and released the prisoners. It might, with boldness, march promptly upon the Convention, and force it to revoke its decrees. It reckoned, moreover, upon the School

* "Robespierre now appeared altogether confounded and overwhelmed with what had passed and was passing around him; and not one of all the victims of the Reign of Terror felt its disabling influence so completely as he —the despot—who had so long directed its sway."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

of Mars, the commandant of which, Labretèche, was wholly devoted to it.

The deputies assembled tumultuously, and communicated to each other with consternation the news of the evening. The members of the committees, alarmed and undecided, had met in a room next to the president's bureau. There they were deliberating, undecided what course to pursue. Several deputies successively occupied the tribune, and related what was passing in Paris. It was stated that the prisoners were liberated, that the commune had met at the Jacobins, that it had already a considerable force at its disposal, and that the Convention would soon be besieged. Bourdon proposed to go out in a body and show themselves to the people, in order to bring them over to their side. Legendre strove to infuse confidence into the Assembly, saying that it would every where find only pure and faithful Mountaineers ready to defend it; and in this danger he displayed a courage which he had not shown against Robespierre. Billaud mounted the tribune, and intimated that Henriot was in the Place du Carrousel, that he had won the artillery, caused the guns to be turned against the hall of the Convention, and was about to commence the attack. Collot-d'Herbois then went up to the chair, which, from the arrangements of the hall, must have received the first balls, and said, as he seated himself in it, "Representatives! the moment is come for dying at our post. Villains have made themselves masters of the National Palace." At these words, all the deputies, some of whom were standing, others strolling about in the hall, took their places, and remained seated in majestic silence. All the citizens of the tribune fled with a tremendous uproar, leaving behind them a cloud of dust. The Convention, abandoned to itself, felt convinced that it was about to be slaughtered, but was resolved to perish rather than endure a Cromwell. Who can help admiring on this occasion the influence of circumstances over courage? The very same men, so long submissive to the orator who harangued them, now defied, with a sublime resignation, the cannon which he had caused to be pointed against them. Members of the Assembly were seen constantly going out and returning, bringing tidings of what was passing at the Carrousel. Henriot was still issuing orders there. "Outlaw him! Outlaw the ruffian!" was the cry in the hall. A decree of outlawry was immediately passed, and some of the deputies went to publish it before the National Palace.

At this moment Henriot, who had misled the gunners, and induced them to turn their pieces against the hall, ordered them to fire; but they hesitated to obey him. Some of the deputies cried out, "Gunners! will you disgrace yourselves? that ruffian is outlawed." The gunners then refused to obey Henriot. Abandoned by his men, he had but time to turn his horse's head and to seek refuge at the commune.

This danger over, the Convention outlawed the deputies who had withdrawn themselves from its decrees, and all the members of the commune who were engaged in the insurrection. But this was not enough. If Henriot was no longer in the Place du Carrousel, the insurgents were yet at the commune with all their forces, and they had still the resource of a *coup-de-main*. It was incumbent on the Assembly to obviate this great danger. It deliberated without acting. In the room behind the bureau, where the committees had been joined by many of the representatives, it was proposed to appoint a commandant of the armed force taken from the bosom of the Assembly. "Who shall it be?" was the question. "Barras," replied a voice; "he will have the courage to accept the appointment." Vouland immediately hurried to the tribune and proposed that Barras, the representative, should be appointed to direct the armed force. The suggestion was adopted; Barras was appointed, and seven other deputies were associated with him to command under his orders: Fréron, Ferrand, Rovère, Delmas, Boleti, Leonard Bourdon, and Bourdon of the Oise. To this proposal a member added another which was not less important, namely, to appoint representatives to go and enlighten the sections, and to demand the assistance of their battalions. This last measure was the most important of all, for it was essential to decide the wavering or misguided sections.

Barras hastened to the battalions already assembled, to acquaint them with his powers, and to post them around the Convention.* The deputies despatched to the sections went to harangue them. At this moment most of them were undecided; very few were in favour of the commune and of Robespierre. Every one had a horror of that atrocious system which was imputed to Robespierre, and desired an event that should deliver France from it. Fear, nevertheless, still paralyzed all the citizens. They durst not decide, nor give belief to the reports that were circulated. The commune, which the sections were accustomed to obey, had summoned them, and some, not daring to resist, had sent commissioners not to adhere to the plan of insurrection, but to inform themselves of what was passing. Paris was in a state of uncertainty and anxiety. The relatives of the

* "Barras did not choose to wait till all his succours should arrive. He would not lose the opportunity of the first onset with men who had always been suffered to begin the attack. As soon as he had formed four or five battalions, 'My friends,' he cried, 'the Convention is disposed to reward your alacrity in coming first.' Applauses ensued—they marched. Barras arrived with his battalions. He had so distributed them as to command every outlet from the seat of the commune. Night concealed their small number. The victory, than which none more essential to nations was ever obtained, was not even disputed. Of so many assassins, not one sought the honour of perishing in battle. Robespierre had not even appeared in the midst of his revolutionary bands."—*Lacretelle*. E.

prisoners, their friends, and all who were suffering from that cruel system, sallied from their houses, approached nearer and nearer to the places where the uproar prevailed, and strove to gain some intelligence. The unfortunate prisoners, having from their barred windows perceived a great bustle, and heard a great noise, expected that something was about to happen, but trembled lest this new event should only aggravate their lot. The dejection of the gaolers, words whispered to the list-makers, and the consternation which succeeded, had tended, however, to diminish doubts. It was soon known, from expressions which were dropped, that Robespierre was in danger. Relatives had approached, placed themselves under the windows of the prisons, and indicated by signs what was passing; the prisoners had then collected and given way to the wildest joy. The base informers, trembling in their turn, had taken some of the suspected aside, endeavoured to justify themselves, and to convince them that they were not the authors of the lists of proscription. Some of them, admitting the fact, said that they had withdrawn names from them. One had given but forty names instead of two hundred, which were required of him; another had destroyed entire lists. In their fright, these wretches reciprocally accused, and devoted one another to infamy.

The deputies dispersed among the sections had no difficulty in getting the better of the obscure envoys of the commune. Those who had sent off their battalions to the Hôtel de Ville recalled them; the others directed theirs towards the National Palace. That building was already surrounded by a sufficient force. Barras went to apprize the Assembly of this circumstance, and then hastened to the plain of Sablons to supersede Labretèche, who was dismissed, and to bring the School of Mars to the aid of the Convention.

The national representation was now safe from a *coup-de-main*. This was the moment for marching against the commune and taking the offensive, which it neglected to do. It was immediately resolved to march upon the Hôtel de Ville, and to surround it.* Leonard Bourdon, who was at the head of a great

* "The battalions of the national guards from all quarters now marched towards the Convention, and defiled through the hall in the midst of the most enthusiastic applause. At midnight above three thousand men had arrived. 'The moments are precious,' said Fréron; 'the time for action has come. Let us instantly march against the rebels.' The order was promptly obeyed. The night was dark; a feeble moonlight only shone through the gloom; but the forced illumination of the houses supplied a vivid light, which shone on the troops, who, in profound silence, marched from the Tuileries towards the Place de Grève, the head-quarters of the insurgents. There were about two thousand men stationed in the Place de Grève with a powerful train of artillery, when the light of the torches showed the heads of the columns of the national guard appearing in all the avenues which led to the square. The moment was terrible. Ten pieces of the

number of battalions, set out for the purpose. When he intimated that he was just starting to attack the rebels, "Go," said Tallien, who occupied the president's chair, "and let the sun, when he rises, find no conspirators alive." Leonard Bourdon debouched by the quays, and arrived at the Place of the Hôtel de Ville. A great number of gendarmes, artillerymen, and armed citizens of the sections, were still there. An agent of the committee of public welfare, named Dulac, had the courage to slip into their ranks, and to read to them the decree of the Convention which outlawed the commune. The respect which people had contracted for that assembly, in whose name every thing had been done for two years past, respect for the words law and republic, triumphed. The battalions separated: some returned to their own homes, others joined Leonard Bourdon, and the Place de la Commune was deserted. Those who guarded, and those who came to attack it, drew up in the neighbouring streets, in order to close all the outlets.

People had such an idea of the resolution of the conspirators, and were so astonished to find them almost motionless in the Hôtel de Ville, that they were fearful of approaching. Leonard Bourdon was apprehensive that they had undermined the Hôtel de Ville. This, however, was not the case. They were deliberating tumultuously, and proposing to write to the armies and to the provinces, but they knew not in whose name to write, and durst not take any decisive step. Had Robespierre been a man of decision, had he ventured to show himself and to march against the Convention, he would have placed it in a dangerous predicament. But he was a mere talker, and, besides, he perceived, as did all his partisans along with him, that public opinion was forsaking them. The end of that frightful system had arrived. The Convention was every where obeyed, and the outlawries produced a magical effect. Had he been endowed with greater energy, he must have been discouraged by these circumstances, superior to any individual force. The decree of outlawry struck all with stupor, when it was communicated from the Place de la Commune to the Hôtel de Ville. Payen, to whom it was delivered, read it aloud, and, with great presence of mind, added to the list of the persons outlawed, *the people in the tribunes*, which was not in the decree. Contrary to his expectation, the people in the tribunes hurried off in alarm to avoid sharing in the anathema hurled by the Convention. The greatest dismay then seized the conspirators. Henriot went down to the Place to harangue the gunners, but he found not a single man. "What!" cried he,

artillery of the Convention were placed in battery, while the cannoneers of the municipality, with their lighted matches in their hands, stood beside their guns on the opposite side. But the authority of the law prevailed. The decree of the legislature was read by torchlight, and the insurgent troops refused to resist it."—*Alison.* E.

swearing, "do those rascally gunners, who saved me a few hours since, desert me now?" He then went back furious to carry this new intelligence to the council. Despair overwhelmed the conspirators. They found themselves abandoned by their troops and surrounded on all sides by those of the Convention; and mutually accused each other of being the cause of their unfortunate situation. Cofinhal, an energetic man, who had been ill-seconded, enraged against Henriot, said to him, "It is thy cowardice, villain, that has undone us!" Rushing upon him and seizing him round the waist, he threw him out of a window. The wretched Henriot fell upon a heap of filth, which broke the fall, and prevented it from proving mortal. Lebas put an end to his life with a pistol; the younger Robespierre* threw himself out of a window; St. Just continued calm and immoveable, holding a weapon in his hand, but without using it; Robespierre at length decided to terminate his career, and attempted to commit suicide. He clapped a pistol to his head, but, the ball entering above the lip, merely pierced his cheek, and inflicted a wound that was not dangerous.†

At this moment a few bold men, Dulac, Meda the gendarme, and several others, leaving Bourdon with his battalions in the Place de la Commune, went up, armed with swords and pistols, and entered the hall of the council, at the very instant when the two reports of fire-arms were heard. The municipal officers were going to take off their scarfs, but Dulac threatened to plunge his sword into the first who should attempt to divest himself of that distinguishing mark. Every one remained motionless: all the municipal officers, Payen, Fleuriot, Dumas, Cofinhal, &c., were secured; the wounded were carried away on handbarrows; and the prisoners were conducted in triumph to the Convention. It was now three o'clock in the morning. Shouts of victory rang around the hall, and penetrated into it. Cries of "Liberty for ever! The Constitution for ever! Down with the tyrants!" then arose from all parts. "Representatives," said

* "The younger Robespierre had only just returned from the army of Italy, whither he had been sent by the Convention on a mission. He earnestly pressed Bonaparte to accompany him to Paris. 'Had I followed young Robespierre,' said Napoleon, 'how different might have been my career! On what trivial circumstances does human fate depend!'"—*Las Cases.* E.

† "When the national guard rushed into the room where the leaders of the revolt were assembled, they found Robespierre sitting with his elbow on his knees, and his head resting on his hand. St. Just implored Lebas to put an end to his life. 'Coward! follow my example,' said he, and blew out his brains. Couthon was seized under a table, feebly attempting to strike with a knife, which he wanted the courage to plunge in his heart. Robespierre and Couthon being supposed to be dead, were dragged by the heels to the Quai Pelletier, where it was proposed to throw them into the river; but it being discovered that they still breathed, they were stretched on a board, and conveyed to the committee of general safety."—*Alison.* E.

the president, "Robespierre and his accomplices are at the door of your hall: will you have them brought before you?"—"No, no," was replied from all sides; "to execution with the conspirators!"

Robespierre was taken with his partisans to the hall of the committee of public welfare. He was laid upon a table, and some pieces of pasteboard were placed under his head. He had retained his presence of mind, and appeared unconcerned. He had on a blue coat, the same that he wore at the festival of the Supreme Being, nankeen breeches, and white stockings, which, amidst the tumult, had dropped down to his heels. The blood oozed from his wound, and he was stanching it with the sheath of a pistol. Some persons around him handed to him from time to time bits of paper to wipe his face. In this state he remained several hours exposed to the curiosity and the abuse of a crowd of people. When the surgeon came to dress his wound, he raised himself up, got down from the table, and seated himself in an arm-chair. He underwent a painful dressing without a murmur. With the insensibility and sullenness of humbled pride, he made no reply to any observation. He was then conveyed, with St. Just, Couthon, and the others, to the Conciergerie. His brother and Henriot had been picked up, half dead, in the streets close to the Hôtel de Ville.

The outlawry rendered a trial superfluous; it was sufficient to prove the identity. On the morning of the following day, the 10th of Thermidor, the culprits, to the number of twenty-one, were brought before the tribunal to which they had sent so many victims. Fouquier-Tinville produced evidence of identity, and, at four in the afternoon, he caused them to be conveyed to execution. The populace which had long forsaken scenes of this kind, hastened with extreme eagerness to witness the execution on this day.

The scaffold had been erected in the Place de la Révolution. An immense crowd filled the Rue St. Honoré, the Tuileries, and the spacious Place. Numerous relatives of the victims followed the carts, pouring forth imprecations upon them; many went up to them desiring to see Robespierre: the gendarmes pointed him out to them with their swords. When the culprits had reached the scaffold, the executioners showed Robespierre to the populace; they took off the bandage fastened round his jaw, and extorted from him the first cry that he had uttered. He suffered with the insensibility which he had displayed for the last twenty-four hours.* St. Just died with the courage which he had always

* "When Robespierre ascended the fatal car his head was enveloped in a bloody cloth, his colour was livid, and his eyes sunk. When the procession came opposite his house, it stopped, and a group of women danced round the bier of him whose chariot-wheels they would have dragged the day before over a thousand victims. Robespierre mounted the scaffold last, and the

ROBESPIERRE.

exhibited. Couthon was dejected; Henriot and the younger Robespierre were nearly dead from the effects of their wounds. Applause accompanied every descent of the fatal blade, and the multitude manifested extraordinary joy. General rejoicing prevailed throughout Paris. The prisons rang with songs; people embraced one another in a species of intoxication, and paid as much as thirty francs for the newspapers containing an account of the events which had just happened. Though the Convention had not declared that it abolished the system of terror, though the victors themselves were either the authors or the apostles of that system, it was considered as finished with Robespierre, to such a degree had he assumed to himself all its horrors.*

Such was that happy catastrophe, which terminated the ascending march of the Revolution and commenced its retrograde march. The Revolution had, on the 14th of July, 1789, overthrown the ancient feudal constitution; it had on the 5th and 6th of October snatched the King from his court to make sure of his person; it had then framed a constitution for itself, and had committed it to his keeping in 1791, as if by way of experiment. It soon regretted having made this experiment, and, despairing of ever conciliating the court with liberty, it had stormed the Tuileries on the 10th of August, and placed Louis XVI. in confinement. Austria and Prussia advanced to destroy it, when, to use its own terrible language, it threw down, as the gage of battle, the head of a king and the lives of six thousand prisoners; it entered in an irrevocable manner into that struggle, and repulsed the allies by a first effort. Its rage redoubled the number of its enemies; the increase of its enemies and of its danger redoubled its rage and changed it into fury. It dragged forth violently from the temple of the laws sincere republicans, but who, not comprehending these extremities, sought to moderate it. Then it had to combat one half of

moment his head fell the applause was tremendous. In some cases the event was announced to the prisoners by the waving of handkerchiefs from the tops of houses."—*Hazlitt.* E.

"Robespierre was executed on the spot where Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had suffered. He shut his eyes, but could not close his ears against the imprecations of the multitude. A woman, breaking from the crowd, exclaimed, 'Murderer of all my kindred! your agony fills me with joy. Descend to hell, covered with the curses of every mother in France!' When he ascended the scaffold, the executioner tore the bandage from his face; the lower jaw fell on his breast, and he uttered a yell which froze every heart with horror. For some minutes the frightful figure was held up to the multitude; he was then placed under the axe. 'Yes, Robespierre, there is a God!' said a poor man, as he approached the lifeless body of one so lately the object of dread."—*Alison.* E.

* "On the very day of Robespierre's arrest, his adherent, Dumas, who was executed with him, had signed the warrant for putting sixty persons to death. In the confusion, no person thought of arresting the guillotine. They all suffered."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon.* E.

France, La Vendée, and Europe. By the effect of this continual action and reaction of obstacles upon its will, and of its will upon obstacles, it arrived at the last degree of danger and exasperation. It erected scaffolds and sent a million of men to the frontiers. Then, sublime and atrocious at the same time, it was seen destroying with a blind fury, and directing the national energies with astonishing promptness and profound prudence. Changed by the necessity for energetic action from a turbulent democracy to an absolute dictatorship, it became regular, silent, and formidable. During the whole latter part of 1793, till the beginning of 1794, it moved onward united by the imminence of the danger which surrounded it. But when victory had crowned its efforts, at the end of 1793, a disagreement arose; for strong and generous hearts, calmed by success, cried, "Mercy to the vanquished!" But all hearts were not yet calmed; the salvation of the Revolution was not evident to all; the pity of some excited the fury of others, and there were extravagant spirits who wished to supersede all government by a tribunal of death. The dictatorship struck down the two new parties which impeded its march. Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, perished with Danton and Camille-Desmoulins. The Revolution thus continued its career, covered itself with glory from the commencement of 1794, vanquished all Europe, and overwhelmed it with confusion. The moment had at length arrived when pity was to triumph over rage. But then happened what always happens in such cases: out of the incident of a day the heads of the government wanted to form a system. They had systematized violence and cruelty, and when the dangers and excitements were past, they still wished to continue the work of slaughter. But public horror was every where roused. To this opposition they would have replied by the accustomed expedient —death. One and the same cry then arose from their rivals in power and from their threatened colleagues, and this cry was the signal for a general insurrection. It required a few moments to shake off the stupor of fear; the effort soon proved successful, and the system of terror was overthrown.*

* Prudhomme has given the following appalling account of the victims of the Revolution:

Nobles	1,278	
Noble women	750	
Wives of labourers and artisans	1,467	
Religieuses	350	
Priests	1,135	
Common persons, not noble	13,623	
Guillotined by sentence of the Revolutionary Tribunal	18,603	18,603
Women died of premature child-birth		3,400
In child-birth from grief		348

It may be asked what would have happened if Robespierre had been victorious. The forsaken condition in which he found himself proves that this was impossible.* But had he been conqueror, he must either have yielded to the general sentiment, or have fallen. Like usurpers, he would have been forced to adopt a calm and mild system instead of the horrors of factions. But it was not given to him to be that usurper. Our Revolution was too vast for the same man, deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1789, to be proclaimed emperor or protector in 1804 in the church of Notre-Dame. In a country less advanced and less extensive, as England was, where the same person might be tribune and general and combine the two functions, a Cromwell might be both a party man at the beginning, and a usurping soldier at the conclusion. But in a revolution so extensive as ours, in which the war was so terrible and so predominant, in which the same individual could not occupy at one and the same time the tribune and the camp, party men first destroyed one another; after them came the military men; and a soldier was finally left master.

Robespierre then could not perform among us the part of a

	Women killed in La Vendée		15,000
	Children killed in La Vendée		22,000
	Men slain in La Vendée		900,000
	Victims under Carrier at Nantes		32,000
Of whom were	Children shot	500	
	Children drowned	1,500	
	Women shot	264	
	Women drowned	500	
	Priests shot	300	
	Priests drowned	460	
	Nobles drowned	1,400	
	Artisans drowned	5,300	
	Victims at Lyons		31,000
	Total		1,022,351

In this enumeration are not comprehended the massacres at Versailles, at the Abbaye, the Carmelites, or other prisons, on September 2nd, the victims of the Glaciere of Avignon, those shot at Toulon and Marseilles, or the persons slain in the little town of Bedoin, the whole population of which perished. E.

* "In my opinion Robespierre's destruction was inevitable. He had no organized force; his partisans, although numerous, were not enlisted and incorporated; he possessed only the great power derived from public opinion and the principle of terror; so that, not being able to surprise his enemies by violence like Cromwell, he endeavoured to frighten them. Fear not succeeding, he tried insurrection. But as the support of the committees gave courage to the Convention, so the sections, relying for support on the strength of the Convention, naturally declared themselves against the insurgents. By attacking the government Robespierre roused the Assembly, by rousing the Assembly he let loose the people; and this coalition necessarily ruined him." —*Mignet.* E.

usurper. Why was it his fate to survive all those famous revolutionists, who were so superior to him in genius and in energy —Danton, for example? Robespierre was a man of integrity, and a good reputation is requisite for captivating the crowd. He was without pity, which ruins those who have it in revolutions. He had an obstinate and persevering pride, and this is the only means of keeping oneself constantly present to people's minds. It was this that caused him to survive all his rivals. But he was of the worst species of men. A devotee without passions, without the vices to which they lead, but yet without the courage, the greatness, and the sensibility, which usually accompany them —a devotee living only by his pride and his creed, hiding himself in the day of danger, coming forth to claim adoration after the victory won by others—is one of the most odious beings that ever ruled over men, and one would say the very vilest, if he had not possessed a strong conviction and acknowledged integrity.*

* "Napoleon was of opinion that Robespierre had neither talent, force, nor system; that he was the true emissary of the Revolution, who was sacrificed the moment he attempted to arrest its course—the fate of all those who had before himself engaged in the attempt; but that he was by no means the monster that was commonly believed. 'Robespierre,' said he, 'was at last desirous to stop the public executions. Cambacérès, who is to be regarded as an authority for that epoch, said to me, in relation to the condemnation of Robespierre,—Sire, that was a case in which judgment was pronounced without hearing the accused.—You may add to that, that his intentions were different from what is generally supposed. His plan was after having overturned the furious factions which it was requisite for him to combat, to return to a system of order and moderation."—*Las Cases.* E.

"The dictator, Robespierre, perished just at the very moment when he was preparing to return to a system of justice and humanity."—*Levasseur de la Sarthe.* E.

"Robespierre had been a studious youth and a respectable man, and his character contributed not a little to the ascendency which he obtained over his rivals. In the year 1785 he wrote an essay against the Punishment of Death, which gained the prize awarded by the royal society of Metz!"—*Quarterly Review.* E.

M. Dumont in his "Recollections of Mirabeau" gives the following interesting account of the first public speech delivered by Robespierre in the year 1789: "The clergy, for the purpose of surprising the *tiers-état* into a union of the Orders, sent a deputation to invite the *tiers* to a conference on the distresses of the poor. The *tiers* saw through the design, and, not wishing to acknowledge the clergy as a separate body, yet afraid to reject so popular a proposition, knew not what answer to make, when one of the deputies rose, and thus addressed the ecclesiastical deputation: 'Go, tell your colleagues, if they are so anxious to relieve the people, to hasten and unite themselves in this hall with the friends of the people. Tell them no longer to try to carry their point by such stratagems as this. Rather let them, as ministers of religion, renounce the splendour which surrounds them, sell their gaudy equipages, and convert their superfluities into food for the poor.' At this speech, which expressed so well the passions of the moment, there arose a loud murmur of approbation. Every one asked, who was the speaker; he was not

known; but in a few minutes his name passed from mouth to mouth; it was one which afterwards made all France tremble—it was Robespierre!"—E.

"When Robespierre first appeared in the world he prefixed the aristocratical particle *de* to his name. He was entered at college as de Robespierre; he was elected to the States-general as de Robespierre; but, after the abolition of all feudal distinctions, he rejected the *de*, and called himself Robespierre."—*Quarterly Review.* E.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The subjoined character of Robespierre, gives us a better idea of his personal peculiarities, than any with which the revolutionary historians have furnished us.

Died, 28th July, 1794, at Paris, aged 35, under the guillotine (with nearly seventy of his party, members of the Convention), Maximilian Robespierre. This emulator of Cromwell was short in stature, being only five feet two or three inches in height. His step was firm, and his quick pace in walking announced great activity. By a kind of contraction of the nerves, he used often to fold and compress his hands in each other; and spasmodic contractions were perceived in his shoulders and neck, the latter of which he moved convulsively from side to side. In his dress he was neat and even elegant, never failing to have his hair in the best order. His features had nothing remarkable about them, unless that their general aspect was somewhat forbidding; his complexion was livid and bilious; his eyes dull and sunk in their sockets. The constant blinking of the eyelids seemed to arise from convulsive agitation; and he was never without a remedy in his pocket. He could soften his voice, which was naturally harsh and croaking, and could give grace to his provincial accent. It was remarked of him that he could never look a man full in the face. He was master of the talent of declamation; and as a public speaker was not amiss at composition. In his harangues, he was extremely fond of the figure called *antithesis;* but failed, whenever he attempted irony. His diction was at times harsh, at others harmoniously modulated, frequently brilliant, but often trite, and was constantly blended with commonplace digressions on virtue, crimes, and conspiracies. Even when prepared, he was but an indifferent orator. His logic was often replete with sophisms and subtleties; but he was in general steril of ideas, with but a very limited scope of thought, as is almost always the case with those who are too much taken up with themselves. Pride formed the basis of his character; and he had a great thirst for literary, but a still greater for political, fame. He spoke with contempt of Mr. Pitt; and yet, above Mr. Pitt, he could see nobody unless himself. The reproaches of the English journalists were a high treat to his vanity:—whenever he denounced them his accent and expression betrayed how much his self-love was flattered. It was delightful to him to hear the French armies named the "armies of Robespierre;" and he was

charmed with being included in the list of tyrants. Daring and cowardly at the same time, he threw a veil over his manœuvres, and was often imprudent in pointing out his victims. If one of the representatives made a motion which displeased him, he suddenly turned round towards him, with a menacing aspect, for some minutes. Weak and revengeful, sober and sensual, chaste by temperament, and a libertine by the effect of the imagination, he was fond of attracting the notice of the women, and had them imprisoned, for the sole pleasure of restoring them their liberty. He made them shed tears, in order to wipe them from their cheeks. In practising his delusions it was his particular aim to act on tender and weak minds. He spared the priests, because they could forward his plans; and the superstitious and devotees, because he could convert them into instruments to favour his power. His style and expression were in a manner mystical; and, next to pride, subtlety was the most marked feature of his character. He was surrounded by those only whose conduct had been highly criminal, because he could, with one word, deliver them over to the punishment of the law. He at once protected and terrified a part of the Convention. He converted crimes into errors, and errors into crimes. He dreaded even the shades of the martyrs of liberty, whose influence he weakened by substituting his own. He was so extremely suspicious and distrustful, that he could have found it in his heart to guillotine the dead themselves. To enter into a strict analysis of his character, Robespierre, born without genius, could not create circumstances, but profited by them with address. To the profound hypocrisy of Cromwell, he joined the cruelty of Sylla, without possessing any of the great military and political qualities of either of these ambitious adventurers. His pride and his ambition far above his means exposed him to ridicule. To observe the emphasis, with which he boasted of having proclaimed the existence of the Supreme Being, one might have said, that, according to his opinion, God would not have existed without him. When, on the night of the 27th of July, he found himself abandoned by his friends, he discharged a pistol in his mouth, and at the same time, a gendarme wounded him by the discharge of another. Robespierre fell bathed in blood; and a *sans-culotte* approaching him, pronounced these words in his ear: "There is a Supreme Being!" Previously to his execution, the bandage being taken off his head, his jaw fell down, in consequence of the wound which he had given himself.*

It is generally supposed that he attempted to shoot himself by discharging a pistol into his mouth, which however only fractured the lower left jaw, and left it hanging down by the flesh and ligaments; but a field officer in the French army, of the name of Meda, subsequently claimed the honour of having fired this shot; and he supported his assertion by some plausible facts. Meda—who afterwards rose to be a colonel, and was killed in that rank at the battle of Moskwa—was at this period of the age of eighteen or nineteen, and a private gendarme: as such he accompanied Leonard Bourdon in his attack on the Robespierrians in the Maison de Ville, and showed so much firmness and courage, that when Bourdon returned to the Convention, to give an account of his success, he brought Meda with him, placed him by his side in the tribune, stated that he had with his own hand *frappé* (literally *struck*, but it probably means *wounded* or *killed*) two of the conspirators, and obtained for him the honours of the sitting, honourable mention in the *procès verbal*, and a promise of military promotion. The next day there appears an order of the Convention to deliver to Meda *a* pistol which had been placed on the bar the day before. All this the *procès verbal* of the sittings and the report in the Moniteur record. But, on the other hand, it is not stated that *one* of the two struck by Meda was *Robespierre*. On the contrary, Bourdon says, that Meda *disarmed* him of a knife, but does not say

* Annual Register, 1794.

that he either *struck* or *shot* HIM—a circumstance so transcendently important, that Bourdon could have hardly omitted to state it, had it been so. Nor is it said that the pistol delivered to Meda was his own, nor that it was the pistol by which Robespierre was wounded; nor is any reason given why he should have shot Robespierre, whom, if his own account be correct, he might have taken alive. Meda, there can be no doubt, accompanied Bourdon (Bourdon says that he *never quitted him*), and distinguished himself generally; but neither in the *procès verbal*, nor in the Moniteur, is there any evidence of his having shot Robespierre; and his own statement is somewhat at variance with Bourdon's, and not very intelligible as to the position in which the alleged shot was fired. This would of itself excite some doubts, but these doubts are much strengthened by the following facts: 1. Barrère, in the official report (made, not like Bourdon's, verbally in the hurry and agitation of the moment, but on the third day, and after the collection and examination of all the facts) states distinctly that Robespierre clumsily wounded himself; 2. The surgeon who dressed the wound made a technical and official report, that it must have been inflicted by the patient himself; and, 3. It is stated, that, as the poor wretch lay mangled on a table at the Hôtel de Ville, he supported his broken jaw and endeavoured to absorb the blood with a *woollen pistol-bag*, which he had in his left hand. This trifling circumstance, which could hardly have been invented, strongly corroborates the reports of Barrère and the surgeon, and the general opinion. We suppose the truth to have been, that Robespierre drew his pistol from the woollen bag, which he held in his left hand, and on the approach of the gendarmes shot himself with the right, and fell—that Meda picked up the pistol and carried it to the Convention, which next day restored it to him as a trophy to which he had the best right. This conjecture seems to reconcile all the facts and all the statements, except only the *tardy* assertion of Meda himself.—*Quarterly Review.*

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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